UNIT 3

EVOLUTION OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

Vocabulary List

by virtue of
ceremonial duties and protocol
defiance of national policy
deterrent to
essentially significant development
face-to-face exchanges
formal representation
increased involvement in external affairs
intertwining of issues
multilateral diplomatic system
mutual relations
nation-state
normative and regulatory rules
permanent representative to
permanently accredited diplomatic missio
projected establishment of
resident ambassador
roots of smth reach back to
standing diplomatic conference

to advance national interests
to act as a forum for
to amend
to attain one’s zenith
to be distinguished by

to be manifested in
to be on the agenda
to be predominantly confined to
to be transparent to public scrutiny and control
to broaden the tasks
to carry out political transactions
to clearly outline rules of procedure
to codify the rules of conduct
to conduct smth via resident missions
to draft
to emerge
to establish principles of sovereignty
to function as a key actor
to gradually shift the emphasis
to lay the groundwork for
to maintain through authorized agents
to mark the beginning of
to oil the wheels of
to provide the foundation of / for
to fade into the background
to reduce interstate friction
to unleash an unprecedented drive
to wage an aggressive war

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.


Exercise 1. Find in the text the English for:

постійний представник у сукупність питань вносити поправки прогнозоване створення розпочати безпрецедентну кампанію ознаменовувати початок нормативно визначати правила поведінки з'явитися, постати бути на порядку денному церемоніальні обов'язки і протокол полегшувати, сприяти діяти як форум

назначувати важлива подія вести агресивну війну постійний посол реалізовувати політичні домовленості система багатосторонньої дипломатії постійно акредитоване дипломатичне представництво завдяки; внаслідок; на підставі установлювати принципи суверенітету офіційне представництво
Exercise 2. Fill in the gaps, using the following collocations.

to establish principles  
by virtue of

to codify rules of conduct  
the intertwining of the issues

to attain its zenith  
transparency to public scrutiny

the accredited diplomatic missions

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
13. to outline / an outline
14. a drive
15. to concern

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 disputes
- multilateral diplomatic system
- 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 постуально 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 безпредедентну кампанію за вихід країни з Євросоюзу, ініціатори не тільки продемонстрували неприйняття 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 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 takes 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.