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**Global Governance and
Diplomacy**
Worlds Apart?

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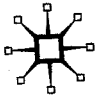


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Introduction: Diplomacy and Global Governance: Locating Patterns of (Dis)Connection

Andrew F. Cooper, Brian Hocking, and William Maley

This book examines the relationship between diplomacy and governance. While diplomacy is a well-established topic for study, governance, conceived broadly as a pattern of transparent and inclusive processes to address complex transnational collective-action problems, relatively new arrival on the conceptual landscape of global politics. A glance the two – whether interpreted as academic concepts or operational patterns – exist in separate worlds with little or no engagement between scholars of diplomacy on the one hand and of global governance on the other. And even in recent work dealing with these two areas, there is a substantial silence about the significance or even the existence of other (Ba and Hoffmann, 2005; Berridge, 2005). In practical terms, the tensions of diplomacy and global governance can be portrayed as distinctions in opposition to one another. Thus Diplomacy is sometimes viewed as guild activity, with well-placed insiders distinguished from external outsiders (Henrikson, 1997; Ross, 2007). Through this lens, diplomatic are a type of knowledge possessed by a particular set of professional handed down via a long apprenticeship. Global governance by contrast, an open-ended way of looking at and navigating in the world, with a degree of inclusiveness about whom and what is included in its mact and agenda.

Any analysis of the relationship between diplomacy and global governance must look therefore at the source and significance of such disconnection, discerning the location of these barriers to communication is a pre-condition for any serious, nuanced analysis of the relationship. Furthermore, extent of these barriers should not be exaggerated. If the starting point of this book emphasises the walls between diplomacy and global governance, the contributions to it reveal myriad points of contact between them, do these emergent components of contact only signify the stretching conceptual imagination, although this trend is significant in itself. It

such change (after all, diplomatic services are organisational entities geared to self-preservation) it is nonetheless the case that significant changes are occurring that reflect the demands of global governance agendas.

Not least of these is the redefinition of the stakeholders, both domestic and international, with whom Ministries of Foreign Affairs (MFAs) need to engage, and the development of structures for such engagement. These embrace more traditional interlocutors such as the business community, but also a growing range of civil society organisations amongst which non-governmental organisations (NGOs) assume a major place. In organisational terms, then, there is recognition that global challenges require domestic responses on the part of the state and its agents, of which the MFA, despite challenges to its role, remains a significant part (Hocking, 1999b; Hocking and Spence, 2005). Understanding organisational change within the state and at the points where it engages with its international environments thus forms a key dimension of the spectrum of relationships between governance and diplomacy.

If diplomacy has engaged the practices of global governance by segmented design, global governance has been re-cast in a more pragmatic guise because of a number of apparent contradictions in its elevated form. In conceptual terms, global governance has fallen short of its ambitious goals with regard to transparency and accountability on a number of counts. But there has been a backlash as well in regard to its abstract orientation and/or divorce from an engagement with a concrete agenda (Murphy, 2000).

Nor has the global governance project achieved primacy in the vast majority of the policy struggles. By placing such considerable emphasis on norms and values – most notably justice and equity – the project lost its appreciation of the power dimension in world affairs. A huge gap exists between the professed goal of global governance and modes of credible operational commitment.

While it can remain tempting for the proponents of global governance to advance a maximalist approach, they are often confronted by a choice of getting something instead of missing everything. To get this something, however, requires a willingness to cut corners, to compromise, to temper strident voices and to negotiate on details – that is to say, to act rather like skilled diplomats.

Such signs of engagement – whether by design or ambiguous default – inform much of the discussion central to this book. Is such engagement intellectually viable with students of diplomacy and global governance speaking across an entrenched divide? In policy terms, what difference does such an engagement make? Are there some areas where a blending of diplomacy and governance is more viable than others? And what does a revisionist governance agenda look like on an operational basis?

Contextual challenges

A logical starting point for locating the interface between international diplomacy and global governance is in the contextual challenges they both face. A

common assumption is that the multiple and diverse forces of globalisation have thrown the practice of diplomacy into crisis (Hamilton and Langh 1995: 231–245). Through one prism, globalisation can be taken to have r the disconnection – or even the process of estrangement – between diplo and society to a more pronounced stage. Through another prism, many o traditional bureaucratic advantages enjoyed by the state diplomatic appa have been thoroughly eroded.

Iver Neumann's Chapter 1 showcases how globalisation has accentt the dysfunctions of diplomacy cast at least in its Westphalian image. Fed de-territorialisation impinge at the heart of globalisation is a fundam threat to the centralised, hierarchical and state-bounded ethos of mo diplomacy. Contributing to the impact of this process of change come sheer volume (or density) of these pressures.

This pivotal representation is juxtaposed, though, with Neum backward-looking glance at modes of pre-modern diplomatic behav What stands out through this portrayal is the connection between earlier diplomatic practices and current images of governance in terr the space for a multiplicity of actors, the blurring of the domestic an international, and the bending of sovereign representation.

Both Neumann and Jönsson pinpoint technology and information a cutting edge of this contextual challenge. Diplomats may still prefer t secrecy and manipulation. But their opportunities to utilise such me have become much more circumscribed under conditions of globalis Advocacy by societal forces – together with investigative journalism therefore a trigger for a re-thinking and re-calibration of public diplo into more sophisticated and diverse forms.

Jönsson embellishes these themes in Chapter 2 with a particular foc how the information technology revolution has influenced diplo practice. Increased resort to new communication techniques in some exacerbates the sense of crisis within the practice of diplomacy. Public c macy in its basic form uses standard branding techniques, very diff from the traditional methods in which differentiated messages were a at different audiences. An emphasis on public diplomacy (or str communication) also signals the sheer complexity of current diplo demands, with potential concerns among both national and transnat audiences about a massive variety of policy arenas.

If the reaction of diplomacy to global governance – and to the pressu globalisation – is becoming better understood, the adaptation of g governance to diplomatic practices has lagged behind. The global govern project is intended to counter all sorts of problems, such as those surr ing human rights and the environment. But at its core is a reaction t neoliberal strategy of globalisation with its accelerated agenda of econ interaction, liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation (Richardson, 2 The holistic menu presented by the global governance project is an att

co-existence between diplomacy and governance on the front lines of issue-specific policy and process that is most compelling.

Why a disconnection?

The causes of the tension between diplomacy and global governance, hinted at above, need to be elaborated if the full extent of the separation is to be understood. At the most fundamental level, understanding the presence or absence of dialogue between diplomacy and governance is rooted in contrasting understandings of the nature of contemporary world politics. This point is made in greater depth later in this introductory chapter, but it is worth stressing here that the diplomacy-governance relationship rests on such disputed issues as the nature of globalisation and the role of the state in the twenty-first century. As with the more general debate on the significance or otherwise of diplomacy, this can easily become a more rarefied manifestation of key debates about the character of the discipline of International Relations, what is important within it and how it should be studied (Clark, 1999; Hocking, 1999a; Lee and Hudson, 2004; Jönsson and Hall, 2005).

More specifically, the disconnection between diplomacy and global governance is underpinned by stylistic differences (see Keohane and Nye, 2001). In form, a strong image of hierarchy, and of command and control, hangs over the world of diplomacy. In terms of intensity, the preference is for concentrating on what is doable – the choice of the possible over what is 'right'. Ends are shaped by a cautious sense of pragmatism, with acute recognition of the boundaries of action. Emotionalism, along with transparency, is subordinated to patience and discretion. The attention Sir Harold Nicolson gave to 'social trust' and keeping confidences remains highly salient (Nicolson, 1939; Drinkwater, 2005).

Global governance in contradistinction is pluralistic or multi-layered with a variety of actors in the mix (Roseman, 1992; Muldoon, 2004: 7–10). It embraces civil society as well as the state. As Marie Claude Smouts puts it: 'First and foremost, governance places emphasis on the multiplicity and diversity of the actors' (Smouts, 1998: 84). Time sensitivity is at the core of the dynamic, with a sense of immediacy running through the entire ambit of activity. The possibilities in terms of re-shaping the agenda are limitless, with a discourse highlighting the transformative or transfigurative nature of the project. Rights and wrongs should be publicised, with offenders called out. Secrecy of negotiations – by design or by stealth – is taken to be an excuse to restrict participation and avoid opening up the parameters of discussion.

A focus on the substantive differences between diplomacy and global governance stretches the range of disconnections still further. In its essential structure, international diplomacy remains state-centric. Advocacy is performed for the advance of the 'national interest'. And state officials, if not always sent to 'the abroad' for their country (in Sir Henry Wotton's famously-ambiguous formulation), use manipulation as a vital and ongoing component in their

tool-kit. Given this traditional attitude, there remains as well a pre-occupation in diplomacy (and among diplomats) with status in regard to representation and authority. Albeit commonly acknowledging that state officials no longer have an absolute monopoly over the negotiation of the global agenda, actors still work to retain their relative hold on this dynamic, on the assumption they alone have the credibility and the capacity to speak and act on their national constituents.

Proponents of global governance prefer the moral high ground. Concern is with extending the ambit of rules and regulations on a global basis. Their normative map is far more ambitious both in terms of coverage for activity and scale of coverage. The diplomatic preference for order and stability is replaced by a concern for equity and justice. The temporal line is re-jigged away from an instrumental concern with the here-and-now to a futuristic outlook. As one author describes it, global governance is perceived as an ongoing project that 'may well come to resemble a soft fabric through which the global system is governed' (Clarke, 2004).

Evolving connections

Yet, amidst all of these embedded disconnections, there is evidence of recent connections taking shape between diplomacy and governance. In the academic world is sometimes slow to recognise. Diplomacy, like global governance, is a highly-contested project with a huge debate open about whether it is capable of undergoing change or not (Hoffman, Rordan, 2003). Many critics do see it in static terms. Indeed, Lips (2004) notably depicts diplomacy as being: 'Trapped in past ways of things [with] no reason to think that [its] practices will change at any in the foreseeable future.'

Other observers point alternately to the imaginative qualities available to diplomacy. Some issue-specific areas of state-based diplomacy taken on a just-in-time quality, pushing for advances in an expedite often emotional fashion. In other areas, diplomacy (and diplomats) take on the role of norm-entrepreneur with tremendous insight and sequences for the practice of governance. If still lagging behind the identified with a sovereignty-free world, the tone is distinctly progressive with real possibilities for re-defining the rules in components of global regulation.

The template for these changes has been established in well-known such as the campaigns against landmines and for the International Criminal Court. However, as many of the contributions highlight, these cases exhaust the possibilities where innovation is an option (Cooper et al., Cooper, 2004; Thakur et al., 2005; Cooper, 2007). But alongside such innovative processes, the structures of traditional state-based diplomacy are undergoing changes of which academic observers often appear to be unaware. Irrespective of how sceptical one might be regarding the motivational

to manage, if not reverse, the self-consciously economic, rationalistic and homogenising thrust of the globalisation challenge – through checks on the hyper-competitive ethos and challenges to the sharp distinction between winners and losers. This may account for some of the opposition which the global governance project has encountered (see Rabkin, 2005).

The first part of Jan Aart Scholte's Chapter 3 is an artful rendition of this ambitious project of global governance. As in most general renditions, Scholte gives ample attention to the capacity of governance as a global-scale regulatory apparatus. He provides a nuanced interpretation through both its allowance for the application of this model through a wide variety of dimensions and his appreciation of the normative and technical test to implement this agenda. Still, the major source of innovation – and glue – for this book is in his willingness and capacity to examine what the role and interface of diplomacy will be vis-à-vis global governance.

Authority beyond the state

At the core of the distance between diplomacy and global governance is the issue of authority. Do state officials retain a privileged status in representative and functional terms? Or has the push towards multilevel governance raised other sites to competing status? Some of the most innovative recent work on International Relations has been driven by the significance of these very questions (Barnett and Finnemore, 2004; Slaughter, 2004).

The European Union's (EU) dual function in expanding the terms of diplomatic representation is innovative to the point of being *sui generis*. With its post-modern characteristics, the EU has legitimised the claims of a wide number of non-state actors in the diplomatic process in an unprecedented fashion. At the same time, the EU's unique form of supra-nationalism has provided its own diplomats with a degree of recognition unavailable in other regional groupings. The EU – jumping ahead to another key dichotomy assessed in this book – has traits that mark it off as both a traditional club and an evolving network.

David Spence is fully aware of the gaps within the system of EU governance, especially with respect to the problems of legitimacy in terms of the well-known democratic deficit (Keohane, 2006). Nonetheless, he is equally conscious of the enormous potential that the EU possesses for advancing a very distinctive type of global governance that may well have serious impacts beyond Europe. As Spence puts it neatly, 'Diplomats worldwide cannot remain unaffected' by these trends within the EU, 'even if they may sometimes appear unconcerned.'

Spence's Chapter 4 rehearses in finer detail a good many themes key to the emergent connection between diplomacy and global governance: the enormous strains on the Westphalian state; the focus of diplomacy on laborious, technical, and complex issues far from the traditional preserve of

state diplomats; the multi-layered look; and the deep connection between diplomacy and policy-making pertaining to regulatory activities, together with the pervasive concern with normative attributes in governance developments and diplomatic 'soft power' (see Nye, 2004b).

Whereas the EU dynamics add to the layering in an often vertically composed inter-governmental fashion, the space opened up to non-state actors adds to a horizontal layering of diplomatic practices. As Raymond Saner and Lichia Yiu suggest, much of this activity has another form of duality affixed to it: an image of both competition and cooperation. From one angle, both business/corporate groups and NGOs lay very different claims to state officials about efficiency and legitimacy. From another angle, state and non-state actors have numerous incentives to work at least on a tactical basis with each other.

The two case studies that Saner and Yiu develop in their Chapter 5 reveal the mixed results of trying to push global governance-oriented diplomatic initiatives. One severe test continues to be the stretch in technical competence necessary for implementing these initiatives. Another pertains to the multi-stake governance/diplomacy is to be operationalised in practice with due consideration to power differentials.

New forms of competition and cooperation not only impact on state diplomats; indeed, NGOs and all non-state actors are also affected by crowding of the field of activity. The chapter by Ivan Cook and Mari Letts (Chapter 6) analyses the manner by which the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has adapted to the dilemma of vying for public attention with other actors within the parameters of a culture that acknowledges the sensitivities of public advocacy.

A good deal of the successful adaptation by the ICRC has hinged on its own unique comparative advantage blending diplomacy and governance in its role as 'repository and guardian of international humanitarian law' – a particular reference to the Geneva Conventions. The ICRC has continued to concentrate on humanitarian diplomacy, but its distinctive 'quiet' approach has morphed over the last decade. Whereas it has shied away from public campaigns in the past – most unfortunately and detrimentally to its reputation staying quiet on its knowledge of the Holocaust (Favez, 1999; Forsyth, 2005) – both the landmines and Abu Ghraib cases disclosed the extent to which the ICRC was prepared to go public. Even if a certain mythology has grown around this case, the break from its traditional ways of doing things is striking.

The novelty of the Cook and Letts chapter comes in the way that it traces the combination of altruistic and opportunistic motivations behind this change. Recognising the intersection of diplomacy and evolving forms of governance – as well as avoiding any activity that smacks of competition by member states – the ICRC has steered a committed albeit delicate course on issues such as campaigning against terrorism. However, Cook and

position some aspects of this shift as part of a new convenient strategy on the part of the ICRC: in effect relocating itself in an increasingly challenging environment for not only policy space but also publicity and fundraising.

An excellent illustration of the intrusive quality of new actors is captured by Shankari Sundararaman's Chapter 7 on Research Institutes as Diplomatic Actors. Until recent years, the activity of this type of actor has been cast as complementary to that of state-based officials, the most common example of which is depicted as Track-II initiatives. Increasingly, though, research institutions have been recognised not as part of the mainstream but as a source of considerable innovation across a wide spectrum. In advancing positive expressions of a normative global governance agenda, research has the intrinsic ability to become 'a moral force' (Duffield, 2001: 259).

Notwithstanding these strengths, the diplomatic credentials of research institutes have been criticised for being too geographically confined to the North/West. As witnessed by Sundararaman's chapter, however, this image has become diluted. Political restrictions may still constrain the work of research institutes. But paradoxically, systemic shocks – viewed as undercutting the status of diplomacy and state diplomacy – may be a catalyst for giving added credentials to research institutes in the South generally – and as she demonstrates, in Association of Southeast Asian Nations specifically – in that these actors have a comparative advantage in 'the planning of policy initiatives based on the trends that are likely to emerge.'

Targeting the policy arenas of interaction

One of the primary boundaries in the search for connects between diplomacy and governance is an issue-specific one: the impression that the main sites for this type of interaction are in areas of 'low' policy. With this delimitation in mind, Shaun Riordan's Chapter 8 provides a valuable rejoinder. Riordan gives particular weight to the challenges imposed on state diplomats by security threats beyond the contours of state relationships. On many of these different threats, traditional modes of operation are simply ill-suited. Command and control must give way to facilitation – with diplomats nudging and cajoling a variety of non-state actors to take the lead on issues that are more readily defined through a governance framework. The timeline must also be expanded. Instead of maintaining 'short-termism' as the standard repertoire for diplomats, Riordan sees strategic creativity as the key to problem solving, not only to meet the enhanced demands but also to ease the crisis of confidence in state diplomacy.

Riordan admits that a shift along these lines is full of risks. Opening up the message and the type of messengers has the potential for reinforcing the image that the traditional diplomatic corps is in over its head in terms of an increasingly complex agenda. But for Riordan these risks go hand in hand with opportunities, as it is only through such innovative practices that the

importance of diplomacy and diplomats will be embraced through political system.

The chapter by Franklyn Lisk (Chapter 9) provides detail of the type of that is a centerpiece of this expanded security agenda. Elaborating on an a to which Riordan devotes some considerable attention, Lisk's chapter exam one vital component of health security: HIV/AIDS. Both directly and i rectly this disease has a massive negative impact on security as well as s and economic governance capacity in the global South generally and sout Africa more specifically. It is arguable that on no other issue is the require for a new architecture of global governance more vital. Nor is there a gr demand for making the connection between governance and diplomacy r tangible and sustainable. The words uttered at a host of high-level sum through the United Nations, the G8 and others must be translated into d when it comes to governance regimes. This forging of a nexus along these is of particular import in terms of the content of the delivery from the initia tional financial institutions and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Rorden Wilkinson attaches a personal behavioural analogy to the patte r disconnections/connections located in the WTO negotiations as a whole. private family dramas, the image of the cause and effect of WTO diplom and system of governance produced thereby is one in which dynamic shaped according to a standard script. The key ingredient here is a partic process of institutional development – with a considerable asymmetric opportunity built within – that is highly resistant to fundamental chang Yet drama does not mean immobilisation. Wilkinson contends that with all its many crises, the WTO has not become inert. 'Suspensio talks leads to reflection and a return to negotiations. The question poso Wilkinson, nonetheless, is whether or not this sort of dysfunction continue to go on or whether there is a need and the means to break c this family drama?

The proclivity for drama of a related kind extends to Joyan Kurbb exploration of the diplomatic/governance nexus at the site of the V Summit on Information Society. The diplomacy related to this issued clashed with sensitive areas of global governance, above all human right intellectual property. As in other arenas, diplomats tried to negotiate v the scope, form and intensity of the issues before them moved in una pated directions. The 'Internet community' provided one unique eleme top of the activity by states, NGOs and the business community. E.diplo provides an interesting twist to the potential of virtual diplomacy.

Restrictive dichotomies and open-ended trajectories

It is easy to see established disconnects between diplomacy and governo morphing into newer, albeit more refined, forms of restrictive dichoto

One dividing element is the distinction between the types of audience targeted by various forms of transnational activity. Do they focus on elite or mass opinion? Is that audience at one or multiple sites? Another is the difference in styles of approach. Does it have a technical or emotional bias? And finally, in terms of the temporal conditions, does the focus have a one-off appeal or is it sustained over time? If the former, is the focus exclusively one of achieving some measure of diplomatic success? If the latter, how is this effort translated into a global governance-oriented agenda?

As in many other research projects, the circular imagery created by Keck and Sikkink (1998) is compelling. Through her examination of the manner by which Indigenous peoples have lobbied the United Nations, Megan Davis' Chapter 12 is illustrative of these powerful trends. In common with the NGO community, the main strategy has been to go around the national state and appeal to this international forum directly. On the one hand, the United Nations created attractive institutional vehicles through which Indigenous peoples could work. On the other hand, the time was ripe for this outlet as both the skills and the demands – while increasingly available – had become frustrated with using other routes of action.

In making use of the United Nations, various adjustments had to be made about what was possible versus what was right. The focus was increasingly directed towards negotiations conducted at a highly-technical level, under rather rarefied conditions in Geneva and New York. Principles remained important but so did expertise. The goal was both to score diplomatic points and to obtain reform in governance structures within member states. And patience has been a strong virtue, as much of the success of Indigenous transnational advocacy has come through the exchange of ideas and networking, not through tangible delivery.

Samina Yasmeen's Chapter 13 on the Danish cartoon controversy turns the transnational advocacy described by Megan Davis on its head. Instead of being the culmination of a long diffuse process, this episode burst out quite suddenly. Instead of pushing out into one technically-oriented United Nations forum, mass opinion was mobilised through the Muslim world. And instead of having to work awkwardly with 'like-minded' countries on the rights of Indigenous peoples, diplomats from a variety of Islamic states lent vigorous and continuous support.

A second dichotomy pushes across the boundaries from transnational advocacy to public diplomacy. Megan Davis' chapter is at one end of this spectrum with its concentration on how Indigenous peoples lobby the United Nations. No mention is made about how the states under pressure in this issue-area attempt to brand or re-brand themselves via public diplomacy. Samina Yasmeen's chapter extends this framework to include state-based diplomacy, but again this focus is largely subordinated to an analysis of the tactics and impact of this novel campaign of transnational advocacy.

In some ways, Bruce Gregory's Chapter 14 reinforces the notion of public diplomacy as simply the mirror-image of advocacy. Whereas society generally attempt to use lobbying to influence states and public opinion, states reverse the process by mobilising a variety of techniques as part of an increasingly well-publicised mode of public diplomacy to try to shape global publics.

Yet, elevating the level of discussion, Gregory demonstrates that dichotomous approach is too rigidly dualistic. Significantly, for Gregory pattern of public diplomacy needs to be located not just as a means of 'im building' by states (let alone as an instrument of propaganda), but as an instrument of global governance. Furthermore, he argues that public diplomacy is no longer the exclusive preserve of statecraft but a terrain non-state actors have also penetrated both in tandem with, and in parallel fashion to, national governments. And he provides a number of compelling snapshots where this type of activity can be witnessed.

The open-ended trajectory of these processes is accentuated by Gregory's discussion of the power of dialogue and the logic of the network social. Both concepts break down the rigidities in thinking and action. Indeed, an extension of Brian Hocking's own work, Gregory uses these concepts to expand on why the future of diplomacy must be associated with 'bound spanning' as opposed to 'gate-keeping', with hierarchical-oriented diplomacy adopting more flexible characteristics in such areas as knowledge-sharing (Hocking, 2005a).

In a similar fashion, Andrew F. Cooper's Chapter 15 shows both the emergence of what appear to be rigid dualities and the possibility of some new trajectories. On first impression, there is a massive distance – or chasm – between the top-down coalitions of the willing epitomised by the US intervention against Saddam's Iraq, and the bottom-up coalitions as featured in the campaigns against anti-personnel landmines and for the establishment of the International Criminal Court. A good deal of Cooper's chapter is devoted to accentuating these differences in criteria related to diplomacy as well as practices devoted to global governance.

While manifestations of divergent world views, however, these modes of mobilisation not only interact but also blend into each with respect to intensity and some elements of form. Instead of being cast therefore as simple polar opposites, a more subtle rendition is offered.

Jorge Heine's Chapter 16 expresses the strain between rigidity and flexibility in a comprehensive number of ways. Many of these are familiar, with echoes from the other contributions in this volume: the development of established diplomatic practices on one side and the norm and pull of established diplomatic practices on the other side, in the context not of the blurring of what constitutes the international and the domestic, but also the challenge from globalism together with a 'rising' global South terms of ideas as well as material wealth.

