

SUB Hamburg



A/582488

Diplomacy in a Globalizing World

Theories and Practices



Edited by

PAULINE KERR

The Australian National University

GEOFFREY WISEMAN

University of Southern California

New York Oxford

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

BRIEF CONTENTS



PREFACE xv

ABBREVIATIONS xvii

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS xxi

WORLD MAP xxiii

Introduction 1

Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman

PART I THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMACY 13

CHAPTER 1 Diplomacy through the Ages 15

Raymond Cohen

**CHAPTER 2 Past Diplomacy in East Asia: From Tributary Relations to
Cold War Rivalry** 31

Suisheng Zhao

PART II CONCEPTS AND THEORIES OF CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY 49

**CHAPTER 3 Diplomacy in International Relations Theory
and Other Disciplinary Perspectives** 51

Paul Sharp

CHAPTER 4 Debates about Contemporary and Future Diplomacy 68

Geoffrey Allen Pigman

CHAPTER 5 Transnationalizing Diplomacy and Global Governance 85

Bertrand Badie

CHAPTER 6 Diplomacy as Negotiation and Mediation 103

I. William Zartman

**PART III STRUCTURES, PROCESSES, AND INSTRUMENTS OF
CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY 121**

- CHAPTER 7 **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Diplomatic
System** 123
Brian Hocking
- CHAPTER 8 **The Impact of the Internet and ICT on Contemporary
Diplomacy** 141
Jovan Kurbalija
- CHAPTER 9 **Consular Diplomacy** 160
Halvard Leira and Iver B. Neumann
- CHAPTER 10 **Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy in Normal Times and
in Crises** 175
Thomas Wright
- CHAPTER 11 **Public Diplomacy** 192
Jan Melissen
- CHAPTER 12 **Economic Diplomacy** 209
Stephen Woolcock
- CHAPTER 13 **Track-Two Diplomacy in East Asia** 226
Pauline Kerr and Brendan Taylor
- CHAPTER 14 **Diplomacy and Intelligence** 244
Jennifer E. Sims

**PART IV NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL
DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES 263**

- CHAPTER 15 **United States Contemporary Diplomacy: Implementing a
Foreign Policy of “Engagement”** 265
Alan K. Henrikson
- CHAPTER 16 **China’s Contemporary Diplomacy** 282
Ye Zicheng and Zhang Qingmin
- CHAPTER 17 **Regional Institutional Diplomacies: Europe, Asia, Africa,
South America, and Other Regions** 300
Jozef Bátora and Alan Hardacre
- CHAPTER 18 **The United Nations** 319
Geoffrey Wiseman and Soumita Basu
- Conclusion** 336
Geoffrey Wiseman and Pauline Kerr

GLOSSARY 345

REFERENCES 361

INDEX 391

CONTENTS



PREFACE	xv
ABBREVIATIONS	xvii
ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS	xxi
WORLD MAP	xxiii

Introduction 1

Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman

The diplomacy puzzle	1
Historical background, contemporary trends, and challenges for diplomacy	3
The book's structure, chapter summaries, and pedagogical features	7

PART I THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMACY 13

CHAPTER 1 Diplomacy through the Ages 15

Raymond Cohen

Introduction	15
Ancient Near Eastern diplomacy	16
Classical diplomacy	19
European diplomacy	24
Conclusion	29

CHAPTER 2 Past Diplomacy in East Asia: From Tributary Relations to Cold War Rivalry 31

Suisheng Zhao

Introduction	32
Collapse of the traditional East Asian order and the tributary system	32
Japan's military expansion and the diplomacy of imperialism	35

Cold War diplomacy in East Asia	39
Diplomacy during the deterioration of the East Asian bipolar system	41
Diplomacy of the strategic triangle	43
Conclusion	46

**PART II CONCEPTS AND THEORIES OF CONTEMPORARY
DIPLOMACY 49**

**CHAPTER 3 Diplomacy in International Relations Theory
and Other Disciplinary Perspectives 51**

Paul Sharp

Introduction: the attractions and limitations of theory	52
Diplomacy in international theory	54
Diplomats in social theory	59
Diplomatic theory	61
Postpositivist diplomatic theory	63
Conclusion	65

CHAPTER 4 Debates about Contemporary and Future Diplomacy 68

Geoffrey Allen Pigman

Introduction: debating diplomacy	68
Debating what we mean by “diplomacy”	69
Debating continuity and change in contemporary diplomacy	73
Debating theory and practice in contemporary diplomacy	77
Conclusion: how debates about diplomacy are, or are not, resolved	82

CHAPTER 5 Transnationalizing Diplomacy and Global Governance 85

Bertrand Badie

Introduction	86
From interstate toward intersocial diplomacy	89
Non-state actor participation in world politics	94
Intersocial diplomacies versus interstate diplomacies	96
Global governance and the declining resilience of the state	99
Conclusion	101

CHAPTER 6 Diplomacy as Negotiation and Mediation 103

I. William Zartman

Introduction	104
Negotiation and diplomacy	105
Expanding the scope of diplomacy	109
Challenging the processes of negotiation: mediation and multilateral diplomacy	112
Facing the future of diplomatic negotiation: prevention	116
Conclusion	118

PART III	STRUCTURES, PROCESSES, AND INSTRUMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY	121
CHAPTER 7	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Diplomatic System	123
	<i>Brian Hocking</i>	
	Introduction	124
	The ministry of foreign affairs (MFA): diplomatic perspectives	124
	The MFA and the national diplomatic system (NDS)	126
	The emergence and evolution of the MFA	128
	The MFA and the NDS in the twenty-first century	130
	Conclusion	139
CHAPTER 8	The Impact of the Internet and ICT on Contemporary Diplomacy	141
	<i>Jovan Kurbalija</i>	
	Introduction	141
	Historical background: the telegraph and diplomacy	142
	Changing the environment for diplomacy	144
	A new issue on diplomatic agendas	147
	A new tool for diplomatic activities	150
	Conclusion	159
CHAPTER 9	Consular Diplomacy	160
	<i>Halvard Leira and Iver B. Neumann</i>	
	Introduction	161
	Definitional issues	161
	Emergence and development of consular tasks and offices	162
	The consul and the diplomat	167
	The consul today	170
	Conclusion	173
CHAPTER 10	Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy in Normal Times and in Crises	175
	<i>Thomas Wright</i>	
	Introduction	175
	Distinguishing bilateralism and multilateralism	177
	Distinguishing between forms of multilateralism	180
	Understanding the contemporary international order	183
	The challenge of a power transition	186
	Conclusion	190
CHAPTER 11	Public Diplomacy	192
	<i>Jan Melissen</i>	
	Introduction: the rise of a practice and a field of study	192
	The epiphenomenal nature of public diplomacy	195

Official and nongovernmental public diplomacy 198
Beyond the new public diplomacy: evolving concepts 202
Public diplomacy outside the West 205
Conclusion 207

CHAPTER 12 Economic Diplomacy 209

Stephen Woolcock

Introduction 209
What is economic diplomacy? 210
What makes economic diplomacy important? 212
Is economic diplomacy distinctive? 216
Conclusion 223

CHAPTER 13 Track-Two Diplomacy in East Asia 226

Pauline Kerr and Brendan Taylor

Introduction: debates about diplomacy and track-two
diplomacy 227
An analytical framework and methodology for investigating
track-two diplomacy 229
The practice of track-two diplomacy in East Asia:
environmental, security, and economic issues 230
Explaining track-two diplomacy in East Asia 239
Conclusion 242

CHAPTER 14 Diplomacy and Intelligence 244

Jennifer E. Sims

Introduction: exploring the “dark arts” in international
politics and diplomacy 245
Defining intelligence, deception, and covert action 248
Ethical issues: how dark are the dark arts? 256
Looking to the future 257
Conclusion 259

**PART IV NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL
DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES 263**

**CHAPTER 15 United States Contemporary Diplomacy: Implementing a
Foreign Policy of “Engagement” 265**

Alan K. Henrikson

Introduction: foreign policy as diplomatic process 265
Containment: negotiating (only) from a position
of strength 268
Transformation: putting (others’) domestic affairs at the
center of foreign policy 270
Engagement: talking with enemies as well as (just)
with friends 274
Conclusion: diplomacy now the primary means, but
not the end of policy 279

CHAPTER 16	China's Contemporary Diplomacy	282
	<i>Ye Zicheng and Zhang Qingmin</i>	
	Introduction	282
	The context of China's contemporary diplomacy	283
	Evolving diplomatic strategies and thinking	284
	Proactive multilateral diplomacy	287
	An omnidirectional diplomatic structure	289
	The broadening of diplomatic arenas	290
	Multilevel foreign relations and diplomacy	296
	Conclusion	299
CHAPTER 17	Regional Institutional Diplomacies: Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and Other Regions	300
	<i>Jozef Bátora and Alan Hardacre</i>	
	Introduction	300
	Diplomacy as an institution and the challenge of regional institutional diplomatic systems	302
	EU regional institutional diplomacy	304
	Regional diplomacy in Asia	307
	Regional diplomacy in Africa	310
	Regional diplomacy in South America	312
	Other regional diplomatic systems	314
	Conclusion	316
CHAPTER 18	The United Nations	319
	<i>Geoffrey Wiseman and Soumita Basu</i>	
	Introduction	319
	Historical origins and emergence	320
	Main UN organs	322
	Evolution of diplomatic practices	326
	The diplomatic community	330
	Conclusion	334
	Conclusion	336
	<i>Geoffrey Wiseman and Pauline Kerr</i>	
	Introduction	336
	How is diplomacy changing?	337
	Why is diplomacy changing?	339
	Implications for future theories and practices	341
	Complex diplomacy	343
	GLOSSARY	345
	REFERENCES	361
	INDEX	391

