

Programme & Abstracts for
Local Actions in a Global Context
Paradiplomacy by Subnational Jurisdictions

Monday, 14 January 2013

Approximately 14:00

Meet at airport in Longyearbyen and take bus to Radisson Blu Polar Hotel.

19:00-

Three-course conference dinner at Brasseri Nansen.

Tuesday, 15 January 2013

08:30-10:30

Presentation by Deputy Governor Lars Erik Alfheim. Location: Sysselmann's Office.

10:30-12:00

Presentation on the role of the local government in Longyearbyen by Mayor Christin Kristoffersen. Location: Mediateket, Lompensenteret.

12:00-13:30

Lunch Break.

13:30-15:00

Presentation on history of Svalbard and tour of Svalbard Museum by Tora Hultgren.

15:00-17:00

Visit to Galleri Svalbard.

19:00-

Dinner at Barentz Pub & Spiseri, Radisson Blu Polar Hotel.

Wednesday, 16 January 2013

10:00-12:00: Paradiplomacy in the Global Political System 1

10:00-10:30: **Adam Grydehøj** (Island Dynamics, Denmark) **Nested Ethnicity, Multi-Level Paradiplomacy, and the Right to Self-Determination: Who Decides the Limits to Subsidiarity?**

10:30-11:00: **Ulrik Pram Gad** (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) & **Rebecca Adler-Nissen** (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) **The Paradiplomacy of the EU 'Overseas Countries and Territories': When Post-Colonial Subjectivity Re-Articulates Sovereignty**

11:00-11:30: **Igor Okunev** (Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russia) **The Geopolitical Background of Paradiplomacy by Small Islands States and Subnational Jurisdictions**

11:30-14:00

Lunch Break.

14:00-16:00: Paradiplomacy in the Global Political System 2

14:00-14:30: **Maximo Q. Mejia Jr.** (World Maritime University, Sweden) **Subnational Jurisdictions in the Contested South China Sea**

14:30-15:00: **Sun-Kee Hong** (Institution for Marine and Island Cultures, Mokpo National University, Korea) **Conservation and Application of Biocultural Diversity and Ecological Knowledge in the Shinan Dadohae Biosphere Reserve in Korea**

15:00-15:30: **Maria Ackrén** (Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland, Greenland) **Greenland's Role in International Relations: Foreign Policy, Security Policy, and Climate Change**

15:30-16:00: **Discussion on Paradiplomacy and Global Issues: Can Subnational Jurisdictions be Responsible Actors on the International Scene?**
Panellists: Huei-Min Tsai, Ilan Kelman.

16:00-16:30

Coffee Break

16:30-17:30

Keynote Speech: **Eric Clark** (Lund University, Sweden) **Whose Paradiplomacy?: The Right to Island and Acronym Models of Island Development.**

19:00-

Dinner at Kroa.

Thursday, 17 January 2013

10:00-12:00: Paradiplomacy in Practice

10:00-10:30: **Lorena Lopez de Lacalle** (Regional Parliament of Araba, Basque Country) **Basque Paradiplomacy and European Union Internal Enlargement**

10:30-11:00: **Linda Fabiani** (Scottish Parliament, Scotland) **Non-State Diplomacy: Scotland in the World**

11:00-11:30: **Jordi Solé** (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Catalonia) **From Para-Diplomacy to Proto-Diplomacy: The Emergence of New Western European States – The Case of Catalonia**

11:30-12:00: **Roser Clavell** (Diplocat: Public Diplomacy Council of Catalonia, Catalonia) **Time to Export Catalonia through Public Diplomacy.**

12:00-14:00

Lunch Break

14:00-16:00: Paradiplomacy in a Changing World

14:00-14:30: **Eva Sørensen** (Centre for Democratic Network Governance, Roskilde University, Denmark) & **Jacob Torfing** (Centre for Democratic Network Governance, Roskilde University, Denmark) **Enhancing Innovation through Partnerships and Networks**

14:30-15:00: **Huei-Min Tsai** (Island Studies Program, National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan) **The Right to the Ocean Commons: Struggles over the Traditional Marine Territories of Pongso no Tau**

15:00-15:30: **Ilan Kelman** (Center for International Climate & Environmental Research – Oslo, Norway *and* Many Strong Voices), **John Crump** (UNEP/GRID-Arendal, Norway), **Bob Conrich** (Independent Consultant, Anguilla), & **J.C. Gaillard** (University of Auckland, New Zealand) **Migration Impacts of Island Disaster Para-Diplomacy: Climate Change and Volcanoes**

19:00-

Dinner at Mary-Ann's Polarrigg.

Abstracts

Maria Ackrén (Ilisimatuseq/University of Greenland) **Greenland's Role in International Relations: Foreign Policy, Security Policy, and Climate Change**

During the Second World War and the Cold War, Greenland was used by the USA as a platform for and an extended arm of American security and foreign policy. After the Cold War, things have changed, even though Greenland appears to be important in the Danish-American relationships under the umbrella of NATO. Greenland's geostrategic position between North America and Europe has become ever-more important in the race for natural resources in the Arctic. Many issues on the agenda in the Arctic could have major impacts on future development in the region. Climate change, claims related to the extension of the continental shelf, exploitation and exploration of natural resources, and protection of indigenous peoples are all current issues that must be taken into account when considering any development made in Greenland. The future of the Thule Air Base is also a concern in point. This paper will look at how international relations have developed in a Greenlandic context from the Second World War until today. The paper will also consider what the Government in Greenland is doing to meet these new challenges. As a sub-national territory belonging to Denmark, Greenland lacks ultimate decision-making power within foreign and security policy. The Self-Government Act from 2009, however, gives Greenland some room to manoeuvre.

Linda Fabiani (Scottish Parliament, Scotland) **Non-State Diplomacy: Scotland in the World**

Since the union of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603, Scotland's state diplomacy has been conducted largely through London-based institutions. In 1707, Scotland and England established the United Kingdom, within which aspects of Scottish identity were protected – law, church and education. From the late 19th century, developments in government saw the emergence of a Scottish component of the British Civil Service, covering Scottish domestic affairs. Because of this history, despite four centuries of union with England, in one form or another, Scotland's identity as a nation is not in dispute. Its unique identity is recognised in many fields, not least in culture and sport. Since the formation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, non-state diplomacy has been a unifying priority, even when the governing parties favoured the constitutional status quo. With the coming to power of the SNP, as a minority administration in 2007, and as a majority government in 2011, the process intensified. The independence referendum in 2014 represents our biggest challenge. Have we laid the groundwork for Scotland to make the transition from stateless nation back to nation state? What diplomatic challenges do we face in making that transition? Can non-state diplomacy really help?

Adam Grydehøj (Island Dynamics, Denmark) **Nested Ethnicity, Multi-Level Paradiplomacy, and the Right to Self-Determination: Who Decides the Limits to Subsidiarity?**

Paradiplomacy can grant subnational jurisdictions greater self-determination, yet the pursuit of such self-determination can be problematic. For instance, regional and national interests may conflict, such as when regional disparities of wealth are reinforced by attempts to retain money in wealthy regions. While it may appear easy to err on the side of self-determination, situations also arise in which local communities desire greater autonomy within subnational regions that are themselves pursuing greater autonomy. This talk considers the case of the Shetland archipelago, a relatively wealthy subnational jurisdiction that regards itself as ethnically distinct from and economically exploited by the subnational jurisdiction of Scotland within the UK. Shetland's local government has historically been an innovator of paradiplomatic practice, using various governance tools to engage with the North Atlantic states. As debate over Scottish independence intensifies, Shetlanders are beginning to question their islands' jurisdictional status, with some asserting that the same arguments used by the Scottish government in favour of independence from the UK are valid for increased Shetland autonomy as well. This is important to Scotland as a whole given Shetland's key role in the prospective Scottish state's oil-fuelled economy. Are the Shetlanders entitled to determine whether their jurisdiction's resources should remain in the UK, benefit an independent Scotland, or be used for local benefit alone? Should there be limits to subsidiarity and hence to acceptable paradiplomacy? Given that higher-level jurisdictions tend to discourage paradiplomacy by their component lower-level jurisdictions, who should act as arbiter over such power relations?

Huei-Min Tsai (Island Studies Program, National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan) **The Right to the Ocean Commons: Struggles over the Traditional Marine Territories of Pongso no Tau**

The Tau people of Pongso no Tau (literally, "Home of the Tau," also known as Botel Tobago and as Orchid Island, a 45 km² island southeast of Taiwan) have for centuries followed a highly egalitarian, non-hierarchical, and sustainable form of land-ocean management. Not far from the starting point of *Kuroshio* Current and nurtured by the richness of this marine ecosystem, the *Tau* people have lived 'the original affluent society' with their comprehensive traditional ecological knowledge base on their home island for millennium. During the last century, however, two waves of colonial oppression by Japan (1896-1945) and Taiwan (since 1945) have had severe impacts on the socio-ecological fabric of the island. This paper focuses on the conflicts over jurisdiction and rights to the "public" ocean between the Tau people and the Taiwanese fishermen and marine governance, and the role of paradiplomacy in these struggles. We analyze uneven powers between central government and island communities, struggles to reclaim rights to traditional marine territories, and efforts to revitalize traditional knowledge and to strengthen respect for the ocean commons. The recent movement toward autonomy and the efforts of paradiplomacy with international organizations, island- ocean autonomy, and world heritage sites are highlighted.

Ilan Kelman (Center for International Climate & Environmental Research – Oslo, Norway *and* Many Strong Voices, Norway), **John Crump** (UNEP/GRID-Arendal, Norway), **Bob Conrich** (Independent Consultant, Anguilla), and **J.C. Gaillard** (University of Auckland, New Zealand) **Migration Impacts of Island Disaster Para-Diplomacy: Climate Change and Volcanoes**

Disaster para-diplomacy explores how people in sub-national jurisdictions engage in international affairs in order to deal with disaster risk reduction and disaster response. Most detailed explorations of the topic focus on sub-national island jurisdictions. Few examples of substantive island disaster para-diplomacy emerge.

A new global hazard is sometimes suggested as changing attitudes to the general lack of local island disaster para-diplomacy: Migration due to climate change. A frequent suggestion is that some non-sovereign islands might require entire evacuation. As such, explorations are ongoing regarding how migration decisions will be made, who will bear the cost, and the relationship of the non-sovereign island peoples to their governing state and to other sovereign states, before and after migration.

Through analysing ongoing decision-making and communication processes regarding climate change-related migration, analogies are drawn from volcano-related migration and evacuation on sub-national island jurisdictions. The conclusion is that, despite differences between the two hazards, significant similarities emerge regarding para-diplomacy responses from both the affected islands and their governing states. A contrast is also made with sub-national islanders who have forced to migrate by their governing state for military reasons.

Lorena Lopez de Lacalle (Regional Parliament of Araba, Basque Country) **Basque Paradiplomacy and European Union Internal Enlargement**

We live in a globalized world in which paradiplomacy is necessary if we, as subnational entities, are to establish direct relations to deal with the issues that are crucial to us, depending on the will and level of self-government enjoyed.

For those stateless nations wishing to initiate a process of self-determination, paradiplomacy is an effective instrument to help further our cause. It is an essential step in the right direction. Yet it is also true that there comes a time when the diplomacy of States on which we depend – in our case, the French and Spanish States – closes the door on us. Therefore, it is our view that the future of our people lies in the establishment of a free, sovereign State within the European Union so that we can forge diplomatic ties like any other State.

I believe that paradiplomacy and diplomacy should co-exist peacefully, in mutual respect for the different levels of self-government because they thus facilitate, speed up and take better advantage of the relations among the various levels of representation. They should not, however, work against each other because diplomatic relations should be understood as those that are built from the bottom up, not the other way around.

Maximo Q. Mejia Jr. (World Maritime University, Sweden) **Subnational Jurisdictions in the Contested South China Sea**

Conflicting claims over hydrocarbon-rich islands have made the South China Sea a potential powder keg for decades. The current Scarborough Shoal standoff (from 2nd Quarter, 2012) between China and the Philippines is the most recent in a string of incidents to rekindle concern and interest in the issue.

This paper conducts a survey of subnational jurisdictions established by competing claimants on contested island groups in the South China Sea. Among others, the Philippines has Kalayaan Municipality, the People's Republic of China has Sansha City, and the Republic of China has Kaohsiung Municipality. Aside from providing an overview of the structure, economic activity, levels of control, and military presence, the paper examines the role these subnational jurisdictions play within the broader context of the extant geopolitical dispute.

While it may be widely assumed that the different local government units on the contested islands were established to bolster national territorial claims, the paper also aims to determine the extent to which paradiplomacy, if at all, is exercised by and among such units. If paradiplomacy is found to be non-existent or negligible, the paper shall also speculate on the potential, desirability, and benefit such an interaction to contribute to de-escalation.

Igor Okunev (Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russia) **The Geopolitical Background of Paradiplomacy by Small Islands States and Subnational Jurisdictions**

Small island states and subnational jurisdictions are characterized by a peculiar political organisation. This stems from a compromise between advantageous inclusion in globalisation and the need to save or form a unique identity. The stateness of small island states as well as the ability of subnational jurisdictions to execute state functions in foreign policy is a developing process, not a stable condition. It is not a background for the formation of political institutions; instead, small island states and subnational jurisdictions exploit all available internal political instruments as a reaction to external political processes. This is because, in the modern world, sovereignty is not an attribute of but the cause of stateness. The key political and geographical arena for sovereignty is the balancing of power between actors in world politics by a polity or subnational jurisdiction. Space cannot determine the sovereignty and paradiplomatic abilities of a territory, but it may limit a jurisdiction's choice of paths and tools.

Ulrik Pram Gad (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) & **Rebecca Adler-Nissen** (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) **The Paradiplomacy of the EU 'Overseas Countries and Territories': When Post-Colonial Subjectivity Re-Articulates Sovereignty**

The postcolonial question par excellence concerns how the colonial subject may acquire subjectivity independent of imperial hegemony. The traditional solution – formal postcolonial sovereignty – has in many cases not lived up to expectations. Today, on the one hand, there is no alternative to articulating sovereignty. On the other hand, sovereignty is not alone in structuring world politics; rather a number of mutating configurations of polities can neither be accounted for as relations of equal sovereignty nor as relations of brute imperial hierarchy. Therefore, the paper argues, the relevant question for postcolonial polities is no longer whether to opt for independent sovereignty but rather how to articulate sovereignty to enhance subjectivity. To substantiate this point, the paper analyses the paradiplomacy conducted by a series of formally non-sovereign yet peculiarly post-colonial, polities – the 'overseas countries and territories' of the EU member states (i.e., Greenland, British Virgin Islands, Netherlands Antilles, French Polynesia) – in their relations with the EU, itself a polity engaged in novel sovereignty games. The paper claims that the paradiplomacy and the sovereignty games played by these polities construct them as 'almost sovereign, but not quite' – and, hence, soften the sharp distinction between sovereign or not.

Jordi Solé (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Catalonia) **From Para-Diplomacy to Proto-Diplomacy: The Emergence of New Western European States – The Case of Catalonia**

Since the 1980s, sub-state governments with legislative powers have developed a range of para-diplomacy strategies that over time have become more open and complex. These strategies have been more effective the more they have been conducted in cooperation and with the agreement of the respective central governments. Some sub-state governments have included in their para-diplomacy strategies the promotion of an own cultural identity. For governments such as Quebec, Catalonia, Flanders, Scotland or the Basque Country, external policies have become not only an opportunity to directly promote their economic and cultural interests, but also to publicize and promote their national specificity and aspirations.

Recently, some of these governments, especially in the case of Scotland and Catalonia, have been committed with the achievement in the short term and in a strictly democratic way of an independent state for their own countries. This means that para-diplomacy activities are complemented by proto-diplomacy, i.e. strategies to seek international alliances and support for the achievement of independence. Proto-diplomacy, to these stateless nations, is a discrete activity that often conflicts with state diplomacy. Nevertheless, it constitutes a key field of action in order to optimize the chances for these self-determination processes to become a success.

The European Free Alliance (EFA), as a European political party that draws together civic nationalists, supports the self-determination processes and sees this as a democratization and normalization towards a different and better Europe.

Sun-Kee Hong (Institution for Marine and Island Cultures, Mokpo National University, Korea) **Conservation and Application of Biocultural Diversity and Ecological Knowledge in the Shinan Dadohae Biosphere Reserve in Korea**

UNESCO Shinan Dadohae Biosphere Reserve (SDBR) has unique ecosystem, outstanding biodiversity, and distinct ecocultural values. The Dadohae area, which has been sustainably conserved for the past many decades, boasts not only a unique ecosystem but also residents who possess a wide range of traditional ecological knowledge. In terms of understanding the soundness of the ecosystem network known as the landscape system, the recent expansion of the scope of environmental development has served to heighten the degree of consideration given to not only biodiversity, which has long been used as an indicator with which to assess the soundness of an ecosystem, but also to cultural diversity. Since time immortal, humans have used the surrounding landscape and living organisms as their life resources. Moreover, whenever necessary, man has developed new species through cultivation. The use of biodiversity became the foundation that facilitated the establishment of elements of cultural diversity such as food and housing culture. Such issues on ecological knowledge have been conveyed not only to adjacent regions but also at the international level. Jeollanam-do Province, Shinan-gun County, and the local university formed a special committee for managing SDBR. Korea's Ministry of Environment also promotes local actions and the economy. However, the most important ecosystem conservation activity is undertaken by local peoples. Diverse local activity programmes are prepared within SDBR's management planning. This includes international activity to conserve the value of biocultural diversity in island- coastal ranges such as a motion development for IUCN WCC2012.

Eva Sørensen (Centre for Democratic Network Governance, Roskilde University, Denmark) & **Jacob Torfing** (Centre for Democratic Network Governance, Roskilde University, Denmark) **Enhancing Innovation through Partnerships and Networks**

Whether they are themselves sovereign entities or integral parts of larger sovereign states, most European islands are facing a number of wicked problems in terms of environmental challenges, limited access to education and key public services, and long term unemployment. Those islands that do not have a thriving tourist industry or have not found an economic niche in the world market, are also facing fiscal problems as the tax base is small, the economies of scale in the public sector are few and far between, and the global financial crisis tends to hit societies with limited economic diversity relatively hard. Finally, many islands suffer from being part of the low growth periphery that is far removed from the metropolitan growth centres and the global markets. The answer to these challenges is innovation that can help to enhance their problem solving capacity and to find new ways of inserting themselves into the world economy. Innovation can be produced either by public bureaucracies or by private firms in competitive markets. However, since both the bureaucratic silos in the public sector and the rivalling firms in the marketplace fail to mobilize all the relevant innovation assets, collaborative innovation that aims to bring together all the relevant and affected actors in networks and partnerships that transgress organizational and sectorial boundaries might provide a welcome alternative. The imaginary, institutional and geographical conditions for forming and consolidating innovative networks and partnerships seem to encourage internal collaboration while hampering collaboration with external actors. Therefore, islands must improve the conditions for collaborating with external actors. The paper aims to discuss how the process of collaborative innovation can be managed in order to overcome the barriers and expand the drivers. It illustrates the theoretical argument by referring to an empirical example of collaborative innovation at the Danish island Samsø.