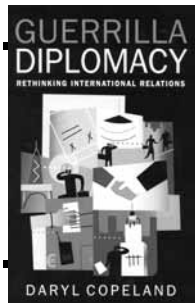


## Book Reviews & Envoys

# Diplomacy in the Trenches



*Guerrilla Diplomacy:  
Rethinking International  
Relations*

By Daryl Copeland  
Lynne Rienner Publishers  
\$30, 311 pp.

Jeff Davis

During his 28 years inside the world of Canadian diplomacy, Daryl Copeland has had a front-row seat from which to observe diplomats and their craft slide deeper and deeper into obscurity and insignificance. Now, upon his seemingly permanent departure from the Canadian foreign service, Mr. Copeland has let his years of pent-up ideas flood forth in *Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*.

In this incredibly ambitious first book, Mr. Copeland deftly diagnoses the shortcomings of his profession, and lays out an archetype of a new breed of diplomat whose inventive, unorthodox tactics could make practitioners of the world's second-oldest profession relevant again and help stabilize the globe in the process.

Mr. Copeland's guerilla diplomats—smarter, suppler and more autonomous—are almost analogous to special forces soldiers in their light, fast, flexible approach. By placing such envoys at the centre of counterinsurgency operations, he asserts, guerilla diplomats could help their foreign ministries take back foreign policy pre-eminence from the military.

The guerilla diplomat is essentially an ideal type for diplomats in the globalization age. Bearing a trifecta of essential skills—acuity, autonomy and agility—the guerilla diplomat is a sort of global renaissance man, having the refinement to walk with kings, yet retaining the common touch needed to connect with the world's marginal peoples.

The guerilla diplomat, he says, while likely having the elite education of traditional diplomats, also has the backpacker's knack for self-sufficiency and autonomy, as well as the ability to charm, engage and communicate with peoples from every corner of the global village, and through every medium. The guerilla diplomat also has a knack for the unconventional, as well as a flair for the dramatic.

Descriptions of the guerilla diplomat are a little fuzzy at times, but in fairness, this is probably because so few specimens exist in the world today.

That's not to say, however, that guerilla diplomacy has not been used. Former Newfoundland premier Brian Tobin scored a decisive victory over Spain during the "turbot war" of 1995 when he hoisted illegal fishing nets from seized Spanish boats above his head in front of the United Nations, achieving an overwhelming public opinion victory in the process. Canadian diplomat Ken Taylor's efforts to save American citizens during the Iranian revolution fall into the same category.

### Displaced by Defence

Mr. Copeland's book holds a basically pessimistic view of globalization, a process he believes has created great global inequalities and, in turn, a scenario of persistent insecurity. He argues that the root causes at the heart of global disenchantment must be redressed,

as this is the only recipe for mitigating insecurity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

"The essential dynamic of globalization generates threats of a sort best addressed not by counterinsurgency and the so-called war on terror, but instead, I believe, by agents of diplomacy in the strategic pursuit of equitable, sustainable, and human centered development."

From here, Mr. Copeland leads into a scathing assessment of the ability of armed forces to pacify restive populations in the globalization age, opining the military is "too sharp, yet too dull" for the task. If you look at the results, he says, militaries contribute more to exacerbating insecurity than mitigating it.

Indeed, Mr. Copeland says the central thesis of his book is that "if development is the new security in the globalization age, then diplomacy must displace defence at the centre of international policy."

The militarization of foreign policymaking began during the Cold War, he says, and was given a new lease on life when George W. Bush declared his "universal and undifferentiated" global war on terror.

But the results have been underwhelming. "Colossally expensive in every respect, the militarized option represents a massive misdirection of resources and has inflicted dreadful damage across the board," Mr. Copeland declares, adding that a military-first approach in and of itself drives state failure.

Diplomacy is the antithesis of war, he says, and therefore must be used to end insurgencies. And since successful counterinsurgency strategies from the annals of history (i.e. massive brutality) are no longer acceptable, political solutions are the only answer...and yes, this means talking to the Taliban.

While the archetype of the guerilla diplomat is central to the book, its sweep is much wider than one would expect. Indeed, Mr. Copeland methodically works his way through the "diplomatic ecosystem," sketching out a brand new conceptual model for the international system before putting foreign ministries, development efforts, and diplomats themselves under the microscope.

While *Guerrilla Diplomacy* is certainly a brainy, dense and erudite read, it mercifully avoids most pitfalls of academic writing. On the contrary, Mr. Copeland's style is an entertaining one, flecked with clever insights and entertaining tangents.

While unlikely to hit the bestseller list due to its niche subject matter, it has already caught the attention of diplomatic types around the world. Mr. Copeland has been invited to speak and give seminars to the U.S. State Department, the British Foreign Office, and at other foreign destinations, and will soon share his insights with the prestigious RAND Corporation.

While *Guerrilla Diplomacy* is certainly a must-read for forward-thinking diplomats, one can't help but regret that Mr. Copeland doesn't turn his fine analytical razor directly on Canada. While he certainly has the knowledge to do so, he fails to overlay his insights directly onto Canada's diplomats and foreign ministry. Of course, under a government that seems more interested that fighting than talking—and with the budgets to prove it—one can't help but think the message would go unheeded.

Royalties from the sale of Mr. Copeland's book are donated to the Glyn Berry Memorial Scholarship in International Policy Studies at Dalhousie University, in memory of the guerilla diplomat killed in Afghanistan. Copies are available, at Nicholas Hoare Books on Sussex Drive.

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# Indonesian Envoy Recalls Adjusting to Ottawa Politics



LAURA PAYTON

*Diplomatic  
Circles*

When Indonesian Ambassador **Djoko Hardono** takes his leave of Ottawa in a few weeks, he'll also be leaving behind a career that saw him posted around the world. Mr. Hardono is not only returning home, he's retiring.

"According to my aides, I have to retire," he jokes. "I have to do something...maybe another field of my career. Because I belong [right now] to the foreign administration department so I have to do [something] outside of that."

"If somebody [is] offering me to do [work] in politics, I'll do it," he adds. "I'm not looking for it, but if somebody asks me to do it, I'll do it."

Canada was the ambassador's fifth overseas assignment. He's previously been posted to Turkey, the UK, Singapore and Japan. But Canada stood out for its challenges as a country that changed governments during his posting.

"In this case we have to calculate and see about the situation of the government," he says. "You have a background of the Liberal Party occupying the Cabinet and for quite a long time. [That] means people have a mindset of Liberal thinking."

"Of course it transferred to the diplomats of Canada at the time. And once you changed your government to the minority of the Conservative Party, and they have to switch on their mindset to become the Conservative bureaucrats. So we also have an adjustment to do with the mindset of the Conservative Party. That's why we have to work hard to make good relations."

During his time in Ottawa, the ambassador worked closely with the Canadian International Development Agency, especially following a string of natural disasters that ravaged his country. However, one thing Indonesia would like to see now is Canada's aid programs expand.

"We try to encourage a lot of CIDA help not in a certain area, but to spread it to another province," he says. "Right now they only concentrate on Sulawesi, but we try to catch up the projects outside of Sulawesi because Indonesia is very big, and not only Sulawesi is a beautiful island."

Mr. Hardono says his career was interesting because as a diplomat, "we don't deal with mathematics, we deal with the people."

"Of course, because of that, it's difficult to judge if it's a success or not. Because sometimes we're already doing 10 years but there is 25 years to go...one plus one is two, but in political matters, one plus one may be five."

Over the ambassador's nearly four years in Canada, he saw improvements to a friendly but somewhat neglected relationship. Canada adopted the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-Canada Enhanced Partnership last month and approved the Canada-Indonesia Parliamentary Friendship Group in January.



Departing Indonesian Ambassador Djoko Hardono is hopeful CIDA will expand its operations in his country.

"We got a lot of support, actually," says Mr. Hardono. "Although if you're talking bilaterally, it is very positive. [There is] a lot of co-operation here in Canada."

"We understood that, of course, Canada is interested in business with China, India, Japan and Korea. But we tried to show Canada that the Southeast Asia area is also very important to it."

Indonesia is a country of 235 million people, he says, with many resources that need to be developed. While Canada already has some companies working in the mineral sector, Indonesia is also looking for investment in infrastructure. He points to wind power in particular as an area ripe for development.

Mr. Hardono says he hopes whoever replaces him has even more success at building trade relations.

"So we'll always improve," he says. "Static is not good."

"We only hope that in the near future, Canada will see Southeast Asia as also important to make a relationship [with], especially with Indonesia."

Indonesia is Canada's biggest trading partner in Southeast Asia. Rubber, fish, electronics and garments are sent north, while Canada exports fertilizer, technical assistance and machinery in return.

"Social-culturally, we try very much to export our capability in tourism, developing the connection of culture," says the ambassador, adding that Indonesia has many different cultures to explore.

Mr. Hardono expects to have more time for golf and writing once he's retired. But before retirement, Indonesia will celebrate its national day on Aug. 19. Staff and entertainers were already preparing when *Embassy* arrived to interview the ambassador, who says he's featured a different Indonesian culture every year. This year will showcase Kalimantan Island.

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