

UNIT 3

EVOLUTION OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

Vocabulary List

by virtue of	to be manifested in
ceremonial duties and protocol	to be on the agenda
defiance of national policy	to be predominantly confined to
deterrent to	to be transparent to public scrutiny and control
essentially significant development	to broaden the tasks
face-to-face exchanges	to carry out political transactions
formal representation	to clearly outline rules of procedure
increased involvement in external affairs	to codify the rules of conduct
intertwining of issues	to conduct smth via resident missions
multilateral diplomatic system	to draft
mutual relations	to emerge
nation-state	to establish principles of sovereignty
normative and regulatory rules	to function as a key actor
permanent representative to	to gradually shift the emphasis
permanently accredited diplomatic mission	to lay the groundwork for
projected establishment of	to maintain through authorized agents
resident ambassador	to mark the beginning of
roots of smth reach back to	to oil the wheels of
standing diplomatic conference	to provide the foundation of / for
to advance national interests	to fade into the background
to act as a forum for	to reduce interstate friction
to amend	to unleash an unprecedented drive
to attain one's zenith	to wage an aggressive war
to be distinguished by	

Diplomacy is the method by which nation-states, through authorized agents, maintain mutual relations, communicate with each other, and carry out political, economic, and legal transactions.

Although the roots of diplomacy reach back to the beginning of organized human society, the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 is generally believed to be the origin of diplomacy as an institution, since it has marked the beginning of the European nation-state system (which initially consisted of twelve well-established sovereign states) and codified the rules of conduct among sovereign and "equal" states. The Westphalian principles of sovereignty and the territorial state that were established

in the seventeenth century provide the foundation of today's multilateral diplomatic system.

The history of diplomacy is commonly divided into the "old diplomacy" that attained its zenith in the nineteenth century and the "new diplomacy" of the twentieth. The "old diplomacy" or "bilateral diplomacy" had been dominated for almost three hundred years by the "French system of diplomacy". By virtue of this diplomatic trend several key features of contemporary diplomacy – resident ambassadors, secret negotiations, ceremonial duties and protocol, honesty, and professionalism – were established and developed. Old diplomacy was predominantly confined to the conduct of relations on a state-to-state basis via resident missions (embassies), with the resident ambassador functioning as a key actor. The "new diplomacy" that emerged in the nineteenth century and found its fullest growth in the twentieth is distinguished by the two key themes: "First, the requirement that diplomacy should be more transparent to public scrutiny and control, and second, the projected establishment of an international organization which would act both as a forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes and as a deterrent to the waging of aggressive war".

The vestiges of the "old diplomacy" rapidly faded into the background after World War II, when the "standing diplomatic conference" (or, as it is more commonly known, international organization) and multilateral diplomacy blossomed. By the middle of the twentieth century, the international arena had become too big and too complex for traditional bilateral diplomacy to manage, unleashing the unprecedented drive of the past fifty years to set up international and regional organizations with clearly outlined rules of procedure, permanent secretariats, and permanently accredited diplomatic missions and gradually shifting the emphasis in diplomatic method from traditional bilateralism to multilateralism. This appeared to be an essentially significant development in international relations.

As a consequence, the "new" diplomacy, especially as it is manifested in the United Nations, broadened the tasks of the profession, subtly changing the course of the diplomats' conducting their practices. Today, the tasks of a diplomat include:

- formal and substantive representation (the former involves presentation of credentials, protocol and participation in the diplomatic circuit of a national capital or an international or regional institution, while the latter includes explanation and defiance of national policies and negotiations with other governments);

- information gathering (acting as a "listening post");
- laying the groundwork or preparing the basis for a policy or new initiatives;
- reducing interstate friction or oiling the wheels of bilateral or multilateral relations;
- managing order and change; and
- creating, drafting and amending international normative and regulatory rules.

Multilateral diplomacy emphasizes diplomats' public speaking, debating and language skills since communications are conducted principally by means of verbal, face-to-face exchanges rather than in the predominantly written style of bilateral diplomacy. The expansion and intertwining of political, economic, and social issues and concerns on the agenda of multilateral diplomacy have pushed diplomats towards greater specialization, and increased involvement in external affairs of domestic ministries, such as those concerned with agriculture, civil aviation, finance and health. As Sir David Hannay, former permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, points out: "You are supposed to have a reasonable spread of specializations. You now certainly have to have military advice. And on the development side, you have to have people who know something about environment, who know something about population control, who know something about wider development policies". Also, multilateral diplomacy has overlaid the task of the international system on the diplomats' traditional function of advancing and protecting national interests within the system.

(after James P. Muldoon Jr. <http://gtuproject.ucoz.com/load/20-1-0-115>)

Exercise 1. Find in the text the English for:

постійний представник у	надзвичайно важлива подія
сукупність питань	вести агресивну війну
вносити поправки	постійний посол
прогнозоване створення	реалізовувати політичні
розпочати безпрецедентну кампанію	домовленості
ознаменувати початок	система багатосторонньої
нормативно визначати правила	дипломатії
поведінки	постійно акредитоване
з'явитися, постати	дипломатичне представництво
бути на порядку денному	завдяки; внаслідок; на підставі
церемоніальні обов'язки і протокол	установлювати принципи
полегшувати, сприяти	суверенітету
діяти як форум	офіційне представництво

здійснювати щось через
повноважних представників
закласти основу для
витоки чогось сягають
поступово змістити акцент / наголос
взаємовідносини
стримуючий засіб; стримування
бути викладеним; проявлятися у
національна держава
чітко окреслити правила процедури
постійно діюча дипломатична
конференція
готувати проект документа
нормативні та регулюючі правила
особистий обмін думками

обстоювати національні інтереси
переважно зводиться до
бути відкритим для контролю з
боку громадськості
розширювати завдання
закласти основу (2)
сягати розквіту / апогею
розширення участі у зовнішній
політиці
зменшувати розбіжності між
державами
вирізнятися
діяти як ключовий гравець
нехтування національною
політикою
здійснювати щось через постійні
представництва
втратити актуальність, відійти на
задній план

Exercise 2. Fill in the gaps, using the following collocations.

to establish principles
to codify rules of conduct
to attain its zenith
the accredited diplomatic missions

by virtue of
the intertwining of the issues
transparency to public scrutiny

1. Islamic civilization ___ around the beginning of the last millennium due to its inherent respect of freedom of thought and conscience.
2. If the recognition by the United Nations of a staff member's family status ___ the domestic law of his country conflicted with that of a host country it would fall to the latter to determine whether or not to grant them visas.
3. Because of ___ of non-discrimination and positive action, they must be defined within the framework of each national legislation.
4. The fourth objective of the reporting process is to facilitate ___ of government policies with respect to economic, social and cultural rights.
5. As such, it is important that ___ should be closely associated with and involved in the contingency plan implementation process.
6. Usually, general conventions are of the multilateral type and ___ in a given sector.

7. There seems to be a broad consensus that regulation at Community level should ___ and objectives, while Member States should be able to implement the rules in line with the needs at the national level.

Exercise 3. Paraphrase the highlighted expressions, using the phrases from the Vocabulary List.

1. As the protector of the people the military asserts its concern of armed dissident groups that continue *to conduct hostilities* in the countryside and pose a real risk to the nation's security and integrity.
2. With regard to security, peacekeeping operations have a significant role to play *to provide the basis* for promotion security sector reform.
3. In many cases ideological disagreements begin conflicts, but as time passes, these disagreements *become less important* and greed and corruption become the fuel for war.
4. The position of France is that the peaceful use of nuclear power should not be *limited to* the handful of States that already possess the technology.
5. The conclusions of the European Council stressed on the importance of *switching the significance* to a digital, knowledge-based economy which will be a powerful engine for growth, competitiveness and jobs.
6. Allegations of human rights abuses *have their roots in* the mid-1990s when a number of corporations producing major brand name products were accused of child labour practices on a global scale.

Exercise 4. Match the words with their definitions or synonyms.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. to oil the wheel | a. in view of; on account of; thanks to |
| 2. by virtue of | b. to give the main features or general idea; a thumbnail sketch |
| 3. transparent | c. conflict; hostility; resentment |
| 4. vestiges of | d. to make things run smoothly |
| 5. zenith | e. appointed and having official credentials; officially recognized |
| 6. to intertwine | f. a gradual change or development of an idea, situation or object |
| 7. scrutiny | g. to unite by twisting together |
| 8. friction | h. to involve; to deal with |
| 9. accredited | i. to develop or come to a promising stage |
| 10. evolution | j. thorough examination; once-over |
| 11. to blossom | k. a united effort directed towards a common goal |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 12. groundwork | l. as plain as the nose on one's face |
| 13. to outline / an outline | m. the highest point; peak; acme |
| 14. a drive | n. remnant, remains, residue |
| 15. to concern | o. foundation; basis; donkey-work |

Exercise 5. Comment on the meaning of the following notions.

nation-state	ceremonial duties and protocol
authorized agent	public scrutiny and control
rules of conduct	forum for the peaceful settlement of
multilateral diplomatic system	disputes
bilateral diplomacy	deterrent to the waging of aggressive war
multilateral diplomacy	standing diplomatic conference
resident ambassador	rules of procedure
resident mission	interstate friction
permanently accredited diplomatic missions	face-to-face exchange

Exercise 6. Discuss the following questions.

1. Why is transparency to public scrutiny and control crucially important for the efficiency of modern diplomacy?
2. How does globalization influence the enhancing of the role of multilateral diplomacy in the modern world?
3. What are the new tasks of modern diplomacy as compared to those of the 'old' diplomacy?
4. Why have diplomats' public speaking, debating and language skills become so important recently?
5. Why has modern diplomacy in its requirements shifted the emphasis to narrow specialization of diplomats?

Exercise 7. Complete the sentences using the context as well as your own ideas.

1. A standing diplomatic conference appeared to
2. As old diplomacy was confined to
3. Participating in a diplomatic circuit or an international institution, a diplomat
4. The most essential skills of a diplomat can't be limited to
5. Diplomats were pushed towards greater specialization because of

Exercise 8. Comment on the meaning of the following words and fill in the gaps with the appropriate form of the word.

• **merge – emerge – submerge**

1. Racial mixing is a process that has made it possible to acknowledge a sense of multiple belonging and ___ cultural differences and community-based separatism.
2. The territorial state itself was a novel form of political community when it ___ in Europe.
3. Under 1967 Treaty the institutions of the ECSC, EEC, and EURATOM were ___ into the European Community (EC).
4. The country has ___ from decades of self-imposed isolation to become a major player in global politics and economics.

• **evolve – devolve – involve – revolve**

1. While some observers believe that the UN is ___ to become a legislator and enforcer of international law, states still bear the principal burden of enforcing and interpreting the law for themselves.
2. Confidentiality concerns also ___ respect for the rights of others.
3. This institute should become the axis around which European gender equality issues and their implementation ___.
4. The Commission has now accepted that it has ___ more authority and responsibility to the Delegations.
5. So the problem seems ___ into a case of societal vision and the political will have to translate the vision into action.

Exercise 9. Note the difference between the following synonyms and fill in the gaps.

• **projected – foreseen – anticipated**

1. The representation of everybody who directly or indirectly needs such assets for undertaking activities must be ensured and ___ by legislation.
2. The committee shared their ideas and revised the plans in the light of a discussion about ___ problems of implementation.
3. The bar chart shows Canada's historical and ___ population growth rates.
4. Therefore, from the date of submission of the proposal to the signature of the contract, frequently a 9 month time span must be ___ and the first payments will only be made thereafter.

• **distinguish – differentiate**

1. Ideas and values are the most inclusive of cultural phenomena which serve to integrate and ___ our civilizations.
2. The factors that ___ international politics are: (1) that the stakes of the game are considered to be of unusual importance and (2) that in international politics the use of force is not excluded as a means of influencing the outcome.
3. The program intends to innovate by setting up the European Research Council, a new instrument that should ___ itself through its ability to bring European research together.

• **contemporary – modern – up-to-date**

1. The question that drives much of ___ IR is whether or not this alters the basic nature of world politics.
2. ___, in the context of politics and IR, means roughly the seventeenth century onwards.
3. However, the Commission does not have ___ comprehensive information on how many Union citizens are affected as regards national referenda on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe.
4. The Dutch political scientist, Peter van Ham stressed upon a profound shift in the international political paradigm, what he termed a move from the ___ world of geopolitics and power to the post-___ world of images and influence.

• **resident – inhabitant – dweller – citizen – national**

1. No security, bond or deposit shall be required of a party who in one Member State applies for enforcement of a judgment given in another Member State on the ground that he is a foreign ___ or that he is not domiciled or ___ in the Member State in which enforcement is sought.
2. Being legally ___ is therefore a prerequisite for the application of these provisions.
3. Portugal has controlled Madeira for over 500 years, and many British ___ – as well as other ___ – have immigrated there for the past 200 years.
4. This Treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as openly as possible and as closely as possible to the ___.
5. The adopted documents envisage creating a multiethnic and multicultural Kosovo, in which each and every ___ has a place and enjoys the same rights.
6. The Earth Summit in Rio launched new ideas and invited the international community to commit itself to the promotion of sustained development in a

world at peace, in which the right to live in dignity as a ____, and as a city-____, is also a human right.

• **to endorse – to foster – to promote**

1. Inside the EU, continental leaders and the EU Commission have officially ____ the idea of granting a visa-free regime with Ukraine.
2. The work of the United Nations to ____ credible elections around the world also contributes directly to its efforts to ____ peace and prevent conflict.
3. Via the expanded use of the consular services, special agents, and a revitalized navy able to defend American interests anywhere in the world, Jackson by 1836 had ____ an increase in exports and in imports over his first year in office.
4. US military leaders were reluctant to ____ this drastic change in war aims.
5. The Parties have declared their determination to ____ mutual understanding and trust among peoples by ____ and facilitating cultural exchanges, freer movement and contacts among them both on an individual and collective basis.

Exercise 10. Choose the appropriate derivative.

• **attain – attained – attaining – attainable**

1. The Union shall be served by a single institutional framework which shall ensure the consistency and the continuity of the activities carried out in order to ____ its objectives.
2. The ____ level of human and minority rights, individual and collective and civil freedoms may not be lowered.
3. We await further assistance so that we can confront this scourge and ____ peace in our region.
4. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Official Languages Act give the Canadian government a key role in ____ the policy's objectives.
5. The right to enjoy the highest ____ standard of physical and mental health is a fundamental human right.

• **scrutiny – scrutinous – scrutineer – scrutinize**

1. The national government confirms this after ____ examination of the OSCE Commission .
2. A ____ must have the status of a delegate, alternate or member observer at the Convention.
3. The Committee needs adequate time to fully ____ the detailed proposals, which stretch from the current biennium through to future biennia.

4. In any given year, the issue came under the ___ of foreign government agencies such as the United States Department of State, the EU, UN bodies and reputable non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International.
5. Each country should ___ what can be done to prevent and reduce poverty using all available national resources.

Exercise 11. Translate the sentences.

1. Період після Другої світової війни ознаменував зародження системи багатосторонньої дипломатії, завдяки якій взаємовідносини між національними державами здійснюються не лише через постійно акредитовані дипломатичні представництва, але й через міжнародні організації.
2. Сьогодні діяльність зовнішньополітичних відомств держав повинна бути максимально відкрита для контролю з боку суспільства, оскільки в сучасних міжнародних відносинах з'явився складний комплекс проблем, які вимагають розширення участі громадянського суспільства в обстоюванні національних інтересів та реалізації політичних домовленостей.
3. Міжнародні організації, які сьогодні функціонують як ключові актори міжнародних відносин і є форумом для обговорення актуальних проблем, повинні розширювати поле своєї діяльності й поступово зміщувати акцент на вирішення питань сталого розвитку, що закладе основи подальшої успішної взаємодії між державами.
4. Витоки встановлення і розвитку церемоніальних обов'язків і протоколу сягають часів, коли нормативно визначалися правила поведінки та закладалась система багатосторонньої дипломатії.
5. Постійний посол країни бере безпосередню участь у зовнішній політиці держави, відстоює та захищає національні інтереси та зміцнює взаємні відносини з стратегічними партнерами.
6. Система багатосторонньої дипломатії, що є основною формою взаємовідносин на міжнародній арені, закладає основи для колективного управління, зменшення розбіжностей між державами та врегулювання конфліктних ситуацій.
7. Розпочавши безпрецедентну кампанію за вихід країни з Євросоюзу, ініціатори не тільки продемонстрували нехтування національними інтересами, а й поставили під сумнів питання колективної безпеки та функціонування держави як ключового актора у глобальних інтеграційних процесах.

8. Сучасна дипломатія переважно зводиться до реалізації політичних домовленостей на міждержавному рівні через постійно акредитовані дипломатичні представництва та за посередництвом уповноважених представників.
9. Постійно діючі дипломатичні конференції передбачають особистий обмін думками, просування національних інтересів, а також існують як форум для пошуку ефективної формули компромісу, відтак полегшуючи налагодження співпраці між державами.
10. Нехтування національною політикою може призвести до порушення нормативно встановлених принципів національного суверенітету і зробити державу неспроможною відстоювати та захищати власні інтереси в разі ведення проти неї агресивної війни.

Exercise 12. a) Match the words from A box with all their synonyms in B box.

A

vestiges	projected	deterrent	defiance	subtle
key	settlement	dominate	promote	traditional

B

non-compliance	conventional	endorse	foster	crucial	resolution
time-honoured	encourage	audacity	envisaged	relics	pivotal
be paramount	fundamental	ephemeral	remains	prevail	restraint
reconciliation	principal	foreseen	contempt	tiny	opposition
disincentive	curb	estimated	rebellion	check	anticipated

b) Match the words from A box with all their antonyms in C box.

C

unpredictable	extraordinary	tributary	leash	submit
tremendous	incentive	unexpected	impetus	minor
compliance	follow	hinder	sudden	sizable
dissent	disagreement	handicap	secondary	

Exercise 13. Choose the appropriate word.

1. The country's nuclear program and its continued *defiance* / *audacity* of the demands of the international community on this issue have generated considerable international concern.
2. What started as a political *settlement* / *reconciliation* to a European problem was to be exported across the globe.

3. Coercion involves making an adversary modify its behavior to avoid or end punishment and other *restraints / disincentives*, whereas reward involves the use of positive stimuli.
4. After the national security adviser *projected / outlined* the terms to South Vietnamese president, the latter got furious and immediately rejected the draft treaty.
5. The Council welcomes the several important steps Serbia has taken towards *resolution / reconciliation* and cooperation in the region.
6. We *promote / endorse* this urgent appeal to each and every one of us to finally break the deadlock by adopting the programme of a fundamental change of the work.
7. These expenditures fueled both a *traditional / conventional* and a nuclear arms race.
8. The country's *defiance / non-compliance* of international law poses a threat not only to the international legal order but to the international order itself.
9. Our chief objective is to prevent war by creating an effective *curb / deterrent* to aggression.
10. North Korea's *rebellion / resistance* to US counter-proliferation efforts seems to have emboldened Iran to take additional steps toward acquiring nuclear weapons as well.
11. Better-educated people are prone to question the legitimacy of *traditional / conventional* political authorities, to better recognize their self-interests and to acquire a certain sense of dignity.
12. In the past few years, we have *projected / estimated* an increase in conflicts in this region.
13. In the short to medium term, priority is given to funding the measures necessary to support the peace process and national *resolution / reconciliation*, including creating the conditions for free and fair elections.
14. A treaty should not only focus on deployment *deterrents / restraints* but also on the whole process from research to use.
15. The reality is that my actions and those of my colleagues in the Liberal Party have always been governed by principle, by legislation that has been *conventional / time-honoured* and treaties that have worked for Canadians as well as for our international reputation.

Exercise 14. Make up phrases combining the words from boxes A, B and C and prepare a brief report using them.

A

to maintain	to lay	to outline	to provide
to be transparent to	to secure	to prepare	to conduct
to advance	to unleash	to reduce	to carry out
to shift	to manage	to amend	
to wage	to draft		

B

unprecedented	sound	national	controversial	bilateral	fundamental
international	interstate	substantive	traditional	increased	main
face-to-face	aggressive	mutual	normative	clear	basic
political	public	solid		peaceful	

C

principles	basis	foundation	interests	diplomacy	scrutiny
transactions	war	representation	emphasis	rules	relations
groundwork	drive	exchanges	settlement	friction	procedure

Exercise 15. Discuss the following statements.

1. The key differences between multilateral and bilateral diplomacies.
2. The ways multilateral diplomatic interactions can be improved.
3. Diplomacy has expanded its remit, moving far beyond bilateral political relations between states into a multilateral, multi-faceted enterprise encompassing almost every realm of human endeavour. (Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General).
4. The role of UNESCO, WTO, UNSTAD, etc. in modern international relations.
5. One of the greatest difficulties facing international organizations today is a tension between individual state sovereignty and domestic national interests, and a need for global solutions to global problems.
6. International organizations should be given the resources they need to meet growing global challenges in many areas.

Exercise 16. Agree or disagree with the following statements. Give your reasons.

1. Nowadays, international decisions are more often shaped according to the opinions of the NGOs which gradually are expanding the sphere of their influence.
2. Multilateralism has not excluded bilateralism or other types of negotiation.
3. Multilateral diplomacy is often considered to be a type of superstructure over bilateral diplomacy. Multilateral negotiations, despite their being time-consuming, are a very effective safeguard against hegemonistic and similar intentions.

Exercise 17. Debate circuit.

1. The United Nations has failed.

Points for:

- Main purpose of UN, to prevent war, has clearly not been achieved.
- UN ignores or enables human rights abuses.
- UN decision-making procedures are very inefficient.
- Many UN bodies are corrupt or compromised.
- Most international co-operation can take place outside UN framework.

Points against:

- The UN has performed a valuable service in preventing wars and in peacekeeping.
- The UN has been at the forefront of promoting respect for international law and human rights.
- Many UN organs carry out valuable work around the world.
- Solution to problems of UN is to reform outdated structures.
- As world becomes more globalised, the need for a global forum for resolving problems becomes ever more important.

2. It's necessary to disband the ASEAN.

Points for:

- ASEAN governments conduct questionable policies but go uncriticised.
- ASEAN creates too many problems and does not work properly.
- ASEAN encourages its members to turn to their inward markets.
- Expansion has undermined the economic solidity of the Association.

Points against:

- ASEAN has a security community.
- ASEAN partnership contributes towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region.
- ASEAN helps members protect their culture and creates a distinct Southeast Asian style in the meantime.
- ASEAN promotes economic stability.
- ASEAN is becoming more open.

3. International Criminal Court is a force for good.

Points for:

- The ICC is the best way to prosecute serious crimes because of its permanence; individual tribunals are not enough.
- If supported, the ICC will set a precedent and deter leaders from committing crimes against humanity.
- The ICC will prosecute leaders who commit the most severe crimes and give them their due.
- The ICC is the most suited towards the rising nature of crimes in a globalizing world.
- Efforts to strengthen the ICC will promote global cooperation, norms against crimes, and international stability.

Points against:

- The ICC interferes with national operations (both military and humanitarian) because of how loosely the Rome Statue can be interpreted.
- The ICC does not have enough checks on prosecutorial powers, inviting prosecutorial abuse.
- The ICC has no real enforcement mechanism and cannot be a force for good if it has no way of ensuring prosecution.
- The ICC is not democratic in nature and is likely to be used as a political tool by powerful nations.
- The ICC infringes upon national sovereignty by inherently implying that there is a higher court nations must answer to.

Exercise 18. Prepare a presentation.

- Functions, types and forms of multilateral diplomacy.
- Multilateral diplomacy failures in the history of international relations.

- The impact of the shift in international geopolitical order, when Asian countries assume an ever greater role in the world economy and policy, on multilateral diplomacy.
- Highs and lows of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.
- International conferences – the framework of multilateral diplomacy.

Exercise 19. Write an essay.

1. Crucial challenges of the contemporary bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.
2. Pragmatic multilateralism as a key strategy in the globalizing world.