VOLUME 1, ISSUE 1

BORDER CROSSING

MASTERMIND CHINA'S MERGING ENERGY DIPLOMACY

OLE ODGAARD

GLOBAL HEALTH DIPLOMACY: WHAT IS IT AND WHY DOES IT MATTER?

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Diplomacy involves the crossing of many borders. Diplomats cross state, linguistic, and cultural borders in order to reach those with whom they must communicate. Diplomats must also cross disciplinary, theoretical, and vocational borders as they blend fields of knowledge, experience, and customs to accomplish their delicate tasks. It is with great pleasure, and in the spirit of crossing all these borders, that Diplomat Magazine would like to announce the official launch of its newest section "Border Crossing".

In this new section, scholars will address issues relevant to the practice of modern day diplomacy. This first issue is meant to showcase the kind of diversity we hope to achieve. Our authors hail from Turkey, Canada, Denmark, The United States, Uzbekistan, and Norway. Their subject matter ranges from the topical (see *China's Merging Energy Diplomacy*) to the theoretical (see *Understanding Foreign Policy Ambition*) and the methodological(see *Tai Chi and the Fine Art of Diplomatic Negotiation*). Our aim is to draw on these rich academic discussions to provide you with challenging and thoughtful insights.

We also hope that these articles, and the pieces to come, will foster a genuine dialogue between and among scholars and practitioners. We envision a conversation benefiting from both the rigorous contemplation of our authors, and the daily experience of you, our readers. Towards this end, we'd like to take this opportunity to encourage you to share your opinions and thoughts on the subjects covered herein with us and our authors.

Warm regards,

Benjamin Miller and the editorial Staff of Diplomat Magazine

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FROM INTERNAL TO EXTERNAL DIPLOMACY

Dr. Mai'a K. Davis Cross is an assistant professor of political science at Northeastern University in Boston, and a senior researcher at the ARENA Centre for European Studies in Oslo. She is the author of two books: *Security Integration in Europe: How Knowledge-based Networks are transforming the European Union* (University of Michigan Press, 2011), which is the 2012 winner of the Best Book Prize from the University Association of Contemporary European Studies, and *The European Diplomatic Corps: Diplomats and International Cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). She is also co-editor (with Jan Melissen) of *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work* (Palgrave, 2013).

MAI'A K. DAVIS CROSS

Despite the unprecedented nature of the European External Action Service (EEAS), launched on December 1, 2010, policy-makers do not have to look far for lessons on how to maximize its potential. The EU itself is a product of successful internal diplomacy, and many of its strengths can be applied to the EEAS. By internal diplomacy, I refer to diplomacy among EU member states themselves. This diplomacy takes place primarily in Brussels where each member state has permanent representation, operating under the umbrella of the Council of the EU. These permanent representatives provide a rich model for sustainable external diplomacy through the new EEAS structure. In particular, expertise, informal meetings, shared professional norms, and common culture are central to the success of the EEAS.1

EXPERTISE

Expertise involves both the capacity to engage in diplomatic practice – reach compromise, follow diplomatic protocol, balance competing interests, and engage in persuasive dialogue – as well as knowledge of the practical issues that come with a particular posting. Internal EU diplomacy has been successful precisely because diplomats have possessed a very high level of expertise on EU issues. This expertise has enabled EU ambassadors, especially those in Coreper II, to negotiate in advance challenging passages of treaties, find consensus where none was previously forthcoming, and to persuade their capitals to approve agreements that they were able to forge in Brussels. Internal diplomacy has worked well in large part because of the similarities in the ways member states select and train their diplomats, which is where expertise is cultivated at the outset. Diplomats typically come from the same top universities, they tend to share a similar social background, and they undergo the same type of formal and on-the-job training. In an environment that is more challenging and diverse, a common system of training is indispensable. Ideally, EU training would capitalize on the already strong national diplomatic training programs by requiring new EU diplomats to undergo national training followed by European training in a kind of European Diplomatic Academy – the creation of which has been suggested by several top officials on numerous occasions. Diplomats must be given a common language, so to speak, so that they already have a solid basis of understanding within the group, no matter where they are posted. The quality and caliber of the diplomats in EEAS delegations sends strong signals to third country governments about what external diplomacy really means to the EU now and in the future. This not only makes for effective EU delegations, it also attracts other talented diplomats to join the EEAS going forward.

INFORMAL MEETINGS

One of the important lessons of internal diplomacy is that informal meetings are necessary for diplomats to have real and fruitful deliberation. Coreper II ambassadors, for example, often have working dinners up to five times per week, and frequently make it a point to have working coffees and lunches with each other. Although they have regularly-scheduled formal meetings each week, it is during the

informal meetings that they really get the work done. There are several relationships that must continually be cultivated through informal meetings when it comes to the EEAS. First, the relationship between EU diplomats and the local government is arguably the most important as it is at the heart of overseas representation in the first place. Second, just as with internal diplomacy, the relationship between diplomats within a single EEAS delegation must be considered, especially at the outset, when national differences may be felt more sharply. Third, the relationship between each EU delegation and member state's bilateral embassies is central to enabling collaboration rather than competition among European diplomats in the same capital. Fourth, the relationship between each delegation and the rest of the EU diplomatic service, both horizontally (across various delegations) and vertically (between each delegation and Brussels) is essential for smooth and effective EU representation overseas.The EU's internal diplomacy rests on strong relationship-building, shared professional norms, and common culture. Informal meetings promote and reinforce these qualities. In facing outward, it is important for diplomats in EU delegations to be able to interact with their counterparts in third countries in a similar way. Although somewhat pedestrian, upgrading dining facilities and providing gathering spaces in EU delegations around the world is one strategy that would encourage informal meetings and relationship-building. This would give EU diplomats the ability to invite government officials over to have informal, face-to-face conversations, as well as to encourage meetings among themselves on an ad-hoc basis. For relationships that lie further afield, having a straightforward system of informal communication such as video-conferencing, making full use of a secure intranet, and providing EU cell phones to facilitate quick conversations and texting would help build a strong system of coordination, networking, and sharing of best practices. Over time, horizontal networks across EU embassies will get stronger as diplomats are re-assigned and get to know more of their colleagues. Intranet can enable everything from the secure transfer of instructions to blog postings about experiences in the field. Diplomats engaged in internal diplomacy often text message each other during and between meetings, settle issues over the phone, and send emails back and forth to hash out minor points. On occasion, they get in touch with those in bilateral embassies to obtain information or to achieve results in Brussels. EU ambassadors engaged in internal diplomacy are masters at using a variety of contact points to realize their goals. It is important to conceive of the EEAS delegations as a global network of EU embassies, rather than separate EU outposts tied together only by their common interaction with Brussels.At the same time, interaction with Brussels is naturally of crucial importance to the success of the EEAS. One of the main reasons why internal diplomacy works well is that the permanent representations have a constant two-way dialogue with their capitals. Formally, Coreper ambassadors receive instructions from their capitals. In practice, they often write their instructions themselves. Because they are given flexible, negotiable instructions, they are able to achieve substantive outcomes by virtue of their shared expertise and worldviews.[2] Similarly, network with shared policy goals

providing diplomats with room to maneuver is fundamental to enabling the EEAS to maximize its collective diplomatic skill. Red lines and excessively detailed instructions should be avoided unless absolutely indispensable to EU interests.

PROFESSIONAL NORMS & COMMON CULTURE

Common culture encompasses the esprit de corps of a group, as well as the identity, heritage, symbolism, and sense of purpose shared by a group. Individuals who share a common culture define their own interests with the interests of the group. As stipulated in the Lisbon Treaty, EEAS diplomats are drawn from the Commission, Council Secretariat, and seconded from member states' foreign services. The challenge is that such a heterogeneous composition risks diluting the ability to cultivate a common culture. There are both multi-national and inter-institutional tensions within any single embassy. In particular, the very existence of the Service already poses questions in terms of the balance between the power of the Commission and the Council in overseeing EU foreign policy.[3] To add to this, the two institutions have different professional norms – Commission officials are career civil servants rather than career diplomats.Strong professional norms help smooth the interactions among diplomats, and their counterparts in foreign capitals. In terms of internal EU diplomacy, these norms include how long each diplomat should speak in a meeting, when it is appropriate to push a point or remain silent, how early they should get involved in shaping an issue before it becomes a formal agenda item, and whether or not to escalate a point for which it is particularly difficult to find compromise. These professional norms do not have to be imposed by European diplomats on others. Additionally, what these norms are is not as important as the fact that they exist. This is another reason why some degree of early socialization through common, European training is indispensible. One of the key lessons of the EU's internal diplomacy is the process itself. It goes beyond formal protocol, agendas, and bargaining. The process becomes more than the sum of its parts when there are norms and culture that bring the various players together. A conscious recognition and nurturing of these practices will enable external diplomacy to go beyond simple bureaucratic maneuvering. The EU has embarked upon an unprecedented stage in its evolution, the advent of what is effectively a European Foreign Service. It faces the twin challenges of creating internal coherence alongside external effectiveness. The success of the latter rests to a great extent on the former. The EU is already known for its remarkable ability to engage in effective internal diplomacy. This is why the EU has been able to rise to the world stage as an important player. It is now time for the EU to turn this experience outward

NOTES

1 For a more in-depth analysis of this argument see Mai'a K. Davis Cross, "Building a European Diplomacy: Recruitment & Training to the EEAS." 2011. European Foreign Affairs Review, 16(4): 447-464.

2 I have argued elsewhere that these diplomats actually constitute an epistemic community, a knowledge-based

3 Nicolas Nagle, "EEAS: The Birth of a European Diplomatic Corps?" World Politics Review, 11 November 2009.

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UNDERSTANDING FOREIGN POLICY AMBITION

Benjamin O. Fordham is a professor of political science at the State University of New York at Binghamton. He is the author of Building the Cold War Consensus as well as articles in International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, the Journal of Conflict Resolution, and many other journals.

BENJAMIN O. FORDHAM

Historically, some states have defined their interests more broadly than others, looking beyond their immediate security and mobilizing their national resources for more ambitious goals. The most successful of these states constitute the "great powers" of their epoch. The prestige of great power status certainly has its rewards, but the pursuit of power has frequently ended in ruin and disaster. This choice has understandably often provoked great domestic controversy. Why would state leaders expand their foreign policy interests and acquire the means to pursue them?

International relations theory suggests at least three answers to this question. The first is simply that states (and probably individual people) naturally pursue power and influence whenever they can. This is a core assumption of many prominent accounts of world politics, dating back to Thucydides and ancient Greece. In a famous passage from his History of the Peloponnesian War, representatives from Athensexplain to the leaders of Melos, a city they wish to subjugate, that they are acting under an "innate compulsion" to rule whenever empowered…you and anyone else who obtained power like ours would act accordingly. From this perspective, the question of why states expand their foreign policy ambitions is scarcely worth asking.

Not all scholars are content with this account of human nature, or the nature of state behavior. Instead, these scholars have stressed particular international triggers that prompt states to expand their foreign policy ambitions. One example of this second line of argument points to the role of security threats in the anarchic international system. Wealthy states sometimes attract the jealous attention of their neighbors and may thus have to mobilize their resources to defend themselves. Some explanations for late 19th century European imperialism stress the role of rivalry, and most accounts of the expanding world role of the United States after World War II accord a prominent role to the Soviet threat.

A third school of thought emphasizes domestic triggers for a more ambitious foreign policy; for instance, political pressures from domestic social actors with significant stakes in the international economy. When they reside in potentially powerful states, these actors have an incentive to seek state protection. As Hobson explained in his account of British imperialism, they have "an ever increasing incentive to employ public policy, the public purse, and the public force to extend their field of private investments, and to safeguard and improve their existing investments." State leaders may have reason to acquiesce to these actors' demands, either because of their political influence or their importance to the national economy.

In a 2011 article in the Journal of Peace Research, I evaluated these three arguments using data from the past 200 years. Because one cannot observe foreign policy ambition directly, I focused on some of its behavioral manifestations: the construction of military power and power projection capability, as well as diplomatic activism. The goal was to determine whether the broad patterns each of

these three arguments implied actually appear in the data. The first argument implies a simple relationship between economic potential and foreign policy ambition; foreign policy activism should increase at least proportionately to the state's economic potential. Indeed, the states with the greatest potential might well engage in a disproportionate amount of activist behavior as they jockey for the leading position. On the other hand, the second and third arguments suggest that this increase in ambitious behavior among economically large states should happen mainly in the presence of triggers like security threats or economic engagement.

My evaluation of these possible patterns in the data turned up several interesting results. The simplest concerns the relationship between raw economic potential and foreign policy activism. This relationship was much weaker during the last two centuries than some theorists have claimed. The states with the greatest economic potential actually mobilized military power and constructed power-projection capability at a lower rate than other states. Thus, economic potential is only weakly related to diplomatic activism. On its own, economic potential appears to have promoted complacency rather than activism.

On the other hand, both security threats and international economic engagement have triggered greater activism, but not in identical ways. Security threats have been associated with greater construction of overall military power by states with large economies, but not with the development of greater power projection capability. On the other hand, international economic engagement has been associated with greater power projection capability among these larger states, but not with overall military power. As one might expect, diplomatic activism appears to have been a smaller state's primary tool for protecting its economic interests. Diplomatic activism rises with economic dependence on international trade, but only among states with relatively small economies. Diplomatic activism was not related to security threats.

This examination of historical data does not produce immediate policy implications, but it does point to some broader conclusions policymakers and diplomats should keep in mind. First, the growth of a state's economic potential does not automatically imply that it will adopt a more aggressive foreign policy. This is obviously good news for those concerned about whether rapid growth in states like India and China will trigger increased political and military competition as these states seek greater influence and prestige. Second, those concerned about this dangerous possibility should turn their attention to the potential triggers of more aggressive foreign policies. Under the conditions prevailing for most of the last 200 years, large states concerned about threats to their security or their economic interests around the world have turned to the construction of military power. Fortunately, there are better institutional means of protecting a state's interests in the international economy than there were in the past. Upholding the effectiveness of these institutions is important. Without them, states with large economies might turn toward more old-fashioned military means of upholding their interests.

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MASTERMIND CHINA'S MERGING ENERGY DIPLOMACY

Ole Odgaard (born 1958) holds a Ph.D. in economic and institutional reform in rural China. He has lived in China for five years, from 1982 onwards. He has worked at the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he was posted at the Royal Danish Embassy in Beijing from 1992 to 1995. He is now a senior policy advisor in the think-tank ThinkChina.dk. He has published several books and a host of articles on China.

OLE ODGAARD

The rapidly growing Chinese economy and its fast growing consumption of energy has made China increasingly dependent on imports of coal, gas and oil. The import of oil is especially an Achilles heel for China's energy security. International energy diplomacy is therefore being stepped up to secure future supplies and to prevent armed conflicts.In order to keep track with high economic growth rates,China's energy sector has grown at a rapid pace. The energy consumption has increased fivefold in the last 30 years. China's net energy growth by 2025 is expected to be about the same as Russia's present energy consumption.

INSECURE ENERGY SUPPLIES

China became a net importer of oil in 1993, of natural gas in 2007 and of coal in 2009. In order to limit the increased dependency on the import of fossil fuels, China has adopted several policies to enhance energy efficiency and to promote renewable energy. Even if these ambitious green policies are fulfilled, China's import of fuel is still expected to increase sharply.How will this dramatic increase in imports affect China's energy security? Coal is China's major source of energy. Only about 8% of the coal consumed by China will be imported during the coming decades and it will most likely not become a critical energy security problem due to the wide availability of coal. The security challenges with regard to gas is more critical, but not a major problem. China will stand for around 20% of the net global growth of gas consumption in the coming decades. Pipelines from Russia, Turkestan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan will be able to deliver about 70% of these import demands by 2035.

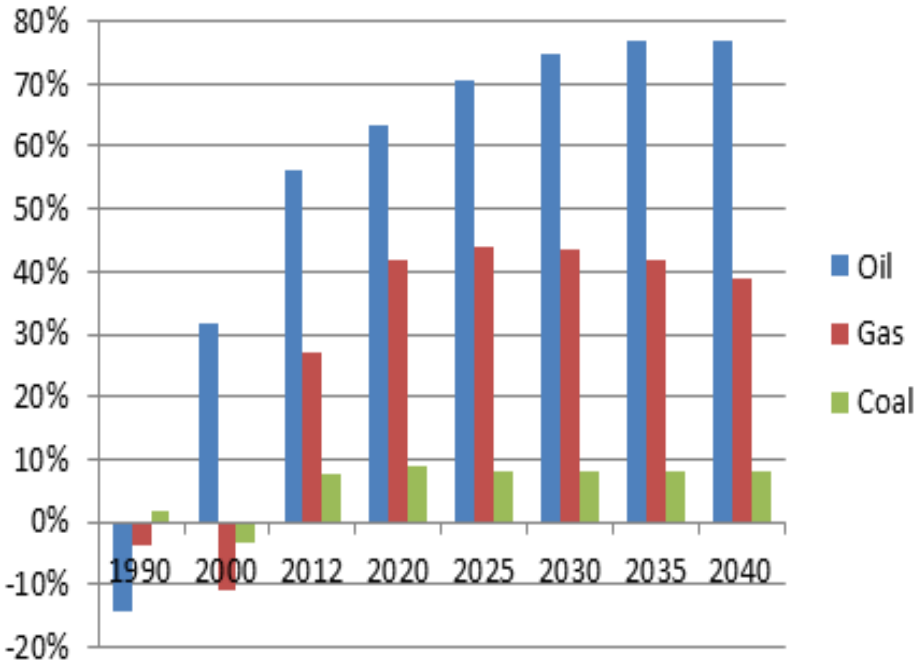

FIGURE 1. CHINA'S NET IMPORTS OF ENERGY COMPARED TO TOTAL ENERGY CONSUMPTION: 1990-2040

The remaining import share (30%) can be acquired as Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) from several countries and regions, which can be categorized as politically stable and reliable. Thus, the import security of gas is manageable, as long as the diplomatic and commercial ties to Russia and the three Central Asian states are nursed and matured.

OIL IS CHINA'S ACHILLES HEEL

The security challenge of oil is serious and problematic. China became the world's largest importer of oil in 2013, and China is expected to contribute 45% of the net global increase in oil demand in the coming decades. The import demand for oil will increase to three quarters of national consumption within 20 years (see Figure 1).

China's import of oil through pipelines from Russia, Kazakhstan and Myanmar will amount to only 8% of the expected national demand by 2035. The rest must be provided by ship, often from overseas suppliers located in politically unstable areas.

China's import of oil is its real Achilles heel. Both soft and hard policies are already and will continue to be applied to meet this need. Bilateral energy diplomacy. The State Council publishes a list of countries whose resources they would like to subsidize. The state also coordinates different initiatives to enhance the negotiation power of Chinese enterprises. China typically establishes cooperation with other countries through packages of bilateral policies in its pursuit of oil and gas. These packages may contain policies on economic cooperation, trade, investment agreements, informally coordinated foreign policies on selected international issues, foreign aid, cultural exchange programmes and other issues. The aim is to foster stable, long-term cooperation.Diplomacy by economic means these more or less formal packages are aided by

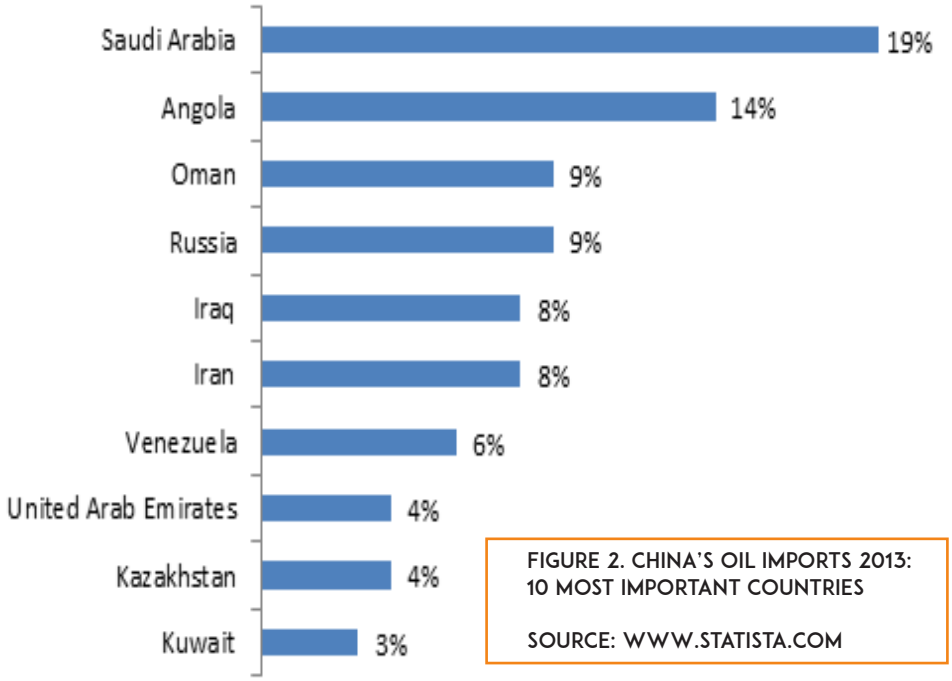

FIGURE 2. CHINA'S OIL IMPORTS 2013: 10 MOST IMPORTANT COUNTRIES

SOURCE: WWW.STATISTA.COM

China's huge investments in the targeted countries. Chinese oil and gas companies have a history of overpaying for equity positions. China offers high prices since oil and gas are a matter of national security rather than pure business.In order to win international biddings, China also offers its oil and gas companies cheap loans coupled with favourable insurance arrangements in politically unstable areas.China possesses the highest foreign exchange reserves in the world and these reserves are used strategically. Chinese companies invested an estimated USD 73 billion in global upstream mergers and acquisitions deals between 2011 and 2013. By the end of 2013, the combined overseas oil and gas production by Chinese companies totalled 2.5 million barrels of oil equivalents per day. This was a significant increase from 1.36 mb/d in 2010 and equivalent to Brazil's total oil production in 2013.By these economic and political means China is rapidly forging new ties with major energy producing countries all over the world. Some illustrative examples of the foreign policy implications are highlighted and analyzed below.

CENTRAL ASIA

China is the biggest investor and second largest trading partner to Uzbekistan, a major gas supplier. Cultural exchange programmes have been initiated and regular political consultations take place. Similarly, China's ties with the important gas and oil supplier Kazakhstan has developed rapidly, and bilateral trade with Kazakhstan now accounts for about 28%. of Kazakhstan's total trade volume.However, Western press reports on China's neo-imperialist behaviour in these countries should be interpreted with caution, as Central Asian states regard China's presence as a means to balance their previously total dependence on Russia.

RUSSIA

China stands to gain much from the Western sanctions on Russia due to Russia's annexation on the Crimean peninsula. In May 2014, China and Russia entered into an agreement on the Chinese import of large quantities of natural gas from East Siberia. Russia showed the EU that it had established alternative markets, and China secured as much as one sixth of its future import demand from this single agreement.

China's willingness to enhance its support for Russia both economically and geopolitically is high, as it comes at very little cost for China.

PARIAH STATES

Among the prominent suppliers of oil are Sudan, Angola, Iran, Uzbekistan and Venezuela – the so-called 'pariah-states' with limited respect for human rights and international conventions. China's direct and indirect protection of these states in international fora as well as the trade of weapons for oil are often criticized. On the other hand, the Chinese government views similar policies carried out by Western governments in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere as a symptom of Western double standards.

China's Angola policy has certainly paid off, as Angola has for years been one of China's most important oil suppliers. On the other hand, other pariah states have proven to be too fragile and unstable. The huge Chinese investments in Sudan and South Sudan have suffered from high levels of kidnappings, violence and theft. Consequently, the economic returns on these investments have been adversely affected. The Sudanese experience has caused Chinese oil companies to rethink parts of their overall investment strategy.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Almost half of China's oil imports come from the Middle East, and this share will not decline in the coming decades. China now attempts to secure a substantial share of its future supply from Iraq, which has some of the largest oil reserves in the Middle East and is now the world's third largest oil exporter. China's investments in Iraq have boomed. According to some estimates, at least one third of all future production of Iraqi oil will be delivered from oil fields wholly owned or co-owned by Chinese companies.

The prospect of a resurgent and Chinese-backed Iraq is regarded with unease by Saudi Arabia and other Sunni-led Gulf States, which fear the rising power of Shia-led Iraq and Iran. China continues to view Iran as a strategic partner and a vital source of oil and gas, which adds another layer of complexity. China has traditionally taken a low profile in the Middle East conflict and has tried to play both sides of the Iran dispute. At the same time China frequently sides with Iran on international actions against Iran and its nuclear program.

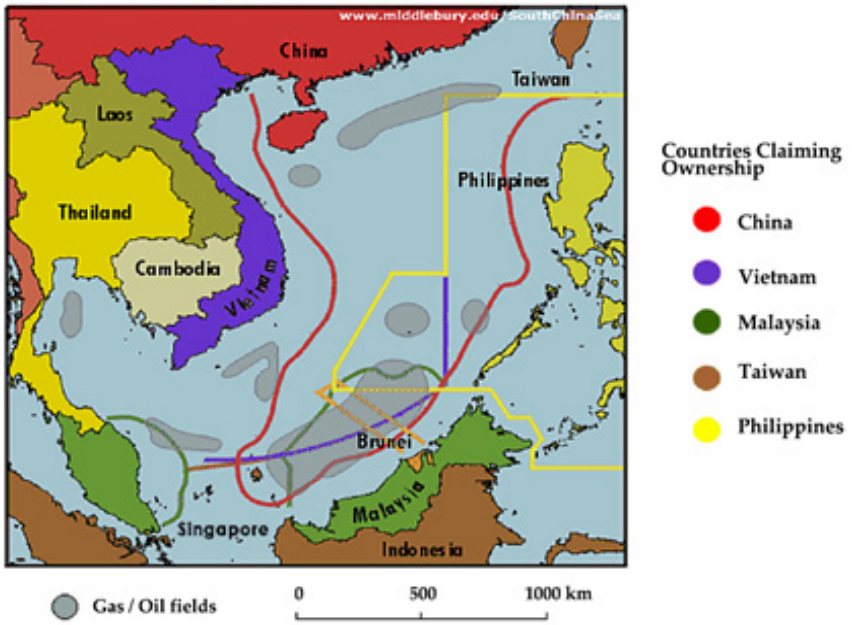

FIGURE 3.
TERRITORIAL CONFLICTSAND ENERGY RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

SOURCE: US ENERGY

INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION

EAST ASIA

However, money and pragmatic alternatives to Western foreign policy can't provide everything, especially access to the potentially lucrative gas and oil reserves in the contested waters between China and its neighbouring countries. These disputes constitute a great security risk. The territorial rights issues between China and Vietnam regarding the Tonkin Bay, between China and other southeast Asian nations regarding the Spratley Islands (Nansha in Chinese) in the South China Sea, and between China and Japan regarding the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands in Chinese) northeast of Taiwan remain unresolved. The escalation of these disputes in recent years may cause diplomatic or even armed conflicts in the future.

underscored by the fact that China's naval capabilities have become far more visible in recent years. A great deal of its oil from the Middle East will have to pass through the Hormuz Strait, which is surrounded by many countries with fairly unstable regimes. For the first time ever, China has sent naval vessels into international waters far away from its own regional sphere of influence to join the international effort to combat piracy in response. This has been an important signal that China may wish to enhance its global military presence. In the words of China's Rear Admiral Zhang Huachen in 2010, "Our naval strategy is changing now, we are going from coastal defence to distant sea defence."Conflict prevention through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Soft policies are of course preferred via-a-vis hard and coercive policies. Of special relevance to safeguarding China's regional energy supply is the regional Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The SCO focuses on security politics with China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan as members. The SCO is a potential Asian alternative to NATO, but the organization has also prioritized economic and other types of cooperation like energy issues.

Practically, the SCO gathers the largest energy producing countries in the region and serves as a forum where members attempt to protect considerable mutual investments through various confidence building measures. The SCO can also engage observers from collaborating neighbouring countries and stretch the impact of the organization's influence up to the strategically important Caspian Sea. In this way, the member countries will become less dependent on Gulf States, but they will also increase competition with the US in regards to its strategically important presence in Central Asia and in the region around the Caspian Sea.

China may also use the SCO as a forum for the prevention of ethnic conflicts in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, where Muslim and other separatist ethnic movements challenge regional security and stability. China is actively attempting to prevent collaboration between corresponding separatist groups in neighbouring

countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. This may also help secure China's energy supply of especially gas through regional pipelines.

ADVANTAGES OF COMMON INTERNATIONAL RULES

China's energy diplomacy increasingly walks on two legs. While China profiles itself as an attractive alternative to Western countries, it also becomes more active in the global energy governance system. China increasingly secures its international supplies by stepping up its soft energy diplomacy in international fora. China's surging investments abroad have accentuated the need for risk minimization. International trade courts and general investment agreements may offer such benefits. Thus, China may to a larger extent play by the 'rules of the game' in international energy markets. This will help create and maintain the necessary conditions for Chinese players to safely participate in such markets. Investment protection and the minimization of financial risks are now key concerns.

CONCLUSION

The Chinese government focuses on maintaining stable and productive international diplomatic and commercial relations to ensure stability and reliability with regard to its international energy supplies. But China will also use its growing political, diplomatic, commercial and even military muscle as a key player when it comes to further developing the 'rules of the game'. In short, China "hedges" to secure its foreign energy supplies; it leverages the uncertainties or risks associated with both strategic and market approaches in both hard and soft ways.

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IRAN'S NUCLEAR GAME AND TURKEY: ANKARA'S STRATEGY FROM IMAGINATION TO REALITY

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EFE ÇAMAN

Turkish-German University

For decades, Iran has been taking numerous steps to acquire nuclear technology. The international community suspects that Iran desires to amass the uranium required for the capability to build nuclear weapons, while Iran insists it only wants to fuel civilian reactors. These doubts have been fuelled by the fact that Iran has not been able to run its nuclear program transparently since its beginning.

Iran has also been developing its missile technology with a large number of medium range missiles, which pose at least a potential threat to all actors in the region, including Turkey. The potential for a military dimension to Tehran's nuclear capabilities combined with this wider missile range has worried global actors worried about Iran's growing potential military clout. Emerging as a nuclear power in the Middle East, Iran would tip the balances in the region upside-down, making Iran a leading power in the region. This development in the region will trigger a regional arms race, or at least force regional actors to new defense cooperation.

Despite the obstacle of Iranian nuclear activities, , Turkish-Iranian collaboration has increased since the early 2000s. During the AKP period, relations have benefitted from the new foreign policy approach of Ankara in regional policy, drafted and led by the Premier Minister Davutoğlu himself, especially in the Middle East. Davutolu works to capitalize on Tehran's historical-geopolitical significance, and conceives of current relations with Iran as a crucial factor for the achievements of Ankara's ambitions in the region.

The most significant and tangible interest of Turkey has been the enduring cooperation with Tehran against the Kurdish separatist movement PKK, a branch of which is active on Iranian territory and is considered a threat by Iranian authorities. Additionally, bilateral trade has steadily increased from around 1.2 billion dollars in 2001 to nearly 20 billion dollar in 2013. Iran provides almost one fourth of Turkish national gas imports, which makes Iran the second largest natural gas exporter after Russia. In light of all the above, it is easy to see Iran's importance for Turkey and why Turkey has taken the approach it has regarding Iran's nuclear ambitions.

Despite the nuclear activities of Iran and its existing missile strike power, Turkish officials have declared many times that Iran does not present a threat to Turkish national security. Moreover, Turkey has vigorously advocated the right of Iran to develop peaceful civilian nuclear technology and seemingly does not suspect Tehran of —at least partly—secret uranium enrichment activities. Furthermore Turkey has attempted to play a mediator role during both itsnon-permanent membership in the UN-Security Council and bilateral and multilateral initiatives. For some time Turkish decision makers have favored a pragmatic assessment of the matters influencing Turkey's Iran policy. In this context, Turkey has remained on the cooperative path even despite security risks and at the expense of its relations with the USA. Yet Turkey's approach goes beyond simple pragmatism, incorporating

ethical-normative positions. This position, rhetorically incorporated by the President Erdoğan himself on the Iranian nuclear dispute has been hallmarked by a normative criticism of Israel as the only actor in the Middle East with nuclear weapons, which has indirectly contributed to a comparative legitimization of Iran's nuclear ambitions as a balance-of-power situation.In sum, Turkey's approach to the Iranian nuclear dispute has been determined by: tangible interests encouraging continued cooperation with Tehran and pragmatism based on that interest on the one hand, and the normative plea of Erdoğan based on Israel's uniquely privileged image in the perceptions of the USA and other Western actors on the other.
Despite Iran's significance for Ankara as explained above, Iran has been acting increasingly contrary to Turkey's interests. Especially after the Arab Spring, the contradictions between Ankara and Tehran have undoubtedly become substantial. While Tehran, in conjunction with Russia, has backed the Assad Regime, Ankara has logistically and diplomatically supported at the highest levels the opposition groups. In this case, the interests of both actors are in diametric opposition; Iran intended to preserve the status-quo in Syria, Turkey, on the other hand, has sought to create a new one to its own advantage. Iran has traditionally been playing the Shia card in Middle East affairs, especially effectively after the regime change in Iraq resulting from the US invasion. Syria has been considered by Iranian decision makers as the most significant additional component of Tehran's regional policy. Turkey's Sunni-tending AKP government, in contrast, has seen the Syrian civil war as an opportunity to change the established power structure in a way that would increase its influence.

After the concretization of interest differences between the two countries emerged during and after the Arab Spring, mainly in Syria, the position of Ankara toward Tehran has changed noticeably. The supremacy of Iranian know-how related to its ballistic technology has started to disturb Ankara increasingly. Turkey has since revised its threat perceptions of Iran, despite Iran's importance. Turkey now considers Iran's level of ballistic technology and the existence of an Iranian missile arsenal without a doubt a potential threat. Consequently, Turkey has taken some security policy steps, such as possible participation in the NATO Missile Shield Project. Turkish decision makers were cautious to avoid identifying Iran as a potential target of the MDS and threatened to block the deal if Iran was explicitly named as a threat. But it is more out of diplomatic precaution and politeness than a convincing and calming move. There is also evidence to suggest that Ankara will reconsider the nuclear activities of Tehran from a more holistic perspective.

In consequence of Iran's nuclear ambitions, ballistic technology and armament, Turkey will not be able to maintain its relatively independent regional policies in neighboring regions. Turkey has been forced into further cooperation and joint action with the West in the framework of security and a defense policy due to an inability to balance competing Iranian interests in the short-term. This closer security cooperation with the USA and NATO will no doubt lead to pressures on Turkey to pursue a more "harmonious" regional policy, which means that Ankara will have to consider predominantly the perceptions of the USA and NATO in regional policy decisions. This might reduce Ankara to being an actor barely able to define its own regional priorities independently, similar to its position during the Cold War period.

The case of Iran exemplifies the difficulties faced by the new Turkish foreign policy strategy. Between its ethical-normative conceptualization and pro-active regional orientation (based on soft power), the limits of this strategy can be found where well-tempered initiatives fizzle on realities. In order to mitigate the damage of this policy program, there is need for extensive revisions in Turkey's policy toward Iran's nuclear program.

GLOBAL HEALTH DIPLOMACY: WHAT IS IT AND WHY DOES IT MATTER?

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RYLAN H. PARKER, RONALD LABONTÉ, AND ARNE RUCKERT

In an era when technology and globalization are broadly increasing the instances and intensity of international, transnational and inter-sectoral linkages, Global Health Diplomacy (GHD) has emerged as a concept to describe the practice by which governments and non-state actors attempt to navigate the effects of globalization on population health. GHD is an answer to the increasingly global characteristics of risks posed to public health and is founded on a recognition of the multiple and inter-sectoral influences on, and determinants of, population health as recognized by the World Health Organizations' Commission on the Social Determinants of Health (CSDH, 2008). It seeks to improve equitable health outcomes through better integration of health concerns into countries' foreign policy goals and practices, in recognition that both domestic and international policy decisions impact on health within, and between, countries.

The international impacts on domestic health outcomes have been widely recognized in the past. The risk posed to public health from diseases transmitted across borders, often following trade routes, has been a long held concern of domestic and foreign policy makers since the mid-19th century (Blouin et al, 2010). The need to manage these risks has only been intensified by tThe increased ease and speed of travel and trade that has been realized with made possible by modern technologies has established this risk as a phenomenon requiring a global effort to manage. Risks posed to health in a globalized context can no longer be thought of as the purview of singular, sovereign countries; the reality is that health risks, now more than ever, do not respect national boundaries and international cooperation has become a mandatory prerequisite to address these issues (Aggarwal, 2013). While disease is a prominent and regularly present risk (SARS, H1N1, Ebola, etc.), more systemic but indirect risks present themselves from states' regular international interactions. Free trade and investment agreements have come under scrutiny for their impacts that they have on health; for instance, provisions for enhanced intellectual property rights can decrease access to medicine,s which increasinges health risks and results in poorer health outcomes, which has the potential to push people deeper into poverty (Kirton et al, 2009; Lopert et al, 2013; Collin, 2012). Similarly, increased trade and investment in 'risk commodities' (tobacco, alcohol, obesogenic foods) has raised concerns with international commitments to reduce the surging global pandemic of non-communicable diseases (Stuckler et al 2012). Successfully integrating health considerations and expertise into diplomacy and policymaking can ensure that agreements produced from international negotiations maintain a focus on and consideration of health outcomes.

Diplomacy can be understood generally as the state's means and method of conducting international relations (Deatch-Kratochvil et al, 2013) and an "instrument" that states use to implement their foreign policy (Feldbaum, 2010) in order to either advance or defend their own national interests on the international stage

(Fidler, 2011). This understanding of diplomacy applies equally to health diplomacy; however, whereas diplomacy is traditionally concerned mainly with interactions between states, GHD involves a broader array of actors, sectors, and interests due to the increasingly globalized nature of health and health determinants. The application of GHD has been approached in two distinct ways; as an instrument of diplomacy it has been used by states in an attempt to further their own foreign policy goals; but it has also been used, by a more diverse group of both state and non-state actors, as a means to centre health in international relations as "the normative engine of political cooperation and progress" (Fidler, 2008). A distinction has been made between the former approach as an instrumental approach and the latter as a transformative approach (Blouin, 2010; Fidler, 2008).

Improving current GHD efforts will rely in large part on the transformative approach, bringing health to the centre stage of international relations. This approach has been adopted by the ministers of foreign affairs in a number of countries, such as Brazil, France, Indonesia and Norway, who have jointly made a statement of commitment to "make 'impact on health' a point of departure and a defining l ens that each of our countries will use to examine key elements of foreign policy" (Amorim, 2007). Instrumentally Practically, the transformative approach to GHD requires an integration of health into diplomaticcy initiatives and diplomacy into health initiatives. Whereas international relations as a policy arena is traditionally the purview of foreign affairs ministries, successful GHD practice requires the participation and often the leadership of national health ministries.

Furthermore, a health focused foreign policy should recognize the necessity to include a wider array of issues and interests in considerations and deliberations and thereby the corresponding need to establish inter-ministerial committees in order to foster national coherence on foreign policy (Blouin et al, 2010). Non-state actors must also have a place to participate in this process. Impacts on health can originate from diverse sources and so the multiplicity of actors involved in GHD should be reflective of the broad array of implicated sectors. This is necessary in order to ensure that the full extent of potential health implications is understood in diplomatic efforts and negotiators are able to make adequately informed considerations of potential impacts and results; although considerable controversy exists over how prominent a role should be played by powerful private sector actors in such processes when GHD concerns, such as the need to protect public health regulatory space, may conflict with their short-term economic interests, such as the need to protect public health regulatory space.

Health issues cannot be confined to being the sole purview of health actors.Just as many health impacts originate outside of the health sector, so too must their solutions. The emergence of GHD relates to the recognition that the influences on health are beyond the reach or reign of national health systems, and that if more positive health outcomes are to be produced then these influences need to be modified through political

action and international engagement. The increasingly globalized nature of health risks, the impossibility of states managing them independently, and the necessity for international engagement to modulate them poses points to diplomacy as an emergent and important tool through which health can be promoted and protected. In a globalized world GHD is needed both to further health goals globally and to protect health nationally.

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TAI CHI AND THE FINE ART OF DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATION

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ALISHER FAIZULLAEV

The art of negotiation is essential for diplomacy. Diplomatic negotiations require political, social, organizational, communication, analytic, and many other skills. Tai Chi, an ancient Chinese internal martial art, can help diplomats to enhance their individual effectiveness in negotiations. Tai Chi and its sparring practice named Push Hands (Tui Shou) are based on the balance, dynamic equilibrium, and unity of Yin (receptive) and Yang (assertive) movements. A Tai Chi-based negotiation style requires negotiators to be both gentle and firm. In Tai Chi, however, softness is combined not with brute hardness, which is itself associated with stiffness and rigidity, but with inner power that enables one to overcome tough obstacles, as water does in nature. Thus, softness does not mean weakness in Tai Chi. The same applies to the diplomatic soft skills like courtesy, social grace, respect, cultural and interpersonal sensitivity, listening and linguistic mastery. These skills can be powerful instruments of effective negotiation.

With the above in mind, here are some tips of using basic Tai Chi principles in negotiations.

BE MINDFUL

You should not only be well prepared for a negotiation but also be in the "here and now" pay full attention to your opponent (including his or her body language) the process, the atmosphere and the physical surroundings. Organize the best mode of interaction, using verbal and nonverbal communication, space, and table arrangements. Good interpersonal contact, including handshakes, eye contact, and empathy, helps interactions and engagement with the other side. Get a sense of the counterpart's "centre," or their basic stance and arguments.
Keep connected with the opponent. Practice some "negotiation intelligence gathering" on his or her psychological state and attitudes by chatting for a few minutes about the weather, sports, or other neutral subjects. Every negotiation has its own mood and energy; it is important to feel this, use it during interactions, and change if necessary by verbal and nonverbal means.

BE NON-RESISTANT

Confrontation, hostility, and aggression in negotiation can only be eliminated if you are relaxed; if you are tense, the other side will also become tense. Tension-free negotiators are more aware and sensitive; they can be more creative and make better use of their inner strengths. Many weak and inexperienced negotiators reject the opponent's arguments immediately under the pressure of their own inner tension. Often this is manifested in their body language and muscle tension. Let the excessive emotions and negative energy of the opponent go. Tai Chi-style negotiation suggests that direct confrontation with the opponent can result in losing one's balance. Saying boldly "no" means straight collision. It is better to use a "yes, but…" or "yes, and…" techniques non-manipulatively, with understanding and real meaning
Absorb the power of the opponent non-confrontationally while keeping your inner balance and stability.

BE REFLECTIVE

Questions and arguments are your important tools in negotiations though your body language, attitudes, energy, and feelings also affect the negotiation process. Don't focus on the opponent's non-essential arguments; always target the other side's central line of argumentation while retaining your own principles. Good negotiators appreciate the power of listening (ting jing), and they tend to ask questions and welcome the opponent's questions. Open questions, clarifications, paraphrases, summations, as well as non-verbal matching (posture with posture, gesture with gesture, voice with voice, etc.) with the counterpart are the instruments of engagement. Respond to questions with interest and consideration, and question the weak sides of the opponent's position. Perform these moves with gentleness, as sometimes just the tone of your voice or the movement of your eyebrows can make a difference. Be soft in receiving questions and firm in answering them; be receptive to your opponent's arguments and assertive with your own arguments.

BE ROOTED

Be grounded in solid facts, evidence and arguments; don't lose connection with the reality of the situation. Have some basic principal points, and advance them during interactions with the opponent. Your roots, including cultural, moral and spiritual foundations are the sources of your strength and vital energy. Be connected to your principles, ideas and values. Develop some rooting "ladder" deep into the "ground;" the deepest step is your basic values. Next towards the surface are your fundamental ideas, principles and, finally, positions. If you have problems agreeing with the counterpart on your positions, go to the next step on the "ladder" and try to get an agreement on principles. In case of difficulty, discuss and create ideas, and if unsuccessful approach your values. Negotiating foundational values is the most difficult type of negotiation since nobody wants to change theirs. So try to find or create some shared values in collaboration with your counterpart. When you succeed, take this as your starting point and do the reverse step; start developing some commonly attractive ideas. These joint ideas are instrumental to solving differences regarding principles. When some mutual principles are established, the negotiators can easily overcome their differences on positions.

BE BALANCED

Negotiators can "push" each other mentally or emotionally, verbally or non-verbally, by putting forward arguments, asking questions, raising concerns, expressing opinions, providing evidence, showing or hiding emotions, changing the tone of their voice or their facial expression, gesturing, and looking straight into each other's faces or avoiding direct eye contact. You can successfully go through the negotiation process by being balanced. While negotiating, coordinate your mind and body, intellect and emotions, and verbal and non-verbal behavior. Perform defensive and offensive negotiation tactics smoothly and gracefully. Don't be too rational at the expense of your emotions, and too emotional at the expense of your reason. You need to be flexible in order to keep stability; stiffness in your positions or arguments may result in losing your

balance. When you have inner balance, the other side's forceful moves can unbalance him or her.

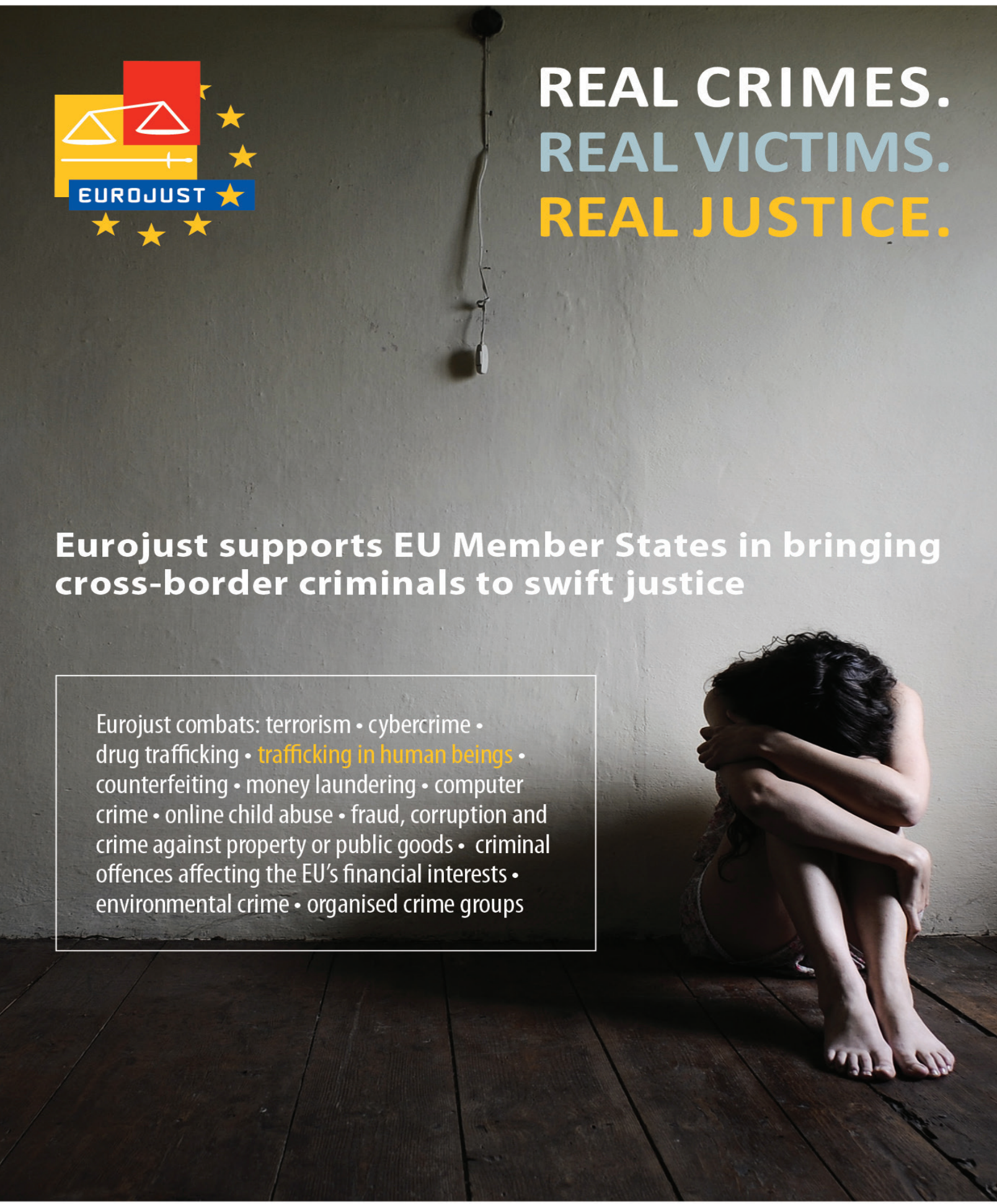
BE MOBILE

Your mobility is your ability to listen and speak, to be receptive and assertive, to follow your opponent's line of argumentation but not depart from your own central, fundamental points. Naturalness, smoothness, resilience and easing tensions help you to be mobile and flexible, to respond to and neutralize your opponent's points as well as make your own points. You have a better chance of being mobile by keeping your calm and constructing discussions around your own strong arguments. There are also physical and spatial aspects of mobility. Sometimes you can use space effectively, especially if you are losing connection with your partner, by leaving the table, walking around, and having informal conversations, or by engaging in discussions outside the room. However, do not overextend and stretch yourself in an attempt to convince your opponent. This may destroy your stability and the balance of your arguments.

BE MODERATE

When negotiating, speak smoothly. Don't be too fast or too slow, don't become overexcited or tranquilized, don't push your partner too hard, and don't use excessively strong or abusive language. If the other side is receptive and "empty," i.e. free from tensions and distractions, then you may lose your balance. Try to be peaceful, reasonable and modest, even when the opponent loses self-control or uses very strong language. "Empty" negotiators absorb "full" attacks, and "fullness" becomes helpless encountering "emptiness." Avoid overcomplicated phrases and sentences, use clear and simple questions or arguments. Don't put yourself in stressful sitting or standing positions. Follow the natural path of interactions during negotiations, and sense the right time for a break or for ending the session. Good negotiators are neither overconfident nor timid, they don't hurry and don't linger.

Tai Chi-style negotiation can provide diplomats more opportunities to understand each other and seek mutually agreeable solutions by using listening power, sensitivity and other Push Hands skills. However, like martial artists, diplomats need to be able to counter those who want to defeat them unilaterally and Tai Chi style negotiation also prepares diplomats for these kinds of encounters.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