CONCEPTUAL-THEORETICAL IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIP „PARADIPLOMACY - FOREIGN POLICY"

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Summary

Although the phenomenon of „paradiplomacy" appeared in the 1970s, only at the beginning of the XXI century, this concept has become present in scientific research and in the speeches of politicians. The term was invented to designate the international activities of the non-central institutions of a state: municipalities, regions, private companies, etc. Starting from the reasoning according to which the foreign policy represents the state activity in international affairs or the state activity on the international arena, the phenomenon „paradiplomacy" also designates the international activity of transnational regions or regional blocs, private companies, municipalities, etc. The article aims at highlighting the correlation between the concept of "paradiplomacy" and „foreign policy".

Keywords: *foreign policy, paradiplomacy, state, region, international relations.*

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Nowadays, the problem related to the correlation: paradiplomacy – foreign policy is more and more often raised. For a better understanding of the nature of this relationship, it is necessary, first of all, to determine the correlation between the concepts of „paradiplomacy" and „foreign policy". The content of these concepts does not remain unchanged, because the situation in the world is in continuous transformation. Thus, analyzing the conceptual-theoretical approaches dedicated to paradiplomacy, it should be noted that although the phenomenon is present in international relations since the medieval period, only in the 1970s it gained conceptualization in the scientific circuit. At the beginning of the XXI century, the concept of „paradiplomacy" is widely adopted by foreign policy theories, becoming present in scientific research and in the speeches of politicians. The term was invented to designate the international activities of the decentralized institutions of a country: municipalities, states or regions, private companies, etc. The activity of subnational groups is a permanent phenomenon, which gained strength with the end of the Cold War, being characterized by the political and economic decentralization of states and democratic openings that allow regions to act on the international stage. With the collapse of the socialist bloc, the acceleration of integration processes, the consolidation of globalization as a permanent phenomenon and a greater democratization of international processes, central governments agreed to give greater autonomy to the regions, allowing sub-state groups to solve some problems, sign cooperation agreements and establish international relations [10].

For a better understanding of the phenomenon "paradiplomacy", there is a need to examine it not only from the perspective of international relations but also from a linguistic one. Thus, the concept of „paradiplomacy" consists of the prefix „para" which means „next to", „on one

side" or „something secondary" and the constituent „diplomacy" [6, p. 28]. The concept was part of the revival of the study of federalism and comparative politics. It was used to describe the international activities of the Canadian and American federal states. The concept of „paradiplomacy", whose authorship was attributed to Professor Panayotis Soldatos of the University of Montreal, was used in 1988 [12]. In this context, the formation of transnational regional blocs, as in the case of Texas (United States), Nuevo León, Tamaulipas and Coahuila (Mexico), allows local problems to be addressed directly by the authorities in the region and not wait for the central government's decision on some issues [10].

Sub-state entities may seek to open proto-embassies abroad. In the same order of ideas, Duchacek notes that they are „relations of non-central governments with cultural, commercial and industrial centers of other states, including relations with the governments of foreign states. „Paradiplomacy" differs from normal diplomacy in that it is specific to the region, rather than the territorial unit as a whole" [9]. Professor Panayotis Soldatos, in turn, defines the concept of „paradiplomacy" as „a direct pursuit, and to varying degrees, of federal states involved in foreign activities" [9]. In general, it can be observed that „paradiplomacy" is understood as the participation of regional governments in international relations as subnational actors to protect their interests and identity. According to A. Lekur's opinion, regional governments can be actors in international relations. This phenomenon of participation in the international relations of regional governments, called „paradiplomacy", is most often used in Western industrialized liberal democracies. A similar definition of "paradiplomacy" was formulated by M. Sanalla, who understands it as a modern phenomenon that involves the activity of sub-state units as participants in international relations.

Another definition of „paradiplomacy" was formulated by D. Krikemans, who states that "paradiplomacy" is the international relations, in which subnational or regional governments participate independently to promote their own interests. As S. Wolff noted, paradiplomacy is a relatively new phenomenon and a subject of study in the science of international relations. Paradiplomacy aims to reflect the potential of foreign policy of substate entities and their activities in the international arena in order to achieve interests specific of foreign policy independently of the state [11, p. 1-16].

Researchers interpret paradiplomacy as an activity on the international arena of a certain territorial unit of the state, formed on the basis of nationality. Paradiplomacy is often a consequence of the presence of a territorial unit of a state and of certain national characteristics. It suggests that processes such as identity construction, definition/articulation of interests and political-territorial mobilization of a territorial unit of a state logically lead to the formation of regional governments that strive to develop the character of international actor of the territorial entity. Thus, paradiplomacy serves as a means of establishing national identity, helps to achieve certain interests, such as preserving the culture.

A similar definition of „paradiplomacy" was formulated by A. Zh. Mohammed according to whom it characterizes the ability of ethnic groups to enter into international relations with other states and to express their ethnic identity by representing their interests on the international arena [8, p. 27].

The phenomenon of „paradiplomacy" is also an area of interest for J. M. Magone. Thus, according to the researcher's position, „paradiplomacy" is a set of formal and informal elements that determine the participation of subnational actors in world politics with states, which gives state sovereignty a relative character [7]. For Kuznetsov [6], the study of paradiplomacy is a

line of thinking that contributes to solving contemporary problems in the area of international relations. Based on this, Kuznetsov himself presents „paradiplomacy" as an important element for subregional diplomacy, as it is considered to be a crucial factor in understanding issues related to the interpretation of aspects such as sovereignty.

Thus, according to Kuznetsov, „paradiplomacy" can be defined as „the form of political communication to obtain economic, cultural, political or any other benefits, whose core consists of self-sustaining actions of regional governments with foreign governments. and with non-governmental actors". In this context, „paradiplomacy" will be represented by the actions of non-state actors in the context of contemporary international politics, in order to achieve a greater participation of their communities in the new world order [4]. In order to achieve this new participation, the context of paradiplomacy is framed in the interest of the new actors to achieve a closer approach to the problems of international politics. According to A. Kuznetsov, based on the scientific discourse of the last twenty years, paradiplomacy can be defined as the participation of subnational units in international relations [6, p. 76-78].

According to Cornago, „paradiplomacy" is „the participation of non-central governments in international relations by establishing ad hoc contacts with private or public entities abroad in order to promote socio-economic and cultural issues, as well as any other external dimension of its constitutional powers" [3]. In his definition, Cornago emphasizes the role of 'non-central' entities, i.e. intermediary governments and not private companies or non-governmental institutions.

In order to research the correlation „paradiplomacy - foreign policy", the theses submitted by N. V. Yakovleva and I. M. Levkin deserve attention. According N. V. Yakovleva and I. M. Levkin „para-diplomacy" is one of the forms of cross-border cooperation, which is characterized by the interaction between administrative-territorial units between two states that avoid the border [13]. The research of paradiplomacy is also the area of scientific interest of I. S Denilkhanov. According to Denilkhanov, paradiplomacy is a process of decentralization and increase of international contacts between the regions of states [13, p. 19]. In this context, the theses submitted by G. O. Yarovoy, who defines paradiplomacy as an increase in the influence of subnational actors (primarily regions, units of administrative state division of states) in the internal politics of states and in international relations, can be mentioned [17, p. 28-41].

In the context of the analysis of the correlation „paradiplomacy - foreign policy", there is a need to highlight some conceptual-theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of «foreign policy». Given that the competence between states is already carried out on other „chessboards", in addition to the traditional, military and diplomatic ones, it takes place on the „chessboards" of international trade and finance, of mutual aid and military technology, of "international expansion" that has accelerated the speed of movement of ideas, images, values, information, and events, the research of the „paradiplomacy - foreign policy" correlation becomes an imperative of time. These new „chessboards" do not require the use of force. The competition between states is not based on the traditional type of strategic-diplomatic interaction in which each player or political actor remains a separate unit, but on an interdependence that is achieved based on political dialogue. Major changes in the hierarchy of the international system result more from internal failures than from interstate contradictions [16]. Also, the change of international relations is produced by different integrationist processes that develop both inside and outside the states. The emergence of new integrationist groups, the diversification of organizational forms, the evolution from simple to composite models takes place [12].

Thus, foreign policy means the activity of the state in international affairs or the activity of the state on the international arena that regulates relations with other subjects of foreign political activity: states, parties, international and regional public organizations [14]. The foreign policy of the state must be understood as a concrete historical category - it does not exist outside space and time. The essence of the spatial factor consists in the fact that the external world is the material world, which occupies a certain space, whose characteristics often create the limits of the political behavior of the given state. The time factor is determined by the fact that foreign policy is the activity of the state in a certain period of time. It has a concrete character, it is realized in the given time, and it is determined by the fact that the state, during this time, proposes its goals and the problems it has to solve.

The concept of „foreign policy" must be viewed in broader coordinates, to examine its internal sources, tools and models of implementation, because the set of these components can change over time and substantially influence the nature of state activity. The internal sources can be interpreted as ideo-political, socio-economic, institutional-bureaucratic sets. The set of ideo-political sources means the „picture of the world" and the place of the state within it, embodied in the social consciousness, in the acceptance of political elites, state leaders, arising from which the main ideas for promoting foreign policy are formed. The social-bureaucratic sources involve the aggregation of economic and material interests of individuals and social groups. The latter set of external sources presupposes a determined system of power, different for states in particular, and for the apparatus of policy-making.

The set of tools for the implementation of foreign policy by the state can be quite extensive. At one end of this spectrum is the use of force, aimed at ensuring the interests of the state, including methods of violence, i. e. the use of armed force. On the other hand, at the other end is diplomacy, understood as a complex of non-violent tools and methods in order to ensure state interests. Other traditional forms of foreign policy implementation are: initiating, diminishing or breaking relations; opening state representations in international and regional organizations or participating as a member in them; establishing and maintaining contacts at various levels with representatives of other states, parties and movements with which the state has no relations, but is interested in maintaining the dialogue on solving some problems [2]. Analyzing the means by which the foreign policy is carried out in order to achieve certain goals, the following types can be enumerated: political, economic, military, informational.

To the political means, the researcher attributes, first of all, diplomacy as an official activity of the state through specialized institutions, carried out due to special measures, procedures, methods, accepted by international law and which have a legal-constitutional status. Diplomacy is achieved through negotiations, visits, bilateral and multilateral conferences and consultations, diplomatic correspondence, participation in the work of international organizations.

By international means of foreign policy, the use of the economic potential of the respective state to achieve its objectives is meant. The state, which has a strong economy and a high financial capacity, occupies an important place in the international arena. Even states that are small by territory and do not have enough material and human resources, can play an important role in the world arena, if they have a sound and competitive economy based on advanced technologies and are able to expand their achievements beyond their borders. The active economic means are the embargo, the most-favored-nation clause regime, the granting of investments, loans and borrowings or the refusal to grant them.

By military means of foreign policy, the researcher considers the military force of the state - the army, the quantity and quality of armaments, the moral condition of the military staff, the existence of military bases and nuclear weapons. The military means can influence both directly and indirectly the relations with other states. The indirect means refer, in the researcher's opinion, to the arms race, which includes the production and experimentation of new types of weapons, military exercises and maneuvers, the elaboration of effective methods of force application.

The means of propaganda comprise the entire contemporary arsenal of the media, the methods of propaganda, which are used to strengthen authority and complete the image of the state in the international arena, thus helping to ensure the trust of allies and potential partners. Thanks to the media, a favorable image of the state is formed, or on the contrary, dissatisfaction with certain events is expressed. The means of propaganda are often also used to misinform public opinion [2, p. 25].

State structures have specialized bodies, competent in carrying out political activity and control over this activity: the ministry of foreign affairs or foreign relations; parliamentary departments or committees competent in carrying out foreign policy; embassies and representations, which include specialists in military and economic matters (representatives of the chambers); cultural, scientific attachés, who work under the control of embassies and representations abroad, based on official or semi-official programs, missions. The foreign policy reflects the internal situation of the state through advanced goals, by choosing the means and methods to achieve these goals. It is based on the resources at its disposal, the professional potential [5, p. 72].

At the same time, foreign policy also involves the activity of the state in the system of international relations. This activity is of undeniable importance. This is where the interests of states related to disarmament, state security, disaster prevention, the fight against terrorism and crime meet. The state defends its interests through political activity which is quite varied, and is in itself a necessary attribute.

The political activity of the state can be understood not only in a narrow, limited sense, as an activity in one field or another. Any social activity is a goal-oriented activity. It includes not only the practical actions of the subjects, but also determines, elaborates the aims and the content of its activity. In specialized literature, these aspects differ and are analyzed separately: 1. as a process of forming the goals and the content of political activity; 2. as a policy implementation process. The directions and goals of political activity do not require a differentiation (in this case they form a whole) and here the political activity of states is researched as a whole. It is in this capacity that it becomes both an „agent" of the interdependence between internal political and socio-economic relations, and of the system of interstate relations [15, p. 9]. In the opinion of the Romanian political scientist Silviu Brucan, the foreign political activity constitutes reactions to a series of internal and external incentives, regards the nations as systems with input, output and feedback in constant interaction with the international environment. In his vision, the primary sources of foreign policy are included in five variable sets: the natural-material bases, the social structure and the social forces of the conjuncture, the state system, the leadership [1, p. 182].

The first criterion, that of natural-material bases, includes the size of the territory, the geographical location and the production capacity. The social structure and social forces comprise the social classes and groups, the main relations between them, the nationalities and

the nation, each with its consciousness and ideology, with its cultural and historical traditions, with the psychic impulses and moods that make them act inside and outside the country. Economic and political crises, coups, elections, mass strikes, widespread violence, military hostilities and war are all included in the conjunctural factors. The state system includes the national decision-making mechanism, the state apparatus and the government, i.e. the instruments of their power.

All these variables also have an international dimension, which is necessarily reflected in the way their peoples and leaders see the role of the country in world politics. Starting with the size of the territory, its geographical location and its resources, which all have a relative value in relation to other countries, and reaching the general criterion of development that must also be related to international indices - all infrastructure variables gain value in foreign policy formation, only if they are measured on a global scale [1, p. 141].

The foreign policy of a state has as support the economic, demographic, military, technical-scientific, and cultural potential. This potential is often concentrated in one or more regions of the state. As ,,paradiplomacy" implies the idea that along with states, the provinces, the cantons, the lands are constituent units of federal foreign policy, we note that the geographical and geopolitical presence of regions within the state during historical evolution has led the region to choose partners in order to develop relations in different fields: commercial-economic, cultural, technical-scientific, etc. Intraregional cooperation or ,,paradiplomacy" of the region/regions of one or more states is a basic condition, whose presence implies a certain external activity at international level. The close correlation ,,paradiplomacy - foreign policy" allows, in the researcher's conception, the possibility of generalizations as paradiplomacy becomes a mechanism for achieving the foreign policy of the state at regional level.

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