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GLOBAL GOVERNANCE TOOLS: DIGITAL DIPLOMACY AND CYBER-DIPLOMACY

Digital diplomacy and Cyber-diplomacy has becoming two important aspects on the global governance structure which brings the convenient to the world connections. Sometimes this two words were easily to be misused. But that does not change the fact that they were the new trending during the international society construction. The digital tools has making today's world becoming more connection than ever and the cyberspace has making the similar achievement as well. With the greatest opportunity, the risk will always follow. The cyberspace security has becoming a major challenge to the world, and a challenge to the global governance. In this article, will including the various of example of the digital diplomacy and cyber-diplomacy use, and shows how does they affecting the international society.

Keywords: Digital Diplomacy, Cyber-Diplomacy, Diplomacy, Cyber Security and Global Governance.

Introduction

Global Governance would require communications and with the world's technology development and the Covid-19 pandemic, the whole world was more and more related to the cyber space. It show in the different aspects, from the basic video call with friends, social media spreading and even goes to the government cooperation. It was the time that cyber-diplomacy shows into the public. As the previous diplomats work that most of the diplomatic work was operated in an offline situation especially face-to-face communications, even some of them was engaged with secret agreements. This fact shows that diplomacy was not a typical activity should rely with cyber space or internet, but this was changed in the past few year with the pandemic because most of the countries was shut down their boarder in the most serious time to prevent the virus spreading.

Diplomacy was an activity that need to maintenance and also it was helping in the pandemic age to sharing information between different countries, but that was effected by the Covid-19 pandemic. The only choice to figuring this kind of situation was jump in to the modern technology and starting an online meeting to prevent the diplomatic drawbacks of pandemic. For example, the General Debate of the United Nation's General Assembly 2020 was held online in the pandemic age and that was the first "viral meeting" in the United Nation history[1]. And also that G7 leaders were also having a "viral meeting" before the actual meeting in 2021 [2]. This two examples were just a glance of cyber-diplomacy in the past few years during pandemic, there are uncountable diplomatic events happened in that age and also some of them were existed far more before the pandemic. And also the cyber-diplomacy were far more beyond the summitry using and also some of other usage.

Cyber-diplomacy was the tool mostly held by the government, and there is a similar one called digital-diplomacy was more operate by civilians. This two terms were highly connected, but with more differences. Just like all the new stuff started at the beginning, it always combines opportunities and concerns. Peoples' are questioning of using this new way to communication and concerned about how efficiency that is, will it bring any disadvantages which could not be fixed. In the other hand, cyber-diplomacy, especially in the "virtual meetings" was saving lots of money than the "actual meeting". This essay will be focusing on the how does cyber-diplomacy and digital diplomacy works, how does these items beneficial the global governance.

What is cyber-diplomacy and who uses it?

What is "cyber-diplomacy" becoming the first question in here. Is that a government using social media considering to be a "cyber-diplomacy" action? Answer for this question that paper from Attatfaa, Renauda and De Paolib was helpful that they mentioned "The use of cyber tools to promote broader diplomatic agendas, as well as the use of diplomatic techniques and mental modes to analyze and manage cyberspace problems, are separate but interdependent activities [3]." Basically that is the mainstream scholar's consensus. The cyber-

diplomacy is a solution and diplomatic technique to manage the cyberspace and protect the cyber security of a country. That was a consensus because that similar idea also provided by Barrinha and Renard's work titled "Cyber-diplomacy: the making of an international society in the digital age [4]". Both of the articles were also mentioned about the connected word "digital diplomacy" which is easy to confused with "cyber-diplomacy". Same as the definition they consensus about cyber-diplomacy, that they also has a consensus of digital diplomacy which a diplomat or government using social media could be classify into the digital diplomacy but not into cyber-diplomacy.

When the definition of cyber-diplomacy was confirmed, the question of "who use it" would be obvious. The mainly user of cyber diplomacy would be the governments around the world to promote international cooperation and resolve the conflict or warfare in the cyberspace. This could be include activities like international agreements and treaties on cyberspace, making policies or laws to prevent cyber-attacks, even having some of the common standards and best practice for cyber security. Such as the United Nation was trying to lead a treaty on cybercrime since 2019, but with the Covid-19 pandemic it was having some pause until March 2022, which makes it back to the table to discuss. If that could be passed it could "in order to facilitate global cooperation on cybercrime [5]". It was also showed that United Nation could be participator of the cyber-diplomacy and helps with maintenance the cyberspace security. Cyber-Diplomacy still being a new concept in recent year just like Barrinha and Renard said in their conclusion that their "article has sought first and foremost to cement the definition of cyber-diplomacy" in 2017, which means this subject still have a lot of space and gaps to fill in, and each participator might have their own definition and goals to design their cyber-diplomacy policies. And that might including the different ideology and focusing with them. For example, in this research will mentioned about the difference between the Untied States of America and China's policy in cyber-diplomacy and the cyberspace conflict between this two countries in the past ten years.

There is an interesting fact appears in this research which is the word "cyber-diplomacy" was not exist in Chinese scholar researches or journals. The word "cyber-diplomacy" should mean "网络外交[1]" or "网络空间外交[2]", but in the research there are no related journals available in the biggest and most credible Chinese scholar website CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure), most of result was talking about the "digital-diplomacy", but not "cyber-diplomacy". For example, there is a research in 2015 titled "Analysis on China's Cyber Diplomacy" public by Chinese Academy of Social Science, this article was mostly talks about the digital-diplomacy operations in China, but not the cyber one[6]. That provide a new view of China's cyber-diplomacy policy.

Does China have one or they do not consider about this particular area? Actually it's not, China was paying attentions into cyberspace, but most of their cyberspace regulation and policies was noted on the "Cybersecurity Law of the People's Republic of China" [7]. This law was passed on 2016 and begin to take effected on 1st June, 2017, which is the first cybersecurity law in China and in this law that points out that how important that cybersecurity are and what should a government do to protect their citizens who use cyberspace and also some of the regulations if the cyberspace getting attacked by others. And also in the 14th September, 2022 this "Cybersecurity Law of the People's Republic of China" were started their first amending which brings more specific responsibilities of government and personal information protection [8]. But this amend has not been approved yet, due to the conference will be hold on April this year. With the "Cybersecurity Law of the People's Republic of China" established in 2017, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China was declared their position on international rule in cyberspace [9], in that declare that points out that "The deep integration of cyberspace and the real world has brought great development opportunities to people, but also brought many risks and challenges." And also says that some of the country trying to use their military advance into the cyberspace which should be stopped, and the cyberspace should not being another platform for combat and all parties "should be committed to maintaining a peaceful, safe, open, cooperative, and orderly cyberspace, and must not use information and communication technologies to implement acts that are contrary to the maintenance of international peace and security" Also should follow the Charter of the United Nations, respect each country's sovereignty also in the cyberspace, to maximum the benefit of cyberspace by "build a community of shared future in cyberspace". This piece of the declaration of cyberspace was giving China a positive imagine of using cyberspace and also the provide a different view of China's cyber-diplomacy policy,

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[1] Cyber – 网络（wǎn luò）；Diplomacy – 外交（wài jiāo）

[2] Cyberspace – 网络空间（wǎn luò kōng jiān）；Diplomacy – 外交（wài jiāo）

just like all the other foreign policy that China shows to the world today that most of them were design to achieve peace and cooperate with other countries and to build a community of shared future for all mankind.

In 2015, United States of America and China was having agreement of cyberspace to cooperation and investigation of cybercrimes [10] , which shows how important that cyberspace is and how much attention of cooperation that the two biggest economy in the world do. But that was not having a positive result that people's expected, both sides were revealed the cyber-attack or hacking in their official channels. For example, there is an official website of the United States of America called Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) to show the record of Chinese government's malicious cyber activities [11], and the most recent record was revealed on 6th October, 2022. In China side, the most recent report was on 6th September, 2022 and it was the interview between CCTV(China Central Television) and MFA Coordinator for Cyber Affairs Wang Lei and also public on the official website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China which is the first time that China officially confirmed that the US cyber-attacks and cyber theft [12]. In this report that has mentioned "US persistent cyber-attacks and cyber theft against China that have lasted for more than ten years." And also that mentioned that the US should not insistent on the "US exceptionalism" on the cyberspace, otherwise that will bring conflicts to the world. In the end of the interview that Wang Lei said, "we still believe that China and the US share common interests in maintaining peace and stability in cyberspace. We hope that the US will join China in assuming our due international responsibilities as major countries, upholding the existing international system, observing common rules, and working together to build a peaceful, secure, open and cooperative cyberspace through dialogue and consultation on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefits[12]." In Edward Snowden's book Permanent Record that he also pointing out some of the tools and techniques that the US government do on violated cybersecurity [13]. During the Russia and Ukraine conflict this year, that US has confirmed that they started cyberattack to Russia [14]. That shows that China and the United States of America were the major player on cyberspace.

From the previous research that shows cyberspace was highly related to everyone's life, but a peaceful and non-conflict cyberspace was not existed. Countries and Governments were the mainly user of cyber-diplomacy just like other official diplomacy tools. And also cyber-diplomacy will be use before conflicts, during conflicts and also post-conflicts. With the time flies, the cyberspace would become more and more important, and a peaceful cyberspace will lead the world into a much peaceful age which need a three party to do the regulations like the United Nation. And each of the country should having their own cyber-diplomacy policy to meets the UN regulations and brings peace to the entire world.

Difference between Cyber-Diplomacy and Digital Diplomacy

Digital Diplomacy is a related words with cyber-diplomacy but have a completely different definition with cyber-diplomacy, which means "the use of social networking sites in order to foster dialogue with online publics [15]". That was mostly categories into public diplomacy which helps a country to more easier to promoting their policy and also country image into the foreign country even in their own country. For example, the twitter account of Secretary Antony Blinken [16] should be consider as a use of digital diplomacy and also few of the Chinese MFA Spokespersons' account as well. Diplomat holds a social network account was a normal thing to do and it was helps with the diplomacy work more efficiency. Social media was not the only using of digital media and also in the pandemic age that tons of diplomacy meetings even some of the country's leader meetings was holding online with digital tool.

For example, the 46th of US President Joe Biden was getting into the office during the pandemic in 2021 [17], it makes that most of the meeting with him would be online. In 15th November, 2021, US President Joe Biden with Chinese President Xi Jinping were having a "virtual meeting [18]", during this meeting they were talks about the international communities and also talks about how to create a more reliable Sino-US relationship. This meeting would be a top level of leaders' diplomacy with digital diplomacy. But that was not the last time, in the earlier this year, 18th Match, 2022, Chinese President Xi Jinping and US President Joe Biden were having a second online meeting [19], according to MFA of China that this meeting was called by the US side. During this meeting that President Joe Biden points out that US "seek a new Cold War with China; it does not aim to change China's system; the revitalization of its alliances is not targeted at China; the US does not support 'Taiwan independence'; and it has no intention to seek a conflict with China [19]". And then they were talks about the situation on Ukraine conflict, and China was promoting using the dialogue way to NATO and Russia to peacefully resolve the conflict. Also the COVID-19 Pandemic was also an important problem to consider. In the end of the online meeting that "two Presidents agreed that the video call is constructive [19]",

and direct their team to put US-China Relationship back on the track which could beneficial the entire world. During the pandemic Chinese President Xi Jinping was not going aboard for any meeting for 970 days since 2020 [20]. That shows how much foreign affairs were hold online with a digital diplomacy tool. Even some people was saying that online meeting were not formal enough, but that truly bring high efficiency and also saving lots of the budgets to a foreign affair events.

In Bjola and Manor's research that they were mentioned about today's diplomacy was in the age of "Hybrid of Diplomacy" which means the digital diplomacy and traditional diplomacy will having their own use on the different uses and the pandemic was a "force" that pushed diplomacy into the new age [21]. But with their research with data that digital diplomacy still did not have a guide book to follow and should the "Zoom-Diplomacy" being continued or not was still in argued. Thus "Hybrid-Diplomacy" should be a transition or the next age of diplomacy was still unknown.

With the Digital Diplomacy, that a countries foreign policy would be more easier to receive by a civilians. "By 2018, 93 per cent of heads of government and MFAs around the world had social media accounts, along with over 4,600 embassies and 1,400 ambassadors [21]". That shows how widely use of the digital diplomacy and this number was before the pandemic, it could be inference that would be more during pandemic age. And also the online meeting also becoming a part of the digital diplomacy with high efficiency. Basically, that diplomacy with a digital tool would consider to a digital diplomacy which was being widely using around the world and that was a different word with "cyber-diplomacy" but was easier to confuse.

Russia was trying to be a player of the digital diplomacy as well. During the Syria crises, Russia has shown the shortage of using digital tools to promoting policies which has been pointed out by Z. Shahud In that article has mentioned that Russia was not paying attention on promoting policy into the Arabic world and has showed the lagging of opening a social media account [22]. During the Ukraine crises, Russian's shortage of digital diplomacy was showed once again, the similar problem has not changed in the past few years. The digital media tunnel was still being controlled by the western world, as Z. Shahud mentioned that the MFA of Russia should be putting more attention into the digital diplomacy and getting involved into digital media trending, using the local language into the posting country's social media network to promoting Russia's believes and faith. With the digital diplomacy's fails, Russia was major cyber-attacking victim as well. Cyberspace security becoming a major problem which need to be resolved as soon as possible. Russian government has established three different strategy files to protecting cyberspace security, national security and diplomacy during 2016 to 2021. A cyberspace warfare focus on Russia has started with the special military operations to Ukraine. In the end of April, the Ukraine has confirmed that they has a large cyber army focusing on Russia and the Anonymous (hacker group) has confirmed they have done many attacks to Russian's government and press websites [23]. That has showed that Russia was not good at the new age of diplomacy, but they were trying to do it better with some of the plans which also shows how important that digital and cyber diplomacy are.

Sweden was the country which started digital diplomacy as an early birds which was beneficial the country's image a lot. Sweden using their digital diplomacy tools to communicate with the people around the world which has making them has an open, liberty and friendly image to the international society [24]. The framework of how Sweden done should be a model to other country as well. This kind of openness was promoting the international society's connection and making people around the world has more understanding of each other. The soft power strength will beneficial the whole world to communicate and providing an environment to achieved global governance.

Digital Diplomacy has changing from a new trend into a national strength to most of the country and widely used on international relations. It should combined with sharp power and soft power together to achieve the best result [25]. With the previous examples which has showed the using of digital tools from a diplomat, a politician, a government organization, a non-government organization and etc., which all shows the digital tools has making the world more closer and connected. But challenges also comes along with it, the cyberspace security was becoming a new challenge to all mankind. Keep the cyberspace secure becoming the next problem which has to be resolved as soon as possible. It makes the Cyber-diplomacy becoming a new trend to follow and to build achievement. Also that would be the basis of the global governance practice, a peaceful cyberspace would be the model of how does the international society works together with a shared future.

Conclusion

As the previous research that cyberspace was becoming more and more important in recent year and each country was paying much attention and effort to maintenance to safety and fair access. It was providing a perfect opportunities to build up a global governance regulation. Also that would bring more opportunities to practice digital diplomacy.

Cyber-diplomacy and digital diplomacy refer to the use of technology and digital platforms in international relations and diplomacy. These terms are often used confusedly, but there are some key differences between the two. Cyber-diplomacy is basically measured on cyberspace using diplomatic way to cooperation and making policy. And most of the cyber-diplomacy policy was connected with cybersecurity issues. "the world today is undergoing accelerating changes unseen in a century, and it has entered a new phase of uncertainty and transformation [26]". That would need the world development into a more connected and cooperated form, and the cyberspace security would be the most important one in the recent and near future development. Maintenance the cyberspace at a peace and fair situation was the major goal of set up a cyber-diplomacy goal. On the other hand, the key aspect of digital diplomacy is the use of social media to engage with foreign audiences and stakeholders. This allows governments to communicate directly with people in other countries, bypassing traditional media channels and reaching a much wider audience. In addition, digital diplomacy allows for more immediate and interactive communication, enabling governments to respond to events and developments in real-time. Although there are the potential benefits of digital diplomacy, but also challenges and risks followed with it. For example, the use of social media and other online platforms can make it easier for governments to disseminate misinformation and engage in disinformation campaigns, and the Capital Riots in 2021 would be a negative example that a US President using social media and brings chaos to the country [27]. In addition, the lack of face-to-face interaction can make it harder to build trust and establish personal connections, which are often crucial for successful diplomacy.

Overall, while digital diplomacy offer new opportunities for advancing foreign policy objectives, by leveraging the power of digital technologies, diplomats can more effectively communicate and collaborate with their counterparts, and can more effectively advance their country's foreign policy goals. Also it is important for governments to carefully consider the risks and challenges associated with the use of technology in international relations. And by developing effective strategies and safeguards, governments can take advantage of the benefits of these tools while minimizing the risks. And the cyber-diplomacy should contains responsibilities to the all mankind, but not only focusing on the country's interest. The world should setting up a common goal with a shared future and benefit the whole world. Cyberspace will be the next area that every country tries to set foot on, but also a common goal would make it much better. A better using of these tools would be beneficial the global governance to a brand new age.

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**ИНСТРУМЕНТЫ ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ:
ЦИФРОВАЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЯ И КИБЕРДИПЛОМАТИЯ**

Цифровая дипломатия и кибердипломатия стали двумя важными аспектами структуры глобального управления, которая обеспечивает удобные для мира связи. Иногда эти два термина употребляются неправильно. Но это не меняет того факта, что цифровая дипломатия и кибердипломатия являются новым трендом построения международного сообщества. Цифровые инструменты сделали сегодняшний мир более взаимосвязанным, чем когда-либо, и этому же способствует киберпространство. За самой большой возможностью всегда следует риск. Безопасность в киберпространстве становится серьезным вызовом миру и вызовом глобальному управлению. В этой статье приводятся различные примеры использования цифровой дипломатии и кибердипломатии и показывается, как они влияют на международное общество.

Ключевые слова: Цифровая дипломатия, Кибердипломатия, Дипломатия, кибербезопасность и глобальное управление.

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