

FROM SINGULAR AND REGALIAN DIPLOMACY TO PLURAL DIPLOMACY

For Satow, diplomacy “*is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their relations with vassal States; or, more briefly still, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means*” (Satow, 1979 [1917], p. 1). This definition fits with the situation of the world after the 19th Century, when the Westphalian States of Europe governed international relations, and even after, when the European preponderance has weakened, and a Euro-Atlantic axis was imposed. Since then, the States have gradually lost their position as key players. Indeed, institutions and international and supranational organisations have taken more and more weight and the world is no longer only centred on the power of the Member States, but on a dense network of interdependence.

With this evolution, new protagonists appeared in the international system. Now, the diplomacy is diverse, plural: diplomatic activities concern not only States, and, inside each State, not only the official diplomatic specialists. Practices and objectives that can be qualified as diplomatic are now installed within multinational organisations, businesses, Parliaments, etc. The singular diplomacy was the diplomacy of “the possible”, in a time scale quite long, at least calibrated in decades. This diplomacy was built by an articulation between information, negotiation, representation, coordination, and anticipation without rash reaction or comment, just for professionals who were trying to overcome impressions, feelings, and prejudices.

In the context of globalisation, everything is or can be diplomacy. The diplomacy, actually, is scalable, dynamic: economic, cultural, climatic, touristic, sports, spatial, culinary, research, religious, digital, health, etc. The French Minister of Foreign office, in August 2014, defines the “France’s external action” as a “global diplomacy”, but why? Because all the French Ambassadors are competent for all possible aspects? Of course not. Rather, they have to take into account all the players, to understand that everything or almost can be diplomacy, and they must find overall coherence in all diplomatic activities. This plural diplomacy (Cornago, 2013) would then be fragmented, diluted, but

perhaps especially, should deal with other forms of diplomacy, also plural. Some examples of this plural diplomacy are developed below.

The parliamentarians of all countries, in the exercise of their functions, are brought to establish various contacts abroad, and are more and more interested in networks, in transnational and regional aspects. They participate to the development of bilateral relations, either in link with the governmental diplomacy, either outside of it. Moreover, the Inter-Parliamentary Union organises annual conferences and working groups. The expression “parliamentary diplomacy” is now claimed by many players: exploratory diplomacy, of influence, relays of standards and values. Various dialogs, exchanges of ideas and experiences between parliaments are organised, particularly within Europe, and in a regional approach. As well, new inter-parliamentary assemblies have been installed (Euronest, Parliamentary Assembly of the Eastern Partnership, founded in 2009), replicas of old models or new diplomacy? In addition, the Parliamentarians representatives of citizens settled abroad, when the system exists (as in France), have *de facto* a diplomatic role.

The articulation between the parliamentary diplomacy and the State diplomacy remains a fundamental aspect: the diplomatic parliamentary initiative may block the action of State diplomats as well as it could contribute to it. The relations between the members of the ministerial cabinets and parliamentarians can be ambiguous. It could be, in certain circumstances, a substitution diplomacy, but also, for example in the case of parliamentarians themselves linked to business, a form of promotion of economic interests. What kind of diplomacy: recourse or of circumvention, parliamentary diplomacy, or diplomacy of parliamentarians? The nuance is important and needs to be analysed.

With the free trade, particularly inside European Union, and with the policies of deregulation, many States have lost a part of their means for diplomatic actions, but also for customs, or possibility to organise unilateral countermeasures, prohibited by the mechanisms of multilateral conflicts regulation of the WTO. At the same time, the links between the companies and the States are now distended, the States remaining centred, which is logical, on national dimensions (including within the European Union), and firms in a global framework, to the point where the transnational may induce a strategic positioning almost “a-national”. Indeed, the nationality of the companies, particularly in the sense of the defence of national interests by businesses, is

more difficult to identify (Rouet, 2012). The groups' structures, networks of influence, the systems of the alliances overcome borders and nationalities do not enrol in the legal framework, tax, diplomatic and economic of one single State, or even escape or attempt to escape from any State. The markets are globally interconnected, the flows are cross-border, and the monetary masses are in part issued outside of the States concerned. The economic diplomacy has therefore evolved significantly: the international authority is in part moved and new centres of decision of the economic diplomacy are emerged with the supranational organisations (IMF, WTO) or consultation instances (G7).

Regarding the European Union, the Member States, candidates or partners have developed diplomatic activities involving most of the government services, while a large part of the content of economic diplomacy in the direction of third countries has been transferred to community services (commercial policy, transport policy, control of the competition, and monetary policy for some States).

The States remain, of course, essential players of an economic diplomacy even more intensified that the economy is now multipolar, in a context of openness and globalisation of markets. The economy has thus become a central concern of diplomatic activities that are no longer limited to the search for opportunities, or in the implementation of export strategies and investment. It is no longer to systematise the participation of business leaders abroad in visits of heads of State and Government, whose effectiveness should also be relativised, but to note the integration of the economy in the diplomatic affairs. The economy is no longer an accessory of diplomacy policy, but it became an object of diplomacy, like cultural or sports affairs. Multilateralism has become a regular framework of international relations, in particular in economic matters, which implies new methods and the involvement of other actors than those of diplomatic services.

In the current context of these plural diplomacy, it is interesting to analyse, on the one hand, how they operate, articulate, interact (or not), between each other, on the other hand, what is the place now of the "classical", regalian diplomacy, as means for the creation of the foreign policy of a State? What profound transformations this type of diplomacy has to do to be able to respond to the globalisation, and how is its current stand, its content, its objectives, its resources and its functions?

The aim of this monothematic issue is to present some analysis of some various forms of diplomacy: economic diplomacy (Brockova, Dusciac & Robu), parliamentary diplomacy (Jakubiak), paradiplomacy (Kania), cultural diplomacy (Kouhossounon), EU's diplomacy (Simionov & Pascariu), and some development about UAE diplomacy (Gueraiche), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Iličić & Smeriga), and South-Ossetia (Baarová).

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