

Third, these alliances function as a catalyst/trigger for UN action as well as an agent and a joint manager within the UN system. Finally, the scope of issues addressed in the framework of New Diplomacy reflects a frequently changing agenda, including land mines and the International Criminal Court, as well as changing partners, expanding to include select Latin American countries and South Africa.

The recent trends in New Diplomacy raise important questions about inclusion and exclusion from the process (only some states and some NGOs are involved and they move in and out of the New Diplomacy process at varying speeds). Are the processes connected to New Diplomacy reformist or transformational? Is there any like-mindedness among the business community and how does it fit into the process? What is the role of the UN Secretary General and other UN agencies and how do they fit the picture? More generally, while some are concerned that "end-runs" undermine, de-legitimise and over-extend the UN system, others have expressed enthusiasm about the implications "fragmented authority" and end-runs tend to create.

In conclusion, Cooper emphasised the diffuse, uneven and fragile nature of the emerging international system. He said that diplomacy will undoubtedly reflect this situation. Intellectual thought must catch up to the rapid developments in New Diplomacy.

Iver Neumann, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway, outlined the relationship between the Norwegian Foreign Affairs Ministry and NGOs in the context of the Norwegian Land Mines initiative. He traced the foreign policy development of this issue from the appeal of the Norwegian Afghan Committee (NAC) and the Red Cross to address the problem of land mines after some members of the NAC were lost in a land mine accident. While the first attempts were rejected on the ground that mine-clearing activity was too dangerous for NGOs, the Norwegian government became involved in the land mines issue in 1991. It called extensively on NGO help. This decision moved Norway from the position of a money provider to a real partner.

The involvement of the government and the NGO's initiative to sign a total ban on anti-personnel land mines built a momentum for change. The Foreign Minister was faced with the NGO-led campaign on the one hand, and resistance in the military and defence establishment on the other. The land mine issue was an idea that clashed with traditional Norwegian security policy, rooted in sharing a common border with Russia.

Neumann pointed out that analysis emphasising a transnational NGO network pressuring a state to act is too simplistic. States themselves are agents of initiative and leadership. They facilitate common interests of different social groups and government departments (i.e., NGOs, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Within this framework, New Diplomacy is a complex process involving diverse actors and interests.

Not all states are able to adopt New Diplomacy. One requirement for the involvement of civil society in policy making is a plural society rich in knowledge and skills. In Russia, for