

ultimately take?

The theoretical quandary was addressed by looking at two case studies that highlight the breadth and diversity of the emergent sources of alternative leadership in the contemporary international system. The first was the campaign for a global ban on anti-personnel land mines while the second case study looked at the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court. The case studies raised the question whether they provide a prototype mode for future multiple-sourced bottom-up initiative or whether they are anomalous.

2. LOOKING TOWARDS NEW DIPLOMACY

A) Summary of Panel Presentations

Andrew Cooper, University of Waterloo, outlined the current state of the international system and the challenges it presents. He pointed out that the study of diplomacy is back "in" and its students are just catching up to the new and evolving diplomatic practices.

Cooper noted that the initial wave of enthusiasm following the end of the Cold War about the new international environment being more favourable to the functioning of the United Nations was being replaced by a certain level of disillusionment. As a backdrop to this development, the context for UN operations has changed. Since the late 1980's leadership has not been particularly rooted in the P-5 countries of the UN Security Council as was earlier assumed. The gap between the UN agenda and the UN's capabilities and commitments, especially in the peace-keeping/humanitarian intervention field, widened. A backlash developed against the top-down organisational structure of the UN (i.e., the closed nature of the decision making process and tendencies to block initiatives). These problems were mirrored by unilateral self-help tendencies of all the P-5 countries and the emergence of the so called U.S.A.-centred assertive multi-lateralism.

To counter these developments, new alternative sources of initiative and innovation have surfaced. The first is located among the "traditional first followers of the UN system in the ranks of secondary states," also referred to as a coalition of "like-minded states" – a term that sheds the realist (state-centric) trappings of the "middle power" concept. The selective nature of issues the coalitions of like-minded states address contributes to the emergence of "niche" diplomacy. The second source of alternative leadership is civil society in general and NGOs in particular. Cooper examines how these new leadership forms are expressed through the UN system and how they influence that system.

According to Cooper, these alternative sources of leadership have come to the fore in a number of ways at the operational level. First, New Diplomacy is being conducted with a sense of intensity or impatience. Second, New Diplomacy is ad-hoc and improvisational. The relationship/alliances between the like-minded states, NGOs and the UN is not clearly defined.