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# DICTIONARY OF DIPLOMACY

Third Edition

**G.R. Berridge** and  
**Lorna Lloyd**



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of Diplomacy

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# **The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy**

3rd Edition

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The first two editions of *A Dictionary of Diplomacy* were written  
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*To GRB's children:  
Cathy and Will*

*AJ and LL's grandchildren:  
Elizabeth, David, Thomas, and Leo  
Jasmine Violet, Jem, Jasper, and Jenson  
Reniece and Taija  
Joshua, Daniel, Timothy, and Andrew*

*and AJ and LL's great-granddaughter:  
Jessica*



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# Preface to the First Edition

Peaceful contacts between independent groups have always, since the start of human time, required the kind of representational activity which has come to be known as diplomacy. In its modern form – that is, throughout the last half millennium or so – diplomacy has retained a broadly constant character and given rise to a burgeoning diplomatic profession. Like all professions, it has spawned its own terminology and categories; and inasmuch as its activity concerned relations between proud and jealous sovereigns, later replaced by no less proud and jealous sovereign states, diplomatic language has been finely honed and carries very precise meanings. It also bears the marks of having found expression in the languages of civilizations beyond those of the West. Furthermore – and again accentuated by the very sensitive nature of this particular representational task – issues of protocol and precedence have been of considerable significance, and have made their distinctive contribution to diplomatic terms. Thus it occasions no surprise at all that diplomacy has, over the centuries, developed a lexicon of specialized words and of other technical usages which it necessarily employs. And as diplomats routinely deal not just with matters of policy but also with the many legal issues which arise between states, these aspects of their work have also made their marks in the diplomatic vocabulary.

During the last half century, however, the day-to-day language of diplomacy has been enormously augmented as a result of the quantitative revolution which the activity has undergone. The agenda of diplomacy has widened hugely, as almost everything (it seems) has become a legitimate subject of international discussion. The economic connections of states, in particular, have become much more extensive and elaborate. The development of common bilateral and multilateral standards in a variety of fields has meant that the legal framework within which international relations take place has greatly expanded; and the lengthened jurisdictional reach of states, made possible by technological advance, has also added markedly to the growth

of international law. International organizations have multiplied, often being the venue for the extra diplomatic business which the just-mentioned changes have generated. And each of them, as is to be expected, has contributed its own layer to the terminology in which diplomatic intercourse is customarily carried on. The essence of diplomacy is unchanged: as always, it has to do with promoting and justifying states' interests. But in content and expression, as in busyness and complexity, it has grown way beyond its condition earlier in the century.

It is hoped that this *Dictionary* will be a valuable tool of reference for anyone who has dealings with the diplomatic maze. Historians of diplomacy, their close cousins, the diplomatic historians, and all students of international relations can turn to this book for assistance in understanding the technicalities of diplomatic and related language which crop up in their subject matters. More especially, an attempt has been made to cater to the needs of the increasing number of graduate students of diplomacy. The terms they commonly come across in their reading often require elucidation; and references to the 'great names' in diplomacy sometimes lack the biographical material which helps to bring such figures to life. Such information is, we trust, supplied within. Most immediately, however, the authors have in mind the less senior members of the now-very-numerous diplomatic establishments. We have aimed to answer their queries about the ways and preoccupations of what can easily seem a somewhat arcane profession, and to provide explanations for key terms concerning the legal and political contexts within which diplomacy takes place. With this help, they may even become more successful at their tasks. Certainly, we believe, they will thereby obtain a better understanding of what the diplomatic life entails.

We should like to pay tribute to Maurice Keens-Soper, who originally suggested the idea of a *Dictionary of Diplomacy*, and to the many people who have provided us with ideas for entries, details for inclusion, and criticism of first drafts. In particular, we must thank Peter Bursey, Jane Crellin, David Dunlop (for the introduction to whom we thank Mark Brady), Saikat Dutta, Robin Gorham, Nevil Hagon, Lt Col John Kimmins, Jane Loeffler, Anton Loubser, Alexandra McLeod, Simon Malpas, Stanley Martin, Jörg Monar, Marcia Morris, Syed Sharfuddin,

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and Sue Smith; additionally we would like to thank the staffs of the national archives of Britain, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, and the United States, and also of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and the *Service Culturel* of the French Embassy in London.

G. R. Berridge also wishes to acknowledge that the Study Leave granted to him by the University of Leicester in the first half of 1999 was of great assistance in the completion of this project.

The authors also give special thanks for the efforts on their behalf of their Editorial Consultant, Sir Brian Barder, not least for the speed with which – in trying circumstances – he turned round the first draft of the manuscript of this book. It came as no surprise to us to learn (from another source) that during his distinguished diplomatic career he was himself the cause of the introduction of at least one new diplomatic term: the ‘bardergram’. Although we have never seen one, we have benefited hugely from his many e-mails and on this basis deduce the following definition as our token of appreciation to him:

**bardergram.** An ambassadorial \*telegram which is at once robust and graceful. The bardergram, which may be pithy in expression and passionate in tone, is not always short and is usually fired in salvos. It ends typically with the following statement: ‘I await your homicidal riposte.’

We must add that we have often used lower case, for example ‘note’ rather than ‘Note’, in spite of his strenuous protests.

Finally, we would both like to thank our wives most warmly for the contributions they have made to the *Dictionary*. Sheila Berridge has advised on French and German terms, while Lorna Lloyd has supplied much material discovered during her own archival research, suggested a number of subjects for inclusion, answered questions, and made comments on certain entries. Lorna Lloyd has also kindly let us use her ‘Guide to the Key Articles of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations’ (1961), which precedes the text of the Convention at the end of the book. We are both very lucky.

G. R. BERRIDGE and ALAN JAMES

# Preface to the Second Edition

In this second edition of *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, we have added a considerable number of entries, excluded some which no longer seemed significant, reworked others in the light of further reflection, and corrected a few errors. We would like to thank all of those who offered criticisms of the first edition and suggested new entries for inclusion in this one, notably Lorna Lloyd (who also gave much valuable advice) and Kishan Rana. For most helpful advice on particular points, we would like to thank John Duncan, Malcolm Shaw, and the Treaty Section of the FCO. For her sharp but ever tactful copy-editing, we are again in debt to Anne Rafique. Last but not least we must record our warm thanks to our editorial consultant, Sir Brian Barder, for bringing once more to bear on our drafts his great wisdom, long professional experience, good humour, and effortless mastery of Outlook Express.

The authors are aware that, despite the best efforts of their various helpers, sins of commission as well as omission will have been made in this book. Since in due time they would like to produce a further edition, they would be grateful to any reader who would care to identify mistakes or propose new entries. If so moved, please write to Professor G. R. Berridge at the Department of Politics, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH, England, or e-mail [gb@grberridge.co.uk](mailto:gb@grberridge.co.uk)

G. R. BERRIDGE and ALAN JAMES

# Preface to the Third Edition

This edition has a new title: *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy*. It also has a new author, Lorna Lloyd having stepped in to replace the retiring Alan James. It is also much longer and, thanks in large part to our expanded team of editorial consultants and others who have helped (not least in DiploFoundation), draws its examples from more varied corners of the globe. But in one regard among others the *Dictionary* remains unchanged: it is still a work aimed at students of diplomacy (including historians of diplomacy) as well as at professional diplomats.

In revising the *Dictionary* we have excluded numerous terms which seemed useful to diplomats but which were not part of the diplomatic lexicon strictly conceived. We have also excluded entries on which authoritative information is now more readily available on the Internet – for example, on international and regional organizations. For the same reason we have also removed the text of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), which previously served as an appendix.

As to new entries, these include the large number of new terms which have entered the lexicon over the last decade, among them those generated by the significant expansion of ‘e-diplomacy’; and many more, too, from the language of American diplomacy, which we hope will assist interpretation of the vast archive of US diplomatic papers on the Internet, added to most recently by WikiLeaks. They also include over 20 new biographical entries of outstanding diplomats from different countries. These not only serve as a reminder that diplomacy is not just a European phenomenon and add interest to the volume but also – by means of cross-referencing – illustrate very well some of the more arcane terms in the *Dictionary*. The net effect of these changes has been to produce a work on the diplomatic lexicon which is at once somewhat tighter in focus and yet more comprehensive in its coverage.

It remains for us to extend our warmest thanks, first of all, to Alan James. Despite retiring as an author of this edition, he read the entire manuscript in various drafts and made many extremely valuable comments. Second, we must thank our Editorial Consultants, who brought their special expertise to criticizing the drafts, sometimes pungently and always promptly. Neither Alan James nor our Editorial Consultants are responsible for any remaining errors of fact or weaknesses of analysis of the work. Nor can it be assumed that they share the views contained in it. Third, we are in debt for advice on particular points to the following, to whom accordingly we also extend our thanks: Shankar Bajpai, Stefano Baldi, Ken Brown, Kai Bruns, Peter Burleigh, Giovanni Buttigieg, Victor Camilleri, Petru Dumitriu, John Duncan, Keith Hamilton, Dominic Jewell, John MacMillan, K. P. S. Menon (Jnr), T. G. Otte, Ginger Paque, Philippe Rostaing, Amrita Seth-Mani, Hannah Slavik, Margery Thompson, David Tothill, and Robert Wolfe. Finally, our thanks also go to the team at Newgen Imaging Systems, India, and to Alexandra Webster and Christina M. Brian of Palgrave Macmillan, the former for her support of this project in its early stages, the latter for her equal enthusiasm for it and – above all – for her patience.

G. R. BERRIDGE and LORNA LLOYD

# Notes on Editorial Consultants

**Sir Brian Barder** served in the Colonial Office, Diplomatic Service, UK Mission to the UN, Moscow, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. He was Ambassador to Ethiopia (1982–6) and Poland (1986–8), and High Commissioner to Nigeria (and Ambassador to Bénin) (1988–91) and Australia (1991–4). Among other retirement activities, he has served on the Commonwealth Observer Mission, Namibian elections (1994), and the Special Immigration Appeals Commission (founder member; resigned, 2004). He is an active blogger, including on politics, international affairs, and civil rights: [www.barder.com/ephems](http://www.barder.com/ephems).

**Ambassador Laurence E. Pope** has over a 31-year career in the US Foreign Service served in embassies in North Africa and the Persian Gulf, and as Ambassador to Chad (1993–6) and Political Advisor to the Commander-in-Chief, US Central Command (1997–2000). Since leaving the Foreign Service in 2000, he has been a consultant to various government departments and is a Senior Fellow at the Joint Staff College in Norfolk, Virginia. He is the author, most recently, of *François de Callières: A Political Life* (2010).

**Ambassador Kishan S. Rana** served in the Indian Foreign Service, 1960 to 1995. He was Ambassador to Algeria (1975–9), Czechoslovakia (1979–81), and Germany (1992–5); and High Commissioner to Kenya (1984–6) and Mauritius (1989–92). Since 1999 he has been a distance education teacher with DiploFoundation (where he is Professor Emeritus), helped to develop distance courses for two major foreign ministries, and lectured to numerous diplomatic training institutions. He has also been a visiting fellow at Churchill College, Cambridge and the Woodrow Wilson Centre, Washington, DC. His most recent publication is *21st Century Diplomacy: A Practitioner's Guide* (2011).

# Notes on Using the Dictionary

In using the *Dictionary* the following points should be noted:

- Each entry consists of a title or catchword, and such material as seems appropriate. An \*asterisk preceding a word in an entry signifies that there is a separate entry on the term – or one of its close derivatives – beginning with this word in the *Dictionary*. However, a term is only asterisked if it seems that reference to it might help the reader to understand the entry in which the asterisk appears. Any other useful cross references are indicated by an italicized instruction at the end of the entry concerned.
- Where there is more than one usage or ‘sense’ of the term, this is indicated by insertion of the numbers ‘(1)’, ‘(2)’, and so on before each separate definition. When there is an asterisked reference to another entry which has more than one sense, the one to which the cross reference is directed is numerically indicated by the use of such terms as ‘(sense 1)’. As a general rule, the most important, or most current, sense is placed first.
- As a rule, the English version of technical diplomatic terms has been employed in preference to the French ones, except where it remains conventional to employ French.
- The names of cities are the ones in use at the relevant time. Thus, for example, ‘Constantinople’ is used for pre-1930 references to the city which since that date has been called ‘Istanbul’.
- The style of entries is *ex cathedra* and, as a result, we only rarely cite authorities to support our definitions. Nevertheless, our debt to certain works is considerable and the ones on which we have placed greatest reliance are listed in the Bibliography at the end of the *Dictionary*.
- We have followed the convention of using the words ‘diplomacy’, ‘diplomat’, and ‘diplomatic’ in references to the years



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before the late eighteenth century, although we are aware that this is anachronistic since only then did these words enter the English language.

- References to the 'early modern period' signify that intervening between the end of the Middle Ages (mid-fifteenth century) and the French Revolution (1789), and to the 'late modern period' that extending from this fateful event to the end of the Second World War.
- In accordance with wide practice, and notwithstanding the fact that in formal (and also geographical) terms Northern Ireland is not part of Britain, the term 'Britain' is generally used when referring to the state whose official name is 'the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland'.
- The use of abbreviations has been minimized, and only where the point is to explain a relatively unusual one, such as 'MIFT' (my immediately following telegram), are they used as entry titles on their subjects. When abbreviations are used in the body of an entry, unless they are very well known the names which they represent are generally spelled out on first use.
- The *Dictionary* is not conceived as a handbook of protocol, and has sought to avoid the minutiae of that area. Nonetheless, points relating to protocol have from time to time necessarily been touched upon.
- In accordance with the general practice, the dates given for treaties are those of the year of signature, not the year in which they entered into force.

# A

**abrogation.** Often used to describe a \*unilateral act which brings or purports to bring an unwelcome international obligation to an end. Unless the legal arrangement in question provides for abrogation, such an act has no legal effect. It is a synonym for denunciation.

**abstention.** The decision, in a multilateral forum, to refrain from voting either for or against a proposed \*resolution. A more emphatic form of abstention is 'not participating in the vote' although present at the meeting in question. On the UN \*Security Council, for example, this tactic might be employed to express protest about the correctness of the proceedings. This was a rare phenomenon until the People's Republic of China, admitted to the UN in 1971, popularized it in votes on questions arising

from decisions taken during the many years in which the Republic of China held the China seat on the Security Council. *See also* constructive abstention.

**acceptance and approval.** *See* ratification.

**accession, instrument of.** The international means whereby a state, in accordance with the terms of a pre-existing \*treaty, signifies its wish to become a party to the treaty. It is not necessary for the treaty to have \*entered into force for such an instrument to be executed. Sometimes referred to as adhesion.

**accord.** *See* agreement.

**accreditation.** (1) Furnishing a \*head of mission with \*credentials. In most cases these consist of \*letters of credence, but \*high commissioners are

## 2 accredited diplomatic representative

given either \*letters of commission or a \*letter of introduction. (2) More generally, the appointment of an individual as a head of mission or as a member of a \*diplomatic mission or \*delegation.

**accredited diplomatic representative.** Another way of describing a \*head of mission or, more generally, a \*diplomatic agent. Occasionally, however, it may be given as a formal title to a representative to whom the \*receiving state accords \*diplomatic privileges and immunities, but who is not eligible for \*diplomatic status because the sending entity does not enjoy \*sovereignty (sense 1), or because its sovereignty is widely denied by other states. During the 1960s and 1970s this title was given to the representative in South Africa of the non-sovereign Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and then of the ostracized entity of Rhodesia.

**accredited representative.** Yet another way of describing a \*head of mission or, more generally, a \*diplomatic agent. Occasionally, however, it may be given as a formal title to: (1) a representative of an entity which is thought, probably by

the \*receiving state, to lack the entitlement to appoint agents with \*diplomatic status. In 1939 South Africa's representative to Canada was given this title, reflecting South Africa's wish to avoid the non-sovereign-sounding title of \*high commissioner and Canada's refusal to give diplomatic status to the representative of a \*dominion. This title had also been used by South Africa for the head of its \*permanent delegation to the \*League of Nations. During the Second World War the term was used to designate the Australian and New Zealand members of the British War Cabinet. *See also* polpred; representative. (2) A representative of a \*sovereign state with which the receiving state is not in \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) and to whom the latter does not therefore accord the normal range of \*diplomatic privileges and immunities. Such an individual may head a \*representative office.

**acquis communautaire.** The accumulated legislation (including judgments of the Court of Justice) and political practice which has developed within the European Union. Any new member must accept the *acquis* in full.

**Act of Anne.** The name by which the (British) Diplomatic Privileges Act of 1708 is often known. It was passed in response to the embarrassment of Queen Anne at the inability of her courts to punish under the common law those responsible for the arrest and detention of M. de Matveev, the Russian ambassador, to enforce payment of his debts. She immediately procured his release and expressed her regret, but he left the country in high dudgeon and without presenting the \*letters of recall which he had been carrying when bundled out of his coach. Further measures were called for: amidst much pomp, the British envoy to Russia presented the queen's apologies to the tsar; and as an indication of Britain's determination to prevent such a thing happening again, the act was passed. Besides declaring the proceedings against the ambassador null and void, it stated that all such civil proceedings which might in future be instituted against ambassadors, their \*families, and their domestic servants would also be null and void – and that those who instituted them would be deemed 'violators of the

law of nations' and would suffer such 'pains, penalties, and corporal punishment' as might be imposed. Certainly, insofar as it gave domestic servants complete protection against civil proceedings, the act went beyond the then \*customary international law on diplomacy, but this was another aspect of the queen's endeavour to mollify the tsar. The act remained in force for the next two-and-a-half centuries. *See also* diplomatic privileges and immunities; service staff; Sheriffs' List.

**acte final.** *See* final act.

**acte de présence.** An appearance made by a \*head of mission or post at a diplomatic function chiefly as a sign of respect and in order to be observed in attendance. *See also* national day; representation (sense 2).

**act of formal confirmation.** *See* ratification.

**acting.** The formal designation given to a \*diplomat (sense 1) or \*minister (sense 3) temporarily occupying or acting for the position of a more senior one, as in \*acting high commissioner or acting

#### 4 acting high commissioner

\*foreign minister. The conventional antonym of 'acting' is 'substantive', although normally it is only seen when the transition to this status is being noted – and often not even then. *See also* alternate representative; chargé d'affaires *ad interim*; Estrada, Genaro.

##### **acting high commissioner.**

(1) The diplomat who acts as the head of a \*high commission during the \*high commissioner's temporary absence or pending the arrival of a new high commissioner. The \*receiving state's foreign ministry must be informed of the appointment of an acting high commissioner by the high commissioner or, if that is not possible, by the \*sending state's foreign ministry. As is implied, traditionally the term \*'chargé d'affaires *ad interim*' is not used in high commissions. (2) Where a high commissioner is non-resident in a particular capital, but an office of the high commission is maintained there, its head (if not of a very junior capacity) is likely to be designated acting high commissioner.

**acting permanent representative.** The member of a \*permanent mission (sense 1)

who, during the temporary absence of the \*permanent representative (sense 1), acts as such. As is thereby implied, the term \*'chargé d'affaires *ad interim*' is not used in permanent missions.

##### **activities incompatible with diplomatic status.**

A euphemism for \*espionage. The term is often used by a \*receiving state when declaring a member of a \*diplomatic mission \*persona non grata.

**adhesion.** A synonym for \*accession.

**ad hoc diplomacy.** A term which is sometimes used to refer to diplomacy conducted by intermittent or sporadic means, such as an \*ambassador-at-large or a \*special mission. It is therefore to be distinguished from the conduct of diplomacy through \*resident and \*permanent missions.

**ad interim.** A way of indicating that an office or arrangement is held or made temporarily, as in \*chargé d'affaires *ad interim*.

**adjudication.** A judicial procedure whereby a dispute is decided by an established

international court. *See also* International Court of Justice.

**administrative and technical staff.** A category identified by the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) within what used to be called the 'ambassador's suite', these are the members of the staff of a diplomatic mission who carry out, for example, interpreting, secretarial, clerical, financial, and communications tasks. They are distinguished from the \*diplomatic staff on the one hand and the \*service or domestic staff on the other. Controversially, however, the Vienna Convention gives them (and their immediate \*families) almost the same range of \*privileges and immunities as diplomats, and certainly all the important ones.

**adoption.** (1) The formal act by which a positive end is brought to the negotiation of a \*treaty. In the case of a bilateral treaty it may be signified by the \*initialling of the text. The adoption of a multilateral treaty at the end of its negotiating conference will be done either by some form of majority vote or by \*consensus. Once adopted, the way is clear for the

various stages which must be gone through en route to the treaty's \*entry into force. *See also* accession; authentication; ratification; signature; *toilette finale*. (2) Approval of a \*resolution.

**ad referendum.** This phrase indicates that a decision by a diplomat or an agreement between diplomats has been made without specific \*instructions and is therefore conditional on the action being approved by higher authority.

**adviser.** A designation sometimes given to the less senior members of a member state's \*permanent mission to an \*international organization. The United States is a notable follower of this practice in respect of its mission to the United Nations. *See also* political adviser; service adviser.

**advisory opinion.** The answer to a question on a point of law put to the \*International Court of Justice (ICJ) by an organ of the \*United Nations or one of the \*specialized agencies authorized to make such a request. In proceedings of this sort there are neither parties nor a dispute which the Court has to decide – or at least, not

## 6 advisory treaty

in a formal sense. Nor is the opinion \*binding on the organ which has sought it, although it is usually accepted. This non-bindingness makes it easier for a state to denounce an opinion touching on a sensitive subject, as Israel did in 2004 when the ICJ opined that its construction of a security wall in the occupied Palestinian territory was contrary to \*international law.

**advisory treaty.** A \*treaty between a colonial power and a tribal ruler under which, in return for patronage and other favours (typically money and weapons), the latter undertook to accept political advice only from the former. *See also* political resident.

**affirmative vote.** A 'yes' vote. Affirmative votes do not include \*abstentions.

**agency.** The \*mission (sense 1) of an \*agent or \*agent and consul-general.

**agency system.** *See* agent (sense 5).

**agenda.** (1) The list of topics to be discussed in a \*negotiation. This is itself an important subject in \*prenegotiations, when the order in which topics

are to be taken as well as the nature of the topics themselves should be agreed. (2) In the phrase 'hidden agenda', the term has the related meaning of 'aims'; hence hidden or secret aims.

**agent.** (1) In the early modern period and for some time afterwards, the lowest of \*diplomatic ranks (sense 1). Agents were maintained at courts where commercial advantages might be obtained by their presence but political interests were marginal. George III, the eighteenth century British king forced to grant \*independence (sense 1) to his American colonies, thought that this was the most appropriate level at which to establish relations with the new United States. *See also* consular agent. (2) In conjunction with 'diplomatic', the term is used to refer to a \*diplomat (sense 1). (3) A representative of a state or territory who lacks \*diplomatic status. In some circumstances such an agent may be termed an \*'agent-general' or \*'delegate-general'. *See also* non-diplomatic agent. (4) An individual controlled (and normally recruited) by an \*intelligence officer. Agents of this sort are usually foreign

nationals but may also be members of an \*expatriate community. *See also* agent in place. (5) A clerk in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century \*Foreign Office employed by a British diplomat as his private banker. Attempts to abolish the 'agency system', as it was known, had been made since the latter decades of the eighteenth century. However, in the face of strong resistance in the Foreign Office, where it was regarded as providing useful supplementary income to official salaries, it did not finally come to an end until 1870.

**agent and consul-general.**

Sometimes termed 'commissioner and consul-general', the title given to some quasi-diplomatic representatives, usually those to \*vassal states of a third state. Britain was so represented in Serbia until 1879, Roumania until 1880, Tunis until 1881, Bulgaria until 1908, and Egypt until 1914. (All these territories were nominally subject to the Ottoman Empire until the dates mentioned.) By and large, the other \*great powers followed the same practice. Formally speaking, these representatives were \*consuls-general, but the

word \*'agent' (sense 1) was added to their title to indicate their quasi-diplomatic character. Accordingly they were informally regarded as constituting a fifth \*diplomatic class. Since about the middle of the twentieth century the term has gone out of use. *See also* resident (sense 3).

**agent-general.** A representative of a state or territory who lacks \*diplomatic status but is thought to warrant a somewhat grander title than that of mere \*agent. For example, the title was given to the representatives in London of some British colonial governments before their \*independence (sense 1) and today is still bestowed on the representative in that city of a constituent state of the \*federal states of Australia and Canada (called 'states' in the former but 'provinces' in the latter). In 2010 whereas most Australian states had agents-general in London, only three Canadian provinces were so represented and apart from one (Quebec, which has a '*délégation générale*' there and in 11 other cities worldwide), both operated out of the \*high commission, as did most Australian agents-general. While these representatives do



## 8 agent in place

not enjoy diplomatic status, Britain accords them \*privileges and immunities at the level specified in the Vienna Convention on \*Consular Relations (1963). *See also* Bajpai; Menon.

**agent in place.** A person who supplies sensitive information, obtained in the course of their work, to an agency of foreign \*intelligence (sense 2). Agents in place are not 'planted' in such positions but are nationals of the state in which they live and are usually long-serving and trusted employees. *See also* agent (sense 4); intelligence officer.

**aggression.** An attack by one \*state on another that is unwarranted in any one or more of three respects: politics, law, and morality. At all these levels there is often disagreement as to whether an attack is warranted or not. The United Nations has tried to clarify the matter by seeking a definition of aggression and in 1974 its \*General Assembly managed to agree on one by \*consensus. But the eight-article definition still left much scope for argument, in any particular case, about

its proper interpretation and application.

**agrégation.** *See* agrément.

**agreed minute/s.** (1) A record of the proceedings of a meeting or conference, often with any decisions highlighted; thus sometimes known as 'conclusions'. In French the term is *procès-verbal*. Minutes usually provide a summary of the proceedings but occasionally these may be recorded verbatim (word for word). It is customary for an official of the party acting as host formally to record the minutes and circulate a draft after the meeting for the approval of the other participants. An agreed minute or minutes (singular and plural are both to be found) may constitute a \*treaty if this is the intention of the parties. (2) An \*annexe to an \*agreement which deals with administrative detail or the interpretation of the agreement. In this case, the singular (agreed minute) is the norm.

**agreement.** Whenever the term is used with a degree of formality, a name often given to certain international legal \*instruments. It is generally

employed with regard to those which are relatively informal in expression, limited in scope, and do not have many parties. *See also* executive agreement.

**agrément.** Earlier described as '*agrération*', the agreement by a \*receiving state to accept a named individual as \*head of a diplomatic mission. Obtaining such agreement before an individual is despatched (in practice, before a name is publicly announced) is a firm requirement under the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) – although when addressing such requests to \*Commonwealth states, Britain does not use the term 'agrément'. A refusal of agrément may be prompted by objections either to the personal character or past record of the proposed new head of mission. This does not require justification but it often comes out. In 1964 the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, rejected the nomination by Britain of Cyril Pickard as its \*high commissioner. The rejection was thought to be connected to a rumour that Pickard had called His Beatitude a 'barefaced liar'. In denying it in public, Pickard

added fuel to the fire by saying that 'the adjective was obviously mistaken' (the archbishop was heavily bearded). If agrément is refused, \*sending states often retaliate by taking their time over proposing a new name, particularly if the refusal is seen as unjustified. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations also states that receiving states 'may' require the names of \*service attachés to be submitted beforehand for their approval as well – and in practice they invariably do. It appears to be customary for all members of \*interests sections (sense 1) to require agrément. *See also* persona non grata.

**aide-mémoire.** A written statement of a government's attitude on a particular question which is left by a diplomatic agent with the \*interlocutor, typically a ministry official, to whom an oral presentation has just been made. Occasionally known as a pro-memoria or simply as a 'memorandum', it is usually handed over in person by the diplomat at the end of the interview, or if necessary delivered shortly afterwards with a covering \*note attached. As a result, the aide-mémoire has no

## 10 air adviser

need for marks of provenance or courtesy and bears little resemblance to a note. It has no address or embassy stamp, contains no salutations, and is unsigned. Instead, the classic aide-mémoire is simply headed 'Aide-Mémoire' and dated at the end. Its purpose is to reinforce the \*démarche made by the diplomat and – in case the diplomat should have forgotten to mention some important point, made a mess of a second, or given insufficient or too much emphasis to a third – leave no room for ambiguity about the attitude of the diplomat's government. Since it will only be in exceptional circumstances that its text is not also the main part of the diplomat's own script, the aide-mémoire is well named: it is an aid to everyone's memory. The more junior the official to whom a statement has been made or more serious the subject covered, the more important it is that its contents be confirmed by an aide-mémoire.

**air adviser.** *See* air attaché.

**air attaché.** An air force officer temporarily attached to a diplomatic mission. As between member states of the \*Commonwealth, the

equivalent individual is designated as an 'air adviser'. *See also* service attaché.

**Air Force One.** The name and radio call sign of any US Air Force aircraft carrying the president of the United States. ('Marine One' is the designation for the helicopter used to carry the president.) Dedicated presidential air transport began in 1944, although this call sign was not used until the 1950s and first applied popularly to the Boeing 707 introduced for President Kennedy at the beginning of the following decade. In current practice, Air Force One is one of the two extensively modified Boeing 747-200Bs which, since the beginning of the 1990s, have been maintained for use by the president. They have conference facilities, aerial refuelling capability, sophisticated defences (including shielded wiring to counter the effects of nuclear blast, as well as anti-radar and missile protection), and secure communications. As a result, Air Force One is an adjunct to US \*summit diplomacy (as well as presidential travel within the United States) of great symbolic as well as practical significance.

**airgram.** A US \*State Department term for a formal diplomatic communication sent in the \*diplomatic pouch by air when a \*cable was considered too laborious (if encoding was needed), or (because of its length) too expensive. The airgram fell into disuse when telegrams and then e-mails became a more cost-effective means of communication.

**air space.** The area lying immediately above the land and the sea of a \*state's territory. Each state enjoys \*sovereignty (sense 2) over the air space above its territory and its \*territorial sea at least up to the height at which the density of the air is sufficient for conventional aircraft to fly. How far state sovereignty extends beyond that is unclear, but state practice suggests that the flight through the higher air space of objects launched for peaceful or scientific purposes is in any event permissible. The passage through air space of all types of foreign aircraft – scheduled services, military planes, and private ones – requires the consent of the subjacent state. It was the First World War (1914–18) which precipitated general acceptance of the

doctrine of state sovereignty over air space.

**Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of (1818).** *See* Regulation of Vienna; resident.

**alliance.** A \*treaty entered into by two or more states to engage in cooperative military action in specified circumstances. With the advent of nuclear weapons in the second half of the twentieth century, alliances were increasingly concluded in the hope of deterring the outbreak of \*war rather than with a ready willingness to fight in one. Accordingly (and also for strategic reasons), these recent alliances have often, from the time of their making, involved detailed contingency planning and complex organizational arrangements. The hallmark of an alliance, compared to an \*entente, is the greater precision of its commitments. In 2011 NATO was the only existing military alliance, with 'out-of-area' operations in Afghanistan and Libya.

**alliance of convenience.** Sometimes known as a 'marriage of convenience', an unlikely coming together of

## 12 Alliance française

political rivals inspired by a common peril. The term is often employed loosely. Thus the \*rapprochement of the early 1970s between the United States and the People's Republic of China – both sharing a fear of the Soviet Union – is a good example of an alliance of convenience although it was not an \*alliance strictly conceived. *See also* Huang Hua; Kissinger; Realpolitik; statecraft; triangular diplomacy.

**Alliance française.** The chief vehicle of French \*cultural diplomacy. Founded in 1883, the activities of the Alliance française have provided an influential model for other states, not least Britain.

**all necessary means.** A euphemism for the permissible employment of armed force. It is inspired by the enforcement provisions of the UN \*Charter which says that the \*Security Council 'may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security' (Article 42). *See also* diplomatic language (sense 1).

**all-source analysis.** An \*intelligence community term

for the analysis of information on foreign targets gathered from all sources (open as well as secret), including reports from the different collection agencies and diplomatic and consular missions abroad. This work is conducted by some central agency such as the National Intelligence Council in the United States or the Joint Intelligence Committee in Britain. It is often referred to as 'intelligence assessment'.

**Almanach de Gotha.** An annual publication which classified and listed – and thereby authenticated – the members of the ruling dynasties and high nobility, initially only of Europe but later of the whole world. It was first published, at Gotha in the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha, in 1763 and soon acquired great prestige. It survived in its classic form until its archives were destroyed during the Second World War. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it became customary to add to the *Almanach* the names of the \*ambassadors and \*ministers of the \*great powers and it later acquired a 'diplomatic and statistical' section. In 1882 the *Almanach* began to publish a supplement called

the *Annuaire diplomatique et consulaire des états des deux mondes*. This contained the \*diplomatic service lists as well as \*diplomatic lists of all states in the 'new world' as well as the 'old', included in them the names of junior as well as senior \*diplomats (sense 1) and \*consuls (all alphabetically indexed), and also incorporated coloured plates of national flags to assist the shipping work of consuls in seaports. It was a unique and valuable work but – in view of its scale and the constant turnover of diplomatic staff – over-ambitious. Only three supplements appeared and the project was discontinued after 1884. However, the diplomatic (and consular) lists in the main almanac continued to provide a considerable amount of detail.

**alphabetical seating.** When \*seating arrangements at a \*multilateral conference or \*international organization are arranged alphabetically, each participating or member state is placed on the basis of its own rendering of its name in the language to be used at the conference or organization in question. The choice of language, however, could turn

on political expediency. At a November 2002 meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (which is linked with NATO), members' names were rendered in French rather than the usual English, so that Britain's prime minister did not have to sit next to the president of Ukraine, relations between the two states then being particularly fraught. Alphabetically arranged seats need not begin with the first letter of the alphabet. In the UN \*General Assembly, for example, lots are drawn before the start of each annual session to determine which of the alphabetically seated member states is for that session to occupy the seat at the (forward facing) left-hand end of the front row. *See also* name of a state; precedence (c).

**alternat.** The procedure whereby as many original copies of a \*treaty or other document are drawn up as there are signatories. By this means each state is able to have its own copy and – more importantly – its own \*head of state and \*plenipotentiaries named first in the preamble of this copy. These plenipotentiaries are also able to sign this copy before the

## 14 alternate

plenipotentiaries of the other parties. Thus the signatories alternate in occupying the place of honour in the treaty.

One of a number of devices designed to alleviate the rancour aroused by arguments between states over \*precedence, the alternat appears first to have come into vogue in Europe in the sixteenth century. The flaw in this system of treaty signature was that it assumed universal acceptance of the principle that each state was entitled to participate in a 'rotation in precedence'. It assumed, in other words, precisely that equality between states, the perceived absence of which had led to arguments over precedence in the first place. Not surprisingly, it was not universally accepted and disputes over whether or not one state 'had the alternat' with another became just another vehicle of \*power politics. France, for example, did not grant the alternat to Russia until 1779. Nevertheless, the idea of equality within classes of states (especially the class of \*great powers), coupled with the force of established precedents, gave currency to the system and it remains the usual practice in signing bilateral treaties today. (Where

there are language differences between the parties, each state's own copy displays the version in its own language first, that is, on the left-hand page or column.) Owing to the multiplication of states since 1914, the alternat has been abandoned for multilateral treaties, as it is much more convenient to sign just one original in the (agreed) \*alphabetical order of the names of the participating states.

**alternate.** *See* alternate representative.

**alternate delegate.** *See* alternate representative.

### **alternate representative.**

(1) A person formally accepted as a stand-in on a committee or organ of an \*international organization for a regular representative who may be unable to attend. Often known simply as 'alternates', they are routinely nominated by \*permanent missions (sense 1). (2) A person nominated as a successor to a regular representative, who may be allowed to accompany the latter to meetings without being allowed to vote. Where this kind of alternate has been elected by a regional \*caucus,

the governing body is rendered in some degree more representative. The experience also provides an education for the future full representative. *See also* acting; troika.

**Amarna letters.** An archive of diplomatic correspondence exchanged in the fourteenth century BC between the Egyptian king and neighbouring courts, some of which were his \*vassals while others were also 'great kings'. The archive, which consists of 382 cuneiform tablets, was written chiefly in Akkadian, the diplomatic language of the time. It takes its name from the place of its discovery in 1887, El Amarna, a plain on the east bank of the Nile about 190 miles south of Cairo which was the site of the capital of Egypt for a short period in the fourteenth century BC. The correspondence is unique in the extent of its insights into the diplomatic system of the Ancient Near East. An authoritative English translation, resting on the steady advance in understanding of the letters during the twentieth century, was published by William L. Moran in 1992. *See also* cuneiform diplomacy.

**ambassador.** A \*diplomatic agent of the highest \*diplomatic rank (sense 1). More particularly the title is used: (1) In most cases, to designate the \*head of a diplomatic mission to a foreign state where that head, as among heads of mission, falls into the first \*diplomatic class. By derivation, the mission in question is then called an \*embassy and has just one ambassador. (Exceptionally, an embassy may also have other officers with the personal rank of ambassador, as in the case of the US embassy at Saigon during the Vietnam War and more recently at Kabul and Baghdad; deputies to \*political appointees may also be of ambassadorial rank, for example, Canada's deputy high commissioners in London.) Usually such agents are formally described as the ambassador of [the \*sending state] to [the \*receiving state]. When at their posts, Britain refers to its ambassadors as 'Her Majesty's Ambassador'; but if this usage could give rise to ambiguity (perhaps because of the presence of other ambassadors from any of the Queen's other realms or from states with a female head of state), they are referred to



## 16 **ambassador-at-large**

as 'Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador'. *See also* throne room. (2) Almost invariably, to designate a member state's \*permanent representative to the United Nations and some other \*international organizations. An exception may (but will by no means necessarily) occur if that individual is not a \*career diplomat. Thus, when Lord Caradon, \*minister of state in Britain's government, was its permanent representative to the UN (1964–70), he was not called 'ambassador'. A state's permanent mission to an international organization may include more than one individual with this title – but only one of them can be the state's permanent representative, who is also the head of mission. (3) In some states, as a courtesy title given to those who have served as an ambassador in either of the above two senses. Britain does not follow this practice; the United States and many other countries do so.

Ambassadors in senses 1 and 2 are usually called His or Her \*Excellency, and their full title is Ambassador \*Extraordinary and \*Plenipotentiary. Ambassadors in sense 1 require the \*agrément of the receiving

state before they can be appointed. Inasmuch as ambassadors are, in form, the personal representative of the \*head of state, they will probably be received by the head of the sending state before (or soon after) taking up the appointment. This is certainly the practice in Britain. The heads of diplomatic missions exchanged between members of the \*Commonwealth are called \*high commissioners, not ambassadors. But in point of status and function, there are no differences whatsoever between ambassadors and high commissioners (although in London some small differences of treatment continue to exist). *See also* ambassador-at-large; envoy; full powers; resident (sense 1); Rosier.

### **ambassador-at-large.**

A \*special envoy charged usually with the task of visiting a number of countries, often but not necessarily within the same region; sometimes, therefore, known as a 'roving ambassador'. In the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth, their missions were known as 'circular embassies'. Ambassadors-at-large have

often been employed in the past to explain the policies of a new government suspicious of the loyalties of the \*resident ambassadors it had inherited and it would be surprising if they were not still occasionally used for this purpose. Today, however, they are more visible as a feature of the diplomacy of a \*major power wanting to promote a settlement of a regional conflict. An ambassador-at-large, who normally possesses great experience and seniority, may also be given responsibility for handling a major issue. In 2011 the US \*State Department had an 'Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues'.

**ambassador extraordinary.**

Sometimes 'extraordinary ambassador', the most common term employed in the early modern period for a \*special envoy.

**ambassador in ordinary.**

A term commonly used in the early modern period to describe the head of a \*resident mission, or the mission itself. *See also* ambassador; ambassador extraordinary; extraordinary; lieger; resident (sense 1).

**ambassador's suite.** *See* family of a diplomatic agent.

**ambadress.** (1) The wife of an \*ambassador (sense 1). The title in this sense began to be used following the introduction of the \*resident embassy in the mid-fifteenth century. Before this, ambassadors had not generally taken their wives with them, their missions characteristically being short. In early English the term was sometimes rendered 'embassadrix'. (2) An informal term for a female ambassador (sense 1), the first of whom is widely believed to have been Alexandra Kollontai, who headed the Soviet mission to Sweden from 1930 to 1945, having previously served as \*minister in Norway on two occasions in the 1920s. (There are much earlier claimants to the title of 'first female ambassador' but the issue is clouded by vagueness of terminology. There were certainly a number of female \*ambassadors extraordinary as early as the sixteenth century.) However, formally speaking the term 'ambassador' is sexless, in that it designates both male and female \*heads of mission of the first \*diplomatic class.

## 18 Amcits

**Amcits.** American citizens who are members of a US \*expatriate community. This is a \*State Department abbreviation.

**amendment.** A formal change to a provision in a \*treaty or other document. Some multilateral treaties contain special procedures for making amendments; in their absence, those stipulated in Article 40 of the Vienna Convention on the \*Law of Treaties (1969) must be followed.

**American Foreign Service Association (AFSA).** The professional association of active and retired members of the US \*Foreign Service, established in 1924.

**American presence post.** A US \*consulate by another name. APPs were first established in France in 1998 on the initiative of Felix Rohatyn, an investment banker, leading Democratic Party adviser, and US ambassador to France (1997–2000). They have no more than two US \*Foreign Service officers. In 2009 the APP at Alexandria in Egypt was staffed by one American officer and 49 \*locally engaged staff. Clearly, American presence

posts are not to be confused with the virtual presence posts (also known as \*virtual consulates) employed by the United States elsewhere.

**Annan, Kofi (1938–).** Ghanaian \*United Nations official. Kofi Annan was UN \*secretary-general from 1997 to 2006 and the first UN career secretariat official to hold that office. He is dignified, quietly spoken, and self-assured, and his deep commitment to the ideals of the UN combined with deft political skills won him considerable moral authority. Senior ambassadors described him as ‘the best secretary-general in the history of the UN’ and ‘a marvelous epitome of what a secretary general should do with this organization and how he should lead it’.

Annan brought ‘new life’ to the UN. Among his achievements was making the \*secretariat leaner, more flexible, and more efficient; putting forward major proposals for UN reform; and providing, in his Millennium Report *We the peoples*, an action plan to achieve ambitious development goals. He also rose to new challenges such as

HIV/AIDS, \*terrorism, and the environment, and was admired for his efforts on behalf of Africa. He was also respected for not trying to hide his own failures and for commissioning authoritative, independent reports into the genocide that occurred in Rwanda and Srebrenica while he was head of the UN's \*peacekeeping department.

Such was his standing that in 2001, six months before his term of office expired, he was re-elected, by acclamation, for a second five-year term. In the same year, he was awarded the \*Nobel Peace Prize (which he shared with the UN organization).

But the 2003 Iraq War brought Kofi Annan into conflict with the United States. This surfaced in 2004 when, during the US presidential election campaign, he said the invasion of Iraq was illegal. Right-wing, anti-UN hawks attacked him, demanded his resignation, and condemned the UN as a corrupt organization. The president, George W. Bush, showed disdain by appointing a long-standing critic of the UN as US \*permanent representative. Annan also faced (unfounded)

allegations of being complicit in his son's improper financial dealings. And there was an overblown scandal over alleged UN mismanagement and corruption in handling its oil-for-food programme to Iraq. However, the authoritative Volcker Report took the wind out of the sails of the secretary-general's critics. It said that only a handful of UN officials had behaved unethically, whereas governments had condoned or turned a blind eye to corporate crimes.

During his last phase in office Annan commissioned reports from several high-level panels and used them to launch another round of reforms. This led to the 2005 World Summit declaration committing UN members to take action on a range of global challenges and accepting a 'responsibility to protect' (\*R2P). Annan had long argued that state sovereignty must no longer be 'used as a shield for gross violations of human rights' and the UN \*Security Council's unanimous reaffirmation of R2P in 2006 marked an important symbolic step forwards in \*international society's attitude towards mass atrocities.

## 20 annexation

As such it may be Annan's most significant legacy.

**annexation.** The formal act by which a \*state incorporates conquered foreign territory within its own jurisdiction. It is now almost universally regarded as a violation of \*international law. Annexation must be distinguished from the acquisition of foreign territory with the willing agreement of the foreign state concerned and also from what sometimes used to be called peaceful annexation – that is, the acquisition by way of proclamation and settlement of territory not under the authority of any other state. The control established by Israel over the territories it occupied in 1967 is often described as 'creeping annexation'. *See also* occupying power.

**annexe.** A detailed appendix to a \*treaty, which sometimes contains its most important provisions and is of equal validity with the provisions of the preceding, more general part of the document. Sir Percy Cradock, who (as British ambassador at Peking and then as foreign policy adviser to his \*prime minister) played

a key role in Anglo-Chinese negotiations over Hong Kong, said of the 1984 Joint Declaration on the colony that the 'annexes would be vital: the main agreement would be generalized; the meat would be in the fine print'.

**annual review.** The end of year report which the ambassadors in some diplomatic services are expected to submit on recent and anticipated developments in the country to which they are posted. In British practice, where the annual review is cast in the form of a \*despatch, it is also usual for the document to contain a quantified account of the degree of success achieved during the year in meeting the mission's formal 'objectives' and give recommendations for future policy. *See also* valedictory despatch.

**apostille.** Another term for a \*legalization certificate.

**apostolic delegate.** The Pope's representative to the Roman Catholic Church in a country beyond the Vatican. Normally, therefore, the apostolic delegate does not enjoy \*diplomatic status but

in the past he has sometimes functioned as a de facto envoy to a \*state. This was especially true of states with a predominantly Protestant tradition such as Britain and the United States, where until the early 1980s the political risk of openly accepting a papal diplomat was considered too high. A priest may move to and fro between the positions of apostolic delegate and \*nuncio. For example, Archbishop Augustine Kasujja was nuncio to Algeria, Tunisia, Madagascar, and Seychelles before being apostolic delegate to Comoros. From there he proceeded to serve successively as nuncio to Mauritius and Nigeria. *See also* Holy See; pro-nuncio.

**apostolic nunciature.** *See* nunciature.

**apostolic nuncio.** *See* nuncio.

**apostolic pro-nuncio.** *See* pro-nuncio.

**appeasement.** (1) A willingness to make reasonable \*concessions in order to redress perceived wrongs and/or establish conditions conducive to \*peace. Thus in 1919 C. P. Scott, editor of

the British newspaper, *The Manchester Guardian*, called for 'a peace of appeasement'. (2) A willingness to preserve peace by making excessive concessions to those who threaten to upset it, thereby feeding rather than satisfying their ambition. The policy of the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to Hitler in the late 1930s gave the term this dishonourable connotation of seeking peace at any price. Being charged with appeasement (sense 2) is an occupational hazard of \*diplomacy (sense 1).

**appel.** The salutation used in a formal personal letter sent by a \*diplomat (sense 1).

**arbitration.** The settlement of a dispute through reference to an (ad hoc) arbitral tribunal, the members of which may possibly be selected from the \*Permanent Court of Arbitration. An arbitral tribunal may also be established to deal with a class of disputes that have arisen or may be expected to arise out of a particular situation. Except to the extent to which two or more states have agreed in advance that

## 22 archives and documents

a specified class of disputes shall be taken to \*compulsory arbitration, this device for \*peaceful settlement can only be used when the parties have set out in a \**compromis* their agreement to arbitrate, the precise nature of their dispute, and the law which the tribunal is to apply. International arbitration is generally conducted on the basis of \*international law, in which case it is in substance akin to \*adjudication or \*judicial settlement. But if they wish, states resorting to arbitration may provide that it proceed somewhat in the manner of \*mediation or \**ex aequo et bono*.

Arbitration is an arrangement of great antiquity. Internationally, it was most notably used between the late eighteenth century and around 1930. Since then, established arrangements for judicial settlement have been widely regarded as the most appropriate means for the settlement of international disputes on the basis of law. But for reasons of expedition, cost, and the technicality of some disputes, arbitration continues to be used by states.

*See also* claims tribunal; conciliation.

### **archives and documents.**

*See* diplomatic archives.

**archivist.** *See* *chancelier*.

**armed conflict.** (1) Fighting between states not preceded by a formal declaration of \*war. Since the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 such declarations have gone entirely out of fashion. However, in the popular sense of the term, wars continue. Moreover, the laws of war (now known as \*international humanitarian law) continue to be applicable to such armed conflicts. (2) Non-international armed conflict within the territory of a state between its armed forces and other armed and well-organized groups, that is, an internal conflict (or civil war) which takes on many of the military characteristics of international armed conflict. In such conflicts the relevant parts of the laws of war are applicable.

**armed forces attaché.** *See* service attaché.

**armistice.** An agreement for the suspension of hostilities. Historically, the suspension offered by an armistice

was intended to be temporary (and could be local as well as general). But since 1918 the term has increasingly connoted an intention to terminate hostilities completely. In that event, an armistice may be followed by an agreement on an armistice \*demarcation line and, later, by a \*peace treaty. Nowadays, a temporary suspension of hostilities is more likely to be called a \*truce or a \*ceasefire than an armistice. But the use of all such terms became rather imprecise during the second half of the twentieth century. *See also* armistice commission.

**armistice commission.** A species of \*review meeting or joint commission set up under an \*armistice in order chiefly to supervise its implementation but also to resolve issues that were not settled when it was signed. The post-First World War Inter-Allied Commission also served as a channel of communication with the German leadership until the peace treaty entered into force. An armistice commission is sometimes known as a 'mixed armistice commission', as in the case of those established between Israel and its Arab neighbours at the

Rhodes armistice conference in February 1949 and sometimes as a 'military armistice commission', as with that set up under the Korean War Armistice Agreement (1953). *See also* Riad.

**army attaché.** *See* military attaché; service attaché.

**Arria formula.** An extremely informal procedure of the UN \*Security Council enabling its members to engage in discussion with non-members, including non-state parties. Under this formula, meetings are held in private, away from the Council chamber, usually under the chairmanship of a member other than the current Council president, and without the attendance of officials or the keeping of any official records (\*agreed minutes). The formula takes its name from Diego Arria, the Venezuelan ambassador who presided over the first meeting of this nature when his country had a seat on the Security Council from 1992 to 1993.

**Arthashastra.** *See* Kautilya.

**ask for passports.** Requesting permission to leave the



## 24 assemblies

country. This expression was at one time commonly employed when a \*head of mission was \*recalled from the \*receiving state (temporarily or permanently) in order to register disapproval of some aspect of its behaviour. (A less pleasant variation of it was to be 'sent passports' or 'handed passports' – in effect to be handed an exit \*visa.) The term derived from the fact that until well into the twentieth century diplomats were required to deposit their passports at the \*foreign ministry. During the course of the century this practice was discontinued and use of the expression along with it.

**assemblies.** *See* parliamentary assemblies.

**assistant attaché.** *See* attaché.

**assistant under-secretary.** Formerly a senior position in the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office, it was lower than \*deputy under-secretary of state and higher than \*head of department. The rank has been renamed 'director-general'.

**associated state.** A status which for most practical

purposes is similar to that of a \*protected state, but in which the entity in question lacks \*sovereignty (sense 1). Thus an associated state will, more or less, enjoy internal self-government, but its defence and external affairs will be in the hands of the state with which it is associated.

The concept of association is much more in accord with contemporary orthodoxy than that of protection, but even so most experiments with it – notably in the West Indies – have been wound up. However, the Cook Islands and Niue remain as associated states of New Zealand.

It should be noted that the three Pacific states in 'free association' with the United States – the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, and Palau – are not associated states in the sense here discussed. However, in respect of their defence (for which the United States has accepted responsibility), they have assumed one of the key characteristics of \*protected states.

**Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST).** An independent, non-profit organization dedicated to advancing knowledge

of American diplomacy and supporting the training of US foreign affairs personnel at the \*Foreign Service Institute. Founded in 1986, among other things it is responsible for the 'Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection' (a vast online archive of transcripts of interviews with former US diplomats) and the publication of books on diplomacy by serving and former US diplomats.

**asylum.** *See* diplomatic asylum.

**attaché.** This is a recognized way of designating certain members of a diplomatic mission and of a permanent mission (sense 1). There is no exact uniformity in its use, but principally it is employed in two ways: (1) In some diplomatic services, junior members – usually those ranking beneath \*third secretary – are called attachés (or assistant attachés) when they serve in diplomatic missions, or at certain diplomatic missions. (2) In the overwhelming majority of diplomatic and permanent missions there are specialist staff enjoying \*diplomatic status who are not members of their state's diplomatic service. They come

from government departments other than the \*foreign ministry, such as agriculture, border control, customs and excise, defence, finance, law enforcement, and trade, or may be temporary members of the foreign ministry who have been hired for a specific overseas assignment. (The US State Department used to class such people as \*'Foreign Service Reserves'.) Some states give at least some of these officials a \*diplomatic rank (sense 1), usually indicating their expertise in brackets. Thus Mr X (a member of the Department of Trade who has been seconded to the mission) may be designated 'first secretary (trade)', or Mr Y (from the Home Office) may be styled 'second secretary (immigration)'. But other states give some or all such officials the title of 'attaché', indicating that they are attached to its mission from a department with a predominantly domestic focus rather than from the foreign ministry. In such circumstances Mr X would be called a trade attaché, or an attaché (trade). Other types of attaché include administrative, agricultural, coffee and cocoa affairs, commercial, cultural, economic, education, financial,

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labour, press, scientific, sugar affairs, tourism, and welfare attachés, and even medical and meteorological attachés.

Attachés in sense 2 almost always report directly to their home departments as well as to the foreign ministry. This will always be true of \*service attachés, who also in some other respects are in a different position from that of most other members of a diplomatic mission. (Accordingly, they attract a separate entry.)

*See also* adviser; drugs liaison officer; honorary attaché; immigration liaison officer.

**audience.** A formal interview granted by one official personage to another.

**audience de congé.** *See* farewell call.

**Auswärtiges Amt (AA).** Styled 'Foreign Office' in imitation of the British ministry, the German \*foreign ministry created in 1870 by the Prussian diplomat and statesman Prince Otto von \*Bismarck. It was housed in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin until its destruction in 1943. After the Second World War the AA reopened in Bonn in 1951. When the federal government moved back to Berlin

in 1999, it was relocated to the Werdersche Markt.

**authentication.** The procedure whereby it is established that the \*adopted text of a \*treaty is authentic and therefore definitive. In the case of multilateral treaties and any treaty produced in more than one authentic language, this is preceded by what is traditionally known as the \**toilette finale*. The authentication of a bilateral treaty is usually judged to have been completed when it is \*initialled, signed \*ad referendum or signed. However, special arrangements for the authentication of multilateral treaties are common because they are often negotiated in circumstances in which errors can more easily creep in. As a result, they usually involve the production of a separate document – for example, a \*resolution – certifying that authentication has been completed.

**autonomy.** The enjoyment, by a territorial and often ethnically distinct subdivision of a \*sovereign state, of a far-reaching but less-than-full measure of self-rule.

**award.** *See* judgment.

# B

**backchannel.** A line of diplomatic communication which bypasses the usual \*diplomatic channels. The usual reason for this is to maximize secrecy and avoid opposition to a new line of policy. This does not necessarily entail sidelining all professional diplomats, just most of them. A well-documented case occurred during the arms control talks between the Soviet Union and the United States in the early 1970s. These were formally conducted in Vienna (the front channel) but Henry \*Kissinger used the backchannel of secret meetings with Soviet ambassador at Washington, Anatoly \*Dobrynin, to tackle key difficulties in the talks while the arms control negotiators themselves remained in complete ignorance of what was going on. *See also* Huang Hua.

**backtracking.** In \*negotiations, reopening a question

on which agreement has already been reached. This is usually most serious if it is an issue of principle.

**bailiwick.** The territory under the authority of a bailiff or bailie – a sovereign's official. Now largely historical, although the British \*'Crown dependencies' of Jersey and Guernsey (the chief Channel Islands), which are not part of the United Kingdom, are still formally described as bailiwicks. *See also* dependent territory.

**baillie.** *See* bailo.

**bailo.** The Venetian representative at Constantinople. The bailo (from *baiulus*, tutor or protector) was part \*ambassador, part \*consul, and part governor of the large Venetian trading colony in the city; he held the most important post in the \*Venetian diplomatic

## 28 Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar (1891–1954)

service. In 1453, when Constantinople fell to the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed II, the bailo actually fought alongside his co-religionists on the walls of the city and was beheaded (along with his son) for his pains. Nevertheless, within a year the conqueror had permitted a new appointment to the bailage of Constantinople. During the late Middle Ages, when Venetian power was at its height, the republic had a baillie, as he was then more usually known, at other trading colonies in the Byzantine Empire.

**Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar (1891–1954).** India's first professional diplomat and founding head of its Foreign Service. While the country was still under British rule Bajpai was a civil servant – but no ordinary one, as confirmed by the fact that in 1935 he was admitted to membership of the viceroy's executive council, in effect a cabinet post. Meanwhile, he had gained exposure to world politics, notably by negotiating abroad over the status of Indians in the British dominions, attending the 1921 Washington Disarmament

Conference, and helping to represent India at the League of Nations. All of this was useful preparation for his next position, that of India's agent-general at Washington, where he served from 1941 to 1947. His secretary, Humphrey Trevelyan (1905–85) of the Indian Political Service, who had previously served in a similarly quasi-diplomatic capacity as political agent to several of the Princely States and was before long to be one of Britain's top ambassadors, wrote later: 'Bajpai earned the respect of British and Americans during his service in Washington. He conducted himself with dignity and honesty tempered with adroitness.' Appalled by the Axis conquests and convinced that Indian home rule was only a matter of time, Bajpai supported full Indian participation in the war even if it should delay independence. For this stand, he was denounced by Indian nationalists, but it did not prevent the Congress Party leader and new prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, from appointing him adviser on foreign affairs in 1947 and quickly making him secretary general, the first civil

service head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (later Ministry of External Affairs). Serving in that capacity until 1952, Bajpai led the Indian team at the UN Security Council debate on Kashmir in 1948 (where he was admired for both his wit and effectiveness), played an important role in reaching agreement on the formula which enabled India to continue in the Commonwealth as a republic, and among other things constantly – although in the event to no avail – pressed Nehru to take up the boundary issue with China. After failing health forced him to retire from the foreign ministry, in 1952 Bajpai was appointed governor of the then Bombay State and remained at that post until his untimely death two years' later.

**balance of power.** (1) The distribution of power between states at any given time. (2) An international distribution of power favouring the supporters of the status quo and thereby likely to deter any revisionist state or alliance of states from attacking them. In reality a preponderance

of power in favour of the former, this is described as an 'equilibrium' to avoid provoking the latter. (3) The means by which this equilibrium is achieved, in other words, the main international institution (sense 2) by which states preserve themselves against threats from their hegemonial or imperialist fellows. (In practice, this may mean preserving the major ones at the expense of the lesser.) The balance of power in this sense consists of a configuration of alliances shaped, among other things, by broad acceptance of certain practical rules or precepts: for example, that the most effective bulwark against a revisionist power is a coalition of status quo powers, and that squeamishness about the domestic policies of potential allies is an expensive luxury. Many hoped that this traditional approach of the European states-system to the problem of international order would be replaced, or at least modified, by the collective security procedures introduced in the twentieth century; however, these proved disappointing. As 'equilibrium' or as the means of achieving it, the balance of power

### 30 Ballhausplatz

is the jewel in the crown of the approach to international politics known as \*realism (sense 3). *See also* Cold War; Kissinger; Metternich.

**Ballhausplatz.** A common way of referring to the Austrian foreign ministry, which was situated at Ballhausplatz 2, Vienna, until it moved to a different location in 2005. *See also* Kaunitz.

**ballon d'essai.** *See* flying a kite.

**Barbaro, Ermolao (1454–93).** Venetian scholar-diplomat. In 1490 Barbaro was sent as resident ambassador to Rome, a key post in the \*Venetian diplomatic service. *De Officio Legati*, the short book which he wrote while there, is the first literary account of the \*resident, as opposed to the \*special, envoy. It is also remarkable for being the first book on diplomacy to announce, albeit not in this phrase, the doctrine of \*raison d'état.

**bargaining.** (1) The exchange of offers and counter-offers, sometimes known as 'haggling'. In this sense, bargaining is a tactic employed within a \*negotiation. (2) A synonym

for negotiation. *See also* concession; quid pro quo.

**base, foreign military.** That part of the territory of a \*sovereign state which is made available for use by the military forces of a foreign state and is sufficiently extensive and distinguishable to be termed a base. The terms and conditions on which it may be so used will have been agreed by the host and the foreign state but the form of this agreement varies and is the basis of an important distinction: (1) the military base by \*treaty, of which NATO's bases in Europe and the American bases in Japan are good examples; and (2) the base by informal agreement and perhaps even without a \*status of forces agreement. The US 'bases' in the Persian Gulf illustrate the latter category. It should be noted that Britain's two bases on the island of Cyprus are not part of the state of the Republic of Cyprus, as the areas in question are under British sovereignty: this explains the phrase, 'British Sovereign Base Areas'.

**belligerency.** A status which, under the traditional law of \*war, may be

accorded by \*third parties to an insurgent group within a \*sovereign state which as a matter of fact exercises such governmental authority over part of that state and wields such power as to suggest that the conflict has moved beyond the stage of a mere \*insurgency. Thus it is a formal recognition of a new situation – one where a new de facto political authority has appeared, with which the recognizing state may need to communicate. However, it does not amount to a \*recognition of the insurgent group as a legitimate government. Having recognized a group as belligerent, the recognizing state is obliged to conform to the law of \*neutrality in its dealings with both the group and the government against which it is rebelling. It must also allow both of the latter to exercise against itself the legal rights which belligerents in interstate wars customarily enjoy. Thus formally to acknowledge a status of belligerency implies an agnosticism about the conflict's outcome. From at least the middle of the twentieth century such an approach has been deeply out of fashion. Instead, there is general hostility to anything

that might facilitate the break-up of states. However, it should be noted that in the last decade or two such a development has occasionally been contemplated and even encouraged where the human rights of a minority group are being grossly abused. *See also* R2P.

**belligerent.** (1) A state engaged in \*war. (2) An \*insurgent group which has been granted the status of \*belligerency.

**benevolent neutrality.** *See* neutrality.

**berät.** *See* letter of protection.

**Berlaymont.** The building in Brussels which houses the headquarters of the European Commission.

**bilateral diplomacy.** (1) The conduct of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) between two states through formally accredited missions, although one or even both of these missions may be physically located in a neighbouring state. In this sense, bilateral diplomacy is identical to 'traditional diplomacy'. The principle of \*reciprocity has



## 32 binding

a powerful influence on the conduct of bilateral diplomacy and, at least in more recent times, has generated considerable pressure for equivalent levels of representation in each state. *See also* diplomatic channels; diplomatic representation; multiple accreditation. (2) More broadly, any form of direct diplomatic contact between two states, including \*side consultations as well as discussions on items on the agenda of a \*multilateral conference outside its formal meetings. *See also* direct dial diplomacy; special mission.

**binding.** The condition of having an obligation, either in terms of morality or of law, to follow or desist from a certain path, or to use a certain procedure if one wishes to achieve a valid legal result. All jural law is, by its nature, binding on those to whom it applies. Much philosophical speculation has taken place, over millennia, as to the means whereby bindingness is conferred on law. But this is a false question, as all societies have worked on the assumption that that which they designate as law is, by virtue of it being law,

binding. If, for example, rules or laws are promulgated for a game, those playing it do not ask if those rules are binding on them. It is inherent in the concept of laws or rules that they bind those who come within their aegis. Hence, \*international law is no less, and no more, binding on its subjects than any other law is within its area of jurisdiction. It should be noted that, as with all non-scientific law, the word binding in this context refers to the existence of an obligation to follow a rule, and not necessarily to its actual observance. Indeed, in logic an action can only be termed a breach of a rule on the assumption that the entity in question is under an obligation to observe it. *See also* customary international law; international order; *pacta sunt servanda*.

**bipartisan foreign policy.** In a representative democracy with a two-party system, a \*foreign policy supported by both major parties.

**Bismarck, Prince Otto von (1815–98).** Prussian diplomat and statesman. After a decade serving as a professional diplomat, Bismarck

was appointed chief minister of Prussia in September 1862 and only weeks later foreign minister as well. He is remembered chiefly for orchestrating the unification of Germany in 1871 and then, as imperial chancellor until 1890, for his role in holding the \*balance of power (sense 2) in Europe. He believed that foreign policy should be based on interest rather than sentiment, that war should never be fought to a point where enemies were permanently alienated, and that all options should be preserved by practising \*diplomacy (sense 1) with any state with which Germany was at peace. *See also* Auswärtiges Amt.

**black box hot line.** *See* hot line.

**black chamber.** The room, often in a central post office, where letters, including diplomatic \*despatches sent by ordinary post, were opened and (where necessary) decrypted before being resealed and sent on their way. Most European states had a black chamber by the eighteenth century and the introduction of the electric \*telegraph gave them more

work in the nineteenth. In France it was known as the *cabinet noir*.

**Blair House.** The guest house of the US president, used to host visiting \*heads of state. Blair House is located on Pennsylvania Avenue across the street from the White House.

**bloc.** An informal term for a grouping of states for the purposes of concerting their policies in one or more areas, whether they are bound together by a \*treaty or not, and whether they constitute an \*alliance or not. The most notable bloc of the post-1945 period was the 'Soviet bloc'.

**blue berets.** The name by which the military members of a UN \*peacekeeping operation are often described, after the colour of their headgear. They are also called blue helmets.

**Blue Book.** A British government publication which typically consisted of a compilation of official papers on a particular theme. Blue Books (so called because they had blue covers) were formally presented to Parliament

### 34 body language

and thus by one means or another to the public at large. They were introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century and dealt with domestic as well as foreign policy.

The so-called Diplomatic Blue Books, which reached foreign governments as well as Parliament and the press in Britain, were frequently employed by foreign secretaries as instruments of \*propaganda. (In the middle of the nineteenth century, in particular, some were elicited by Parliament on occasions when governments felt that a Blue Book would not serve this purpose.) On such occasions, documents such as \*telegrams were presented selectively and paraphrased if originally enciphered in order to protect the code. Less respectably, they were sometimes edited further in order to better support a then current policy. Blue Books may also contain reports on the British \*Diplomatic Service. *A Century of Diplomatic Blue Books, 1814–1914*, written by Harold Temperley and Lillian M. Penson and first published in 1938, provides an excellent guide to these works but cautions historians against

exclusive reliance upon them. The value of diplomatic Blue Books to government declined after the First World War as other means of imparting information more quickly to Parliament and the media multiplied.

**body language.** Communicating by means of facial expression, body shape, and physical contact (e.g. the handshake and embrace). This form of non-verbal communication is an important asset of \*personal diplomacy (sense 1), although some of its expressions can be communicated through \*video-conferences. *See also* signalling.

**bottom line.** *See* fall-back position.

**boudoir diplomacy.** A manner of conducting business aspired to by certain ambassadors at courts where one or more women were influential, or where a queen or empress ruled, as, for example, in St Petersburg during the reign of Catherine II of Russia in the late eighteenth century. By display of the gentlemanly virtues portrayed in *The Book of the Courtier* by the Spanish diplomat, Baldassare

Castiglione (1478–1529), their object was to contrive admission to the room where only intimate friends were admitted – the boudoir. Here they had unrivalled opportunities for influence. *See also* Harris, Sir James.

***bout de papier.*** A paper with nothing on it but text which may be passed to a foreign official. Anonymous and completely informal, it typically contains notes to assist an oral presentation or, in a negotiation, a proposed \*formula. In the first case it fulfils essentially the same functions as an \*aide-mémoire but with even less risk of attribution where this could be damaging; in the second, it has the object of trying to break an \*impasse where identification of authorship in the outside world could be equally perilous. Sometimes the English-language term ‘piece of paper’ is used for this device. *See also* non-paper.

**boycott.** The refusal either to have dealings with a particular state, or to buy some or all of its products. Such acts represent protests against certain of the target state’s policies and/or a means of inducing it to

change certain of its ways. The concept is now firmly embedded in the practices of \*international society; but the term is relatively little used, notwithstanding the impeccable political correctness of its origin – a nineteenth-century protest by Irish people against the refusal of one Captain Boycott to reduce rents. Instead, the same concept is expressed through the use of the term \*sanctions. *See also* embargo.

**brackets.** *See* square brackets.

**breach of diplomatic relations.** *See* diplomatic relations.

**breach of the peace.** As understood in the United Nations, an outbreak of fighting between states or – if deemed to represent a threat to international peace and security – within one. *See also* aggression.

**Brezhnev Doctrine.** *See* Monroe Doctrine.

**Briand-Kellogg Pact (1928).** The name by which the Treaty for the Renunciation of War is generally known (after the French and American foreign ministers who instigated it). Its signatories condemned

### 36 **brinkmanship**

'recourse to \*war for the solution of international controversies and renounced it as an instrument of national policy'. The \*treaty was almost universally \*adopted, but had scant practical effect. However, at the level of ideas it was of considerable significance, in that it indicated the changing attitude to the propriety of war as a positive instrument of national policy.

**brinkmanship.** The art of getting to the brink of war without precipitating one. It is associated with the American \*secretary of state during much of the 1950s, John Foster Dulles (1888–1959). The most serious case of twentieth-century brinkmanship was the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, in which the parties came 'eyeball-to-eyeball'. *See also* crisis management.

**British Council.** Founded in 1934, the British Council is Britain's principal vehicle of \*cultural diplomacy. It has always been permitted a degree of autonomy from government to maximize its credibility abroad. Nevertheless, no secret is made of the fact that it receives a substantial 'grant-in-aid' from the

\*Foreign and Commonwealth Office and that its priorities and objectives are set in close consultation with it.

**broker.** *See* mediation.

**Brussels.** Shorthand for the European Union because – excepting the European Parliament, which is based in Strasbourg – the Belgian capital is host to the EU's major political institutions. *See also* Berlaymont; COREPER.

**bubble.** *See* SCIF.

**buffer state.** This phrase generally referred to a \*small state lying more or less between two that were much larger and antagonistic. It could thus take on the role of a buffer, not because of its own strength but because each of its larger neighbours was reluctant to attempt its \*annexation for fear of the reaction of the large rival state on the other side of the small state. However, such a situation did not guarantee the small state's territorial integrity: one of the larger states might chance its arm; or they might both agree to divide the buffer state. Thus the concept of a buffer state implied the

acceptance of the use of armed force and of territorial annexation as instruments of national policy. As, in the second half of the twentieth century, those instruments largely went out of vogue (in both political and legal respects), little is now heard of buffer states. In consequence, small states are much more physically secure than they used to be. But they are no less subject to non-physical pressures from larger states than hitherto.

**buffer zone.** An area lying between two hostile (and often recently belligerent) states or groups in which neither of them maintains armed forces. There is thus a territorial dividing zone between their forces, which reduces the likelihood of accidental conflict and may contribute to a calmer disposition on one or both sides. Sometimes a neutral body – such as the United Nations – may be asked to establish a \*peacekeeping force in the zone. This offers a form of guarantee that neither will take advantage of the buffer zone by suddenly introducing its forces into it.

**bugging.** See listening device.

**bull.** See golden bull.

**Bunker, Ellsworth (1894–1984).** American businessman and diplomat. Bunker had no experience in diplomacy until 1951, when (aged 56) he was appointed US ambassador to Argentina. Success in Buenos Aires led to three other postings as head of a major mission, culminating in South Vietnam (1967–73), where he was a hardliner (the South Vietnamese referred to him as *‘l’homme frigidaire’*). His chief renown arose from his skill as a practical negotiator. In 1962, at the request of the United Nations, Bunker successfully \*mediated a solution to the dangerous dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over West New Guinea/West Irian. Subsequently he mediated between Saudi Arabia and Egypt over Yemen (1963) and in the Dominican crisis (1965). He returned from Vietnam at the age of 79, having managed the US ‘drawdown’ skilfully. He was then given the rank of \*ambassador-at-large and headed the US team in the sensitive Panama Canal negotiations, which led to the 1977 Torrijos-Carter Treaties under which Panama resumed

### 38 bureau

control of the Canal in 2000. Henry \*Kissinger described Bunker as 'one of the great men of American diplomacy'. He finally retired in 1978.

**bureau.** The basic administrative unit – \*geographical or \*functional – in the US \*State Department.

**Bynkershoek, Cornelius van (1673–1743).** Dutch jurist. Bynkershoek was appointed a member of the Supreme Court of Holland in 1703 and its president in 1721. It was also in the latter year that he wrote *De Foro Legatorum tam in causa civili quam criminali* (*The Jurisdiction over Ambassadors in both Civil and Criminal Cases*). Sparked by recent controversies, one of which was the imprisonment of \*Wicquefort, the overwhelming majority of the principles of *De Foro Legatorum* – despite certain oddities – were soon firmly rooted in \*international law and practice. The book has been authoritatively described as 'undoubtedly the greatest of the classical works on diplomatic law'.

**Byzantine diplomacy.** The \*statecraft of the Eastern Roman

Empire, especially during the period of its weakness and decline in the late Middle Ages. In \*foreign policy this gave emphasis to dividing enemies and solidifying friends among its threatening neighbours; in \*diplomacy (sense 1), to enhancing the \*prestige of the emperor by \*protocol and extravagant ceremonial at the reception of ambassadors in Constantinople, and to acquiring accurate intelligence.

Despite its meretricious aspect, fraudulent inspiration, and manipulative technique, there is a well-established view that Byzantine diplomacy is of great importance in the origins of post-Renaissance European diplomacy. This is because, according to Harold \*Nicolson, it was 'the first to organise a special department of government for dealing with external affairs'. Byzantine diplomacy also marked the generalized expansion in the duties of the diplomat from mere \*orator to trained negotiator and observer. Additionally, it was the school of diplomacy by which the \*Venetians – also important in the subsequent development of diplomacy – were substantially influenced.

# C

**cable.** The American term for a \*telegram.

**calendar.** In diplomatic and archival usage, a list of documents arranged chronologically together with either a brief summary of their contents or complete transcripts – or some combination of the two. A good calendar was indexed and each entry gave the location of the originals. Calendars were first developed in the embryonic bureaucracies of the medieval period to facilitate access to the contents of otherwise scattered original documents such as \*treaties, \*despatches, and letters. A well-known example of this kind of calendar is the Gascon Calendar of 1322. Subsequently they were produced in some countries to make the contents of the originals known to historians who were unable to inspect them at first hand. The multi-volume *Calendar of State*

*Papers, Venetian*, is an outstanding example of a calendar designed for this purpose. This was officially published in Britain between the middle of the nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth centuries and contains summaries in English of \*Venetian diplomatic papers bearing on English affairs from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.

**Callières, François de (1645–1717).** A man of letters and French diplomat in the age of Louis XIV. Callières is the author of a celebrated diplomatic treatise published in 1716, *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains*, or *On Negotiating with Sovereigns*. His own diplomatic career was short and relatively unsuccessful. As a young man, Callières had been a clandestine envoy for the Duke of Longueville in Poland (1670–1) and he



#### 40 calls (on appointment to new post)

had represented a foreign prince, the Duke of Savoy, at the election of Jan Sobieski in Warsaw in 1674, a fact he later sought to obscure. He was sharply rebuked by Louis XIV while serving in 1696 as a French envoy during the negotiations which led to the signing of the Ryswick Treaties of 1697 and never appointed again as \*ambassador. Recalled to Versailles, where he became the Sun King's principal private secretary, Callières played an influential role, for example, promoting the unsuccessful Franco-Jacobite invasion of Scotland of 1708 in an effort to bring about a negotiated end to the War of the Spanish Succession. Having been elected in 1689 to the French Academy as a reward for his political service, notably at the naval and colonial ministry, Callières subsequently wrote a series of books on language and court manners, several of which were bestsellers at the time but all of which are quite forgotten today. Not so with *De la manière de négocier*, which was written some time after his return from Holland in 1698. It was circulating in manuscript as early as 1704, but could not be published

until the death of Louis XIV in 1715 because of its implicit criticism of the king's choice of ambassadors. Little notice was taken in France of *De la manière* on its publication, but the English translation which appeared soon afterwards has never been out of print. More elegant and much shorter than \*Wicquefort's great manual, Callières' book is generally regarded as the definitive theoretical exposition of the \*French system of diplomacy – an elaboration of the practice of \*Richelieu. His emphasis on the importance of honesty in diplomacy and the value of a well-trained and skilful envoy has made it a favourite text for professional diplomats and their admirers in the English-speaking world. *See also* Torcy.

**calls (on appointment to new post).** *See* courtesy calls.

**Calvo, Carlos (1824–1906).** Argentine diplomat, historian, and legal scholar. In his early career Carlos Calvo served briefly as a diplomat for the Paraguayan government as well as his own and towards its end was Argentine \*minister (sense 1) at Berlin (appointed 1885) and then at

Paris (1898), where he died. It was, however, in legal scholarship that he made his name; indeed, he became one of Latin America's most celebrated international lawyers. In 1863 he published *El Derecho Internacionale Téorico y Práctico de Europa y América*, which was translated into French as *Le droit international, théorique et pratique* and appeared in numerous later and much expanded editions. This contained what came to be known as the \*Calvo Doctrine. Between 1862 and 1869, he also published a remarkable 11-volume collection of the \*treaties and other diplomatic acts of the South American republics from 1493 until his own time: *Recueil complet des traités, conventions, capitulations, armistices et autres actes diplomatiques de tous les états de l'Amérique latine compris entre le golfe du Mexique et le cap de Horn, depuis l'année 1493 jusqu'à nos jours: précédé d'un mémoire sur l'état actuel de l'Amérique, de tableaux statistiques, d'un dictionnaire diplomatique, avec une notice historique sur chaque traité important*. It was while he was minister at Berlin that in 1885 Calvo also produced, particularly with diplomats in

mind, his *Dictionnaire manuel de diplomatie et de droit international public et privé* (a handy dictionary of diplomacy and public and private \*international law); this was a shortened version (with added material) of a longer work on international law published in the previous year. In appearance this much resembles the present work, with the text presented in two columns and entry titles highlighted in bold. Calvo's *Dictionnaire manuel*, which in the introduction he describes alternatively as '*une encyclopédie portative*' (an easily carried encyclopaedia) remains of great interest and a digitalized version of the Bodleian Library's copy can be found on the Internet (see Bibliography).

**Calvo Doctrine.** The doctrine that aliens are not entitled to more favourable treatment than citizens and hence that their states are not entitled to give them \*diplomatic protection (sense 1) in the event of their receiving treatment which is deemed to fall below an acceptable standard – the 'minimum standard of civilization', as the more developed states were wont to call it. It owes

## 42 Cambon, Paul (1843–1924)

its origins to the nineteenth century Argentine diplomat and jurist, Carlos \*Calvo, who was angered by the \*intervention of European states in Latin America – sometimes by military means – to enforce their nationals' claims for personal injury or loss of property. A corollary of the Calvo Doctrine was the widespread introduction into contracts between Latin American states and foreign nationals of a clause requiring the latter to waive the right to diplomatic protection in any dispute between them. The legal validity of the 'Calvo clause', as this is known, has been a source of much controversy.

### **Cambon, Paul (1843–1924).**

French diplomat. Paul Cambon is best known for his role in cementing the Anglo-French \*entente of 1904 and remaining in London as ambassador throughout the First World War. He is described by Harold \*Nicolson as 'one of the most successful diplomatists in modern history'. The fact that he lacked fluent English is striking evidence of the extent to which French remained the language of diplomacy until well into the twentieth century. Cambon's younger

brother, Jules (1845–1935), also an outstanding diplomat, was the author of a short book called *The Diplomatist (Le diplomate, 1926; English translation, 1931)* which was highly praised by practitioners of the \*old diplomacy. Paul's son, Henri, also became a diplomat, although – viewing with dismay in 1919 the arrival of \*open diplomacy – his father expressed regret that he had allowed him to choose 'a dying career'.

**camel corps.** The name given to the British Arabists who learned Arabic at their government's \*Middle East Centre for Arab Studies.

**Camp David.** A US presidential retreat in the Catoctin Mountains of Maryland, officially known as the Naval Support Facility, Thurmont. It is 70 miles and half an hour by helicopter from the White House. It was established by President Roosevelt in 1942 for the sake of his health (in summer, it is both cooler and less humid than Washington) as well as his safety. Initially called 'Shangri-La', in 1953 President Eisenhower renamed it after his grandson, David. Since the visit of the British

prime minister, Winston Churchill, in May 1943, most presidents have used Camp David for \*summit meetings.

**cancellaria.** *See* chancery.

**cancellier.** *See* *chancelier*.

**Canning, Stratford (1786–1880).** British diplomat. Known after 1852 as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford was one of the greatest British diplomats of the nineteenth century and a perfect illustration of the influence which, in the pre-telegraphic age, could be wielded by an ambassador who was at once exceptionally able and well connected in governing circles at home. Enjoying the patronage of the foreign secretary George Canning, who was his cousin, he went to Constantinople as \*first secretary in 1808 and within two years (at the age of only 24) was given temporary charge of this important embassy with the rank of \*minister plenipotentiary. Peace between Turkey and Russia was vital to British interests in the war with Napoleon and this was achieved with the assistance of Stratford's \*mediation in the Treaty of Bucharest of

28 May 1812. This established his diplomatic reputation and laid the foundation of the immense influence that he later acquired in Constantinople, where – after postings in Switzerland, the USA, and Russia – he returned as ambassador in 1825.

The years after Stratford returned from his second tour in Turkey in 1827 saw a long period of parliamentary politics leavened with special diplomatic missions to Turkey (again) and Portugal. In 1833 the prime minister, Palmerston, wanted to send him as ambassador to Russia but \*agrément was refused by the tsar. However, his full-time diplomatic career was resumed in 1841 when he was sent on his third and final mission to Constantinople, which lasted until 1858. It was especially during this period that Stratford's influence was at its height, both in fostering reform within the Ottoman Empire and stiffening the resolve of its government to resist Russian pressure. Although historians now believe that the Turks would have adopted the posture which contributed to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 without

#### 44 capacity-building

Stratford's encouragement, there is little doubt that he deserved the title which they gave to him: 'the Great *Elchi*'. Technically, this meant simply ambassador rather than minister (*elchi*) but when applied to Stratford had the connotation of 'ambassador par excellence'.

**capacity-building.** Activity of any kind designed to improve the skills, competences, or functioning of an institution – for example, a system for the administration of justice. Formerly known in the \*UN system as 'institution building'. See also DiploFoundation; specialized agencies.

**capital.** The city which is almost invariably a \*state's seat of government. It is, however, possible for the seat of government to be in a city other than that which is designated as the capital, as in the Netherlands; or the organs of government may be divided between two or even – as in South Africa – three cities, resulting in that state having three functionally differentiated capitals: Pretoria (administrative), Cape Town (legislative), and Bloemfontein (judicial) – probably a unique

expression of the doctrine of the separation of powers. \*Diplomatic missions are almost always based in the capital city and only in that city. (In the South African case, missions in effect move for some months each year from Pretoria to Cape Town so that they may have ready access to members of the government during the period when the South African parliament is sitting. In respect of the Netherlands, the \*receiving state insists that diplomatic missions be at the seat of government – The Hague – rather than in the capital – Amsterdam.) Very occasionally, however, it may not be possible for a \*sending state to establish its mission in the capital, for example, when it does not recognize the legitimacy of the receiving state's occupancy of that city. This occurs in the case of Israel, with the result that almost all diplomatic missions are based not in the capital, Jerusalem, but in Tel Aviv.

**capitulations.** (1) Privileges (the plural 'capitulations' was customary) extended by a ruler to foreign states for the benefit of their locally resident subjects. There were

earlier examples, but the capitulations agreed by France with the Ottoman sultan in 1536 provided the model for those subsequently granted to the other European powers in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Persia (Iran), China, Japan, Siam (Thailand), and elsewhere. The Ottoman capitulations were prompted chiefly by a mutual interest in the expansion of commerce between Europe and the Levant and the anxiety of the sultan and his household to be absolved of responsibility for administering the affairs of useful but perplexing strangers. They granted to the European states rights to trade and travel freely, pay low customs duties, no domestic taxes, and to have civil and criminal cases arising among and between their own subjects resident in the Ottoman Empire tried in their own consular courts. From the point of view of \*diplomatic privileges and procedure the capitulations were important for three main reasons. In the first place, they tended to give a degree of protection to foreign envoys in Constantinople – provided their governments remained at peace with the ‘Grand Signor’ – before the

\*customary international law of diplomacy began to be accepted in the Ottoman Empire in the course of the eighteenth century. In the second, since they were not regarded by the Turks as \*treaties between equals but personal acts of grace by the reigning sultan, until 1740 the capitulations had to be renegotiated when one sultan was succeeded by another. In the third place, since they were regarded as assuming friendship, any act of hostility by the beneficiary rendered them void; this feature of the capitulations was not surrendered by the Turks until 1774. With the continued weakening of the empire, by the end of the nineteenth century the capitulations gave such a degree of communal autonomy to foreigners that Sir Charles Elliot observed that they all had ‘almost the same immunities as diplomatists in other countries’. Not surprisingly, they became major targets of Turkish nationalism and were finally abolished by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Most of those which had been established elsewhere were also abolished by the end of the interwar period, but those in Muscat (Oman)

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continued until 1958, while those in the Trucial States of the (Persian) Gulf were ended only in 1971. *See also* letter of protection; unequal treaty. (2) An \*instrument negotiated between the commanders of armed forces of \*belligerents (sense 1) which contains the terms of surrender of a body of troops, defended positions, or a particular district of the theatre of \*war. Now only historical. The loose document detailing the effective surrender at the Safwan airfield of Iraqi commanders to those of the Coalition on 3 March 1991 is generally described as a \*ceasefire agreement, as were the terms of the surrender of the Iraqi 5th Army Corps to US Special Forces at Mosul in April 2003.

**career ambassador.** (1) A \*career diplomat with the rank of \*ambassador. (2) The highest rank in the US \*Foreign Service. It is a personal rank which the president, with the advice and consent of the Senate, can confer on a career member of the US \*senior foreign service in recognition of especially distinguished service over a sustained period. This power was given to the president under

the Foreign Service Act (1980). This repealed the 1946 Foreign Service Act, together with the amendment to it made in the act of Congress of 5 August 1955 that first introduced the class of career ambassador. In order to qualify for it under the earlier scheme, an officer had to have served for at least 15 years in a position of responsibility in a government agency, including at least three of these as a \*career minister; rendered exceptionally distinguished service to the government; and met other requirements prescribed by the \*secretary of state.

### **career consular officer.**

A full-time consular officer, as opposed to an \*honorary consular officer. A somewhat ambiguous term, it does *not* imply that the person bearing the title is also a member of a separate \*consular service and thus likely to spend their entire career engaged in the performance of \*consular functions. This was the lot of full-time consular officers until about the middle of the twentieth century, but since then states have incorporated their consular services within their \*diplomatic services. As a result, from time to time

many \*career diplomats now serve at a \*consular post or in the \*consular section of an embassy. *See also* consular rank.

**career diplomat.** Another term for a professional diplomat: a permanent member of a \*diplomatic service. A career diplomat is thus different from an \*ad hoc diplomat, a \*temporary diplomat, or a \*political appointee.

**career minister.** A personal rank in the US \*Foreign Service which is second only to that of \*career ambassador. Career ministers have often been ambassadors before achieving this rank.

**care-of-pilot.** *See* diplomatic bag.

**carrière, la.** The diplomatic career. *See also* diplomatic service; diplomatist.

**Casey, Richard (1890–1976).** In effect Australia's first diplomat. In the 1920s Australia's only overseas representation was its \*high commission in London and when Stanley Bruce became prime minister in 1923 he did not get along with its occupant.

Wanting reports from someone he trusted, Bruce arranged for Casey to become his 'external affairs liaison officer'. As such it was arranged that he should have a room in Britain's cabinet office, which gave him unrivalled access to ministers and officials. The \*Foreign Office was told to help him in any way it could and Casey saw papers of the highest confidentiality. Given that he was also socially well-placed – he was from the Melbourne establishment, wealthy, charming, Cambridge-educated, and a war-veteran – he found himself at the heart of Britain's government and, thanks to his regular personal letters, Bruce felt he had 'probably ... the best picture that exists of the political and international situation at that time'.

In 1931, Casey left London and entered Australian politics. He rapidly ascended the ministerial ladder, but when Robert Menzies became prime minister in 1939 his prospects dimmed and he accepted the invitation to open Australia's first \*legation at Washington in January 1940. There he worked closely with the British (Britain's ambassador, Lord Lothian, described him as 'the other blade of the



scissors') and several times served as a valuable intermediary. He and his talented, likeable wife also played a valuable \*public diplomacy role, piloting their privately owned aeroplane across the continent to win support for the allies and educate Americans about Australia. But his future looked bleak after the government changed and an abrasive new minister for \*external affairs sought to bypass him. Casey privately confided his fears to Churchill, who overrode the Australian prime minister's wishes by plucking him from Washington in 1942 and appointing him as Britain's wartime \*resident minister at Cairo with responsibility for British operations in the Middle East; this carried a seat in the war cabinet. From Cairo, he proceeded to another key wartime position as governor of Bengal, a position he held from 1944 to 1946.

In 1951, Casey became minister for external affairs. He sought to refocus Australian foreign policy towards closer relations with Asia and the United States and played an important role in negotiating the 1959 Antarctic Treaty.

But in adopting a strong and independent Australian line, he often clashed with his staunchly pro-British prime minister, Robert Menzies, who held him in 'a kind of amiable contempt'. After stepping down as minister for external affairs and retiring from politics in 1960, Casey – by that time Baron Casey – served as Australia's \*governor-general from 1965 to 1969.

A born diplomat, Casey's influence on Australian foreign policy is commemorated in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade building, which bears his name. *See also* Middle East Centre for Arab Studies.

**casual courier.** An officer of the British \*Diplomatic Service who is temporarily co-opted to carry diplomatic mail on a particular journey; this mail can on occasions be \*classified 'secret' or above. In addition to a private passport, the courier carries a special 'Casual Courier's Passport'. This confers immunity on the \*diplomatic bag being carried. *See also* diplomatic courier; Queen's Messenger.

**casus belli.** An event or act which precipitates or is used to justify resort to \*war.

**casus foederis.** An event or act which is deemed to justify calling on an ally to fulfil the undertakings of a \*treaty of \*alliance.

**caucus.** An informal group that meets in private to forge a common approach to matters brought for decision in a larger, formal group. This is a most important feature of \*multi-lateral diplomatic gatherings, whether permanent or ad hoc. On the UN \*Security Council, for example, the most important caucuses are those of the permanent five (\*P5), the Western permanent members (P3), the \*non-aligned, and the European Union. Even the 'non-non-aligned' sometimes meet in caucus.

**ceasefire.** (1) An \*agreement to this effect, which may relate to a specific area where fighting has erupted or to the whole armed front. It is usually implicit in such agreements that the cessation of firing is accompanied by no forward movement of positions or armament. This may be made explicit by the description of the agreement as, for example, a 'ceasefire-in-place' or a 'standstill ceasefire'. A further way of trying to

stabilize a ceasefire is through an additional agreement to \*delimit and \*demarcate the lines beyond which each side may not move. Such a line, like a single line indicating the limits of the ground held by each at the time of the ceasefire, constitutes a 'ceasefire line (CFL)'. It is sometimes known as a \*green line. A ceasefire may, perhaps via a \*truce, lead to an \*armistice and hence, possibly, to a \*peace treaty. (2) Now also loosely used to describe an agreement that used to be called a \*capitulation (sense 2).

**ceasefire-in-place.** *See* ceasefire.

**ceasefire line.** *See* ceasefire.

**céder le pas.** To waive a right of \*precedence on a specific occasion. It is likely to be accompanied by a proviso that the gesture should not be interpreted as creating a precedent.

**certificate of exchange.** *See* ratification.

**certificate of life.** A document that proves that a person with an address abroad is still alive and thus entitled to continue receiving a

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pension, or perhaps an insurance payment, from home. Confirming that signatures on such certificates are genuine is a common task of \*consular officers and \*diplomats (sense 1) exercising consular functions. Sometimes known as a 'life certificate'.

**Chanakyapuri.** The name of the \*diplomatic quarter in New Delhi, so called in honour of Chanakya, also known as \*Kautilya.

**chancellor.** Earlier known as a *cancellier*, an administrator or clerk in a diplomatic mission trusted with the keeping and handling of confidential documents. Conceived as the institutional memory, such persons have generally been expected to have an easy familiarity with local languages and customs and be a permanent fixture in their embassy. Sometimes, but by no means frequently, they are members of the \*diplomatic staff. Most diplomatic services now employ such people, whether they go by this name (as in the French Diplomatic Service) or not, but their introduction was fiercely resisted by the British \*Diplomatic Service in the second half of

the nineteenth century on the grounds that the lower social class origins of such people made them untrustworthy. (However, one had for long been employed in the British embassy in Constantinople.) The result was that junior entrants to the diplomatic profession, who had to spend too much time on routine clerical work, including copying \*despatches, at best suffered a poor apprenticeship for their craft and at worst got bored and left. Under mounting pressure of routine \*chancery work, a version of the *chancellor* was finally introduced into the British Diplomatic Service in the first decade of the twentieth century, although he was styled 'archivist'. *See also* diplomatic archives; registry.

**chancellery.** A \*foreign ministry of a \*major power. This was the meaning of this word when it was used before the First World War in the phrase 'the Chancelleries of Europe'. *See also* chancery.

**chancery.** A 'worn down version' of 'chancellery' which can mean either (1) the political section of an \*embassy, or (2) more broadly, the business offices of an embassy as

opposed to the \*residence of the \*head of mission – and thus a synonym for \*embassy (or \*high commission). *See also* chancellery.

**channel of communication.** *See* diplomatic channels.

**chargé d'affaires (c.d.a.).** A generic term for the following three entries. *See also* acting high commissioner; secretary of embassy/legation.

**chargé d'affaires *ad interim* (a.i.).** The person who takes charge of an \*embassy or a \*legation during the temporary absence of its \*head, or pending the appointment of a new head. This kind of c.d.a. is readily traced back to the position of \*secretary of embassy or legation and \*sending states generally like this position to be occupied by a member of their \*diplomatic service rather than a higher-ranking specialist who is serving as a \*temporary diplomat. To that end such officers may be designated \*deputy head (or \*deputy chief) of mission so that they have the number two rank in the mission's internal order of \*precedence. The \*receiving state's foreign ministry must

be informed of the appointment of a c.d.a. (a.i.) by the ambassador or \*minister (sense 1) or, if that is not possible, by the sending state's foreign ministry.

In recent times, the concept of *ad interim* has been greatly stretched, perhaps as a device to avoid having to call a diplomatic mission something other than an embassy. Thus from 1977 to 1980, due to their deteriorating relations over the Falkland Islands/Las Malvinas, Britain and Argentina reduced their diplomatic missions in each other's capitals to ones headed by a chargé d'affaires – but each officer was designated as acting *ad interim*. Likewise, the Argentinean head of mission in South Africa from 1974 to 1984 was a chargé d'affaires *ad interim*. And throughout the 1990s tense Anglo-Iranian relations led to a situation in which the missions they exchanged were each headed by a chargé d'affaires (a.i.). *See also* acting high commissioner.

**chargé d'affaires *en pied*.** An alternative name for \*chargé d'affaires *en titre*.

**chargé d'affaires *en titre*.** A \*head of mission of the

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third class. Unlike a \*chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, this type of c.d.a. is appointed on a permanent basis, that is to say, to be in charge of the mission in their own right. In consequence, the mission which the officer heads is neither an \*embassy (sense 1) nor a \*legation. It may perhaps be called 'The Office of the Chargé d'Affaires *en titre*', which was the name given to the resident mission to Britain of the People's Republic of China between 1954 and 1972. Unlike other \*letters of credence, those of a chargé d'affaires *en titre* are sent by the foreign minister of the \*sending state to their counterpart in the \*receiving state. During the latter part of the twentieth century this class of head of mission became increasingly rare, although it is mentioned in Article 14.1 of the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961).

The chargé d'affaires *en titre* is in direct line of descent from the simple 'chargé d'affaires' of the early modern period, when it was one of a variety of titles for a diplomat of inferior rank. The distinction between this kind of chargé d'affaires and the chargé d'affaires *ad interim*

became clear in the nineteenth century.

**Charter of the United Nations.** The 1945 \*treaty which established the \*United Nations and set out what is, in effect, its constitution.

**Chatham House Rule.** This rule states that '[w]hen a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed'. The rule was introduced in 1927 at Chatham House – the home of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in St James's Square, London – and was amended in 1992. Designed to promote free discussion, it is now used widely throughout the English-speaking world. Although it is common to speak of 'Chatham House Rules', in fact there is only one rule.

**chief clerk.** The title which used to be given to the senior official in the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office who was responsible for

the administration of the \*Diplomatic Service. In 2003 it was changed to 'Director General Corporate Affairs', which sounded much more important.

**chief military observer.**

The title often given to the head of a \*peacekeeping operation which consists of \*military observers. However, the head of the military observer group on the Arab-Israeli borders – founded in 1948 and still in being – has always been called chief of staff.

**chief of mission.** *See* head of mission.

**chiffreur.** A \*cipher or communications officer on the \*diplomatic staff of a French mission.

**China hand.** Anyone with expert knowledge of China and its language. The term China hands, or 'old China hands', was originally used of the traders based in the treaty ports on the China coast who 'opened up' the country in the nineteenth century. Later, however, it came to be associated especially with all those Americans, diplomats prominent among them, who

had lived and worked in China in the years before the Communist revolution in 1949 – and were blamed for having 'lost China'. In the McCarthyite witch-hunts in the United States which followed afterwards, they were defamed and discredited and not rehabilitated until the time of the Sino-American \*rapprochement in the 1970s. *See also* China watcher.

**China watcher.** A person who specializes in trying to fathom the political currents of the People's Republic of China but especially one who did so before the onset of the Sino-American \*rapprochement in the 1970s. China watchers – the term probably derives from 'bird watching' – employ similar techniques to those of \*Kremlinologists. The United States \*consulate-general in Hong Kong was a \*listening post which had a particularly strong staff of China watchers, but their work began to diminish in value after Washington was allowed to open a \*representative office in Beijing in 1973. *See also* China hand.

**Chinese secretary.** *See* oriental secretary.

**CHOGM.** Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. *See also* summitry.

**Chou Enlai.** *See* Zhou Enlai.

**chrysobull.** *See* golden bull.

**CIA.** Created in 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency is the USA's predominant organ for collecting \*foreign intelligence (sense 2). Its analytical role has latterly been subsumed under that of the National Intelligence Council.

**cipher.** (1) A symbol, whether letter or number, which represents a single letter or number, as opposed to a \*code where plurals are employed. A message written in cipher is said to have been 'encrypted'. The distinction between a cipher and code is a purely technical one and though it is still common to see references to 'codes *and* ciphers', the terms are often used today as synonyms. Consistently with this, messages are said to be 'deciphered' when a government agency translates into plain text one of its own encrypted messages, whether a cipher or a code had been employed. Broken ciphers are said to have been 'decrypted'.

Deciphering and enciphering, formerly time consuming processes, are now performed by computers. (2) The key to a system of symbols used in this manner.

**circular embassy.** *See* ambassador-at-large.

**circular note.** One which goes to a number of recipients: for example, all diplomatic missions in a particular \*capital or group of capitals.

**citizen diplomacy.** *See* track two diplomacy.

**civilian police.** Police personnel employed in a \*peace-keeping operation.

**civil society.** *See* non-governmental organization.

**claim.** A formal demand made by one state on another for the rectification of, or compensation for, a legal wrong that has allegedly been done to it by the second state. *See also* claims tribunal.

**claims commission.** *See* claims tribunal.

**claims tribunal.** A tribunal established to adjudicate on

an anticipated body of \*claims arising out of the relationship between two or more states. By far the most important current example of such a body is the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal, which was established in January 1981 as part of the settlement under which the diplomats held hostage in the US embassy in Tehran for 444 days were finally released. It is composed of three judges (known officially as 'arbitrators') appointed by Iran, three by the United States, and three neutral judges (one of whom is the president of the tribunal) appointed jointly by the other six. In addition, Iran and the United States each has a formally designated 'agent' to represent it at the seat of the tribunal, which is in The Hague. The \*judgments of the tribunal are regarded by many international lawyers as the most important body of international \*arbitration jurisprudence. *See also* joint commission.

**class.** *See* diplomatic classes.

**classified.** A term for a document which has been judged by government officials to require a greater or lesser degree of protection from

public disclosure. The typical scheme of classification is top secret, secret, confidential, restricted. *See also* redaction.

**clausula rebus sic stantibus.** The doctrine that there is an implied term or clause in a \*treaty – the *clausula rebus sic stantibus* – to the effect that the treaty is \*binding only for as long as there is no fundamental change in the circumstances which were assumed by the parties at the time of its conclusion. The doctrine finds expression – but not in its Latin form – in the Vienna Convention on the \*Law of Treaties (1969).

The mere invocation of the doctrine does not serve to invalidate a treaty. Only if no objection is raised by any other \*party (sense 2) within three months of having received notice of its invocation is the state in question entitled to regard itself as free from the obligations of the treaty. In the event of an objection, procedures for \*pacific settlement must be instituted.

**clientitis.** *See* localitis.

**Clingendael.** The Netherlands Institute of International Relations, so called because



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it is housed in a building of that name in The Hague. Established in 1983 and with approximately 40 per cent of its budget provided by the Dutch ministries of foreign affairs and defence, it is one of Europe's leading diplomatic academies.

**coalition.** In international politics, a large grouping of often diverse states temporarily united for a specific purpose, notably military action. Thus US President George W. Bush used the term 'coalition of the willing' to refer to states he deemed supportive of the 2003 invasion of Iraq. *See also* alliance; alliance of convenience.

**code.** (1) A word, symbol, or group of symbols representing a whole word or even a group of words. (2) The key to a system of words or symbols used in this manner. As with \*ciphers, messages put into code are said to have been 'encrypted' and broken codes 'decrypted'. *See also* cryptanalysis; cryptography.

**codecision procedure.** A European Union procedure giving the European Parliament the power to adopt \*instruments jointly with the EU

Council of Ministers. Introduced by the Treaty of Maastricht (1991), it has strengthened the parliament's legislative powers in a number of important fields. *See also* qualified majority voting.

**CODEL.** A congressional delegation on a visit to an American embassy. *See also* mixed embassy; visiting fireman.

**code word.** *See* diplomatic language (sense 1).

**codification.** The systematic presentation of rules of \*international law in a multilateral \*treaty. In principle, codification is distinct from the \*progressive development of the law. But in practice it is hard to codify law without at the same time introducing at least some changes to resolve uncertainties and inconsistencies. The \*General Assembly is charged by the UN \*Charter with both tasks, the detailed preparatory work on which is delegated to the \*International Law Commission. The Vienna Conventions on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) and on \*Consular Relations (1963) are successful instances of international codification.

**coercive diplomacy.** A euphemism for the threat or use of force against an opponent to foster a more cooperative cast of mind, this sometimes being either a spoken or unspoken accompaniment to diplomacy. An early instance of its importance is shown by a remark of \*Machiavelli, then representing the virtually unarmed Florentine state at the French court: 'They call you Mr Nothing,' the exasperated envoy told his employers. Nowadays \*international law requires that states refrain in their \*international relations (sense 1) from the threat or use of force except in self-defence or with the authority of the UN \*Security Council. Nonetheless, some states have claimed with varying degrees of persuasiveness to have devised ways to evade this obligation, an example being the NATO air assault on Serbia in 1999 during the crisis over that state's attempt to prevent the secession of the province of Kosovo. *See also* R2P.

**Cold War.** The conflict which developed shortly after the Second World War between the Soviet Union and the United States, together with their respective allies.

It is generally regarded as having been brought to an end at the \*summit meeting in Paris in November 1990. It was distinguished by the absence of direct military engagement or 'hot war' and, after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, agreement on certain ground rules. Its real flavour was provided by \*propaganda, subversion, surrogate wars, and the use of \*foreign aid in the attempt to win adherents in the \*non-aligned world. The term was invented in 1947 by the US financier and presidential adviser Bernard Baruch and popularized in the press. The most evocative symbol of the Cold War was the Berlin Wall (which was erected by East Germany in 1961 and remained in place until late 1989), dividing East from West Berlin.

\*Diplomatic relations (sense 1) between the Soviet Union and the United States were never severed during the Cold War and large \*embassies (sense 1) were maintained by each in the capital of the other. However, as well as being used for traditional diplomatic purposes, these missions were more than usually important as covers for intelligence-gathering

activities. Furthermore, American and Soviet embassies in many states, not least in the \*Third World, were used to direct military assistance programmes and, sometimes, covert operations. American diplomats sometimes described this as the 'militarization of diplomacy'. *See also* alliance.

**collective note.** A single \*note addressed to one state by two or more others. Designed to give maximum force to a joint representation, it may nevertheless be difficult to agree and be seen as an attempt at bullying. As a result, it has always been a rare form of diplomatic communication. *See also* identic notes.

**collective security.** (1) The principle that all members of the collectivity of states are jointly responsible for the physical security of each of them. The principle emerged in the twentieth century because of dissatisfaction with the individualism of the nineteenth century and its associated principle of the \*balance of power (sense 3). Thus collective security found (imperfect) expression after the First World War in the \*Covenant of the League of Nations

and further (again inexact) expression in 1945 in the UN \*Charter. Its implementation in the practice of both international organizations has also been far from perfect, as states are understandably reluctant to endanger their individual \*national interests by acting on the basis of such a broad and demanding principle as that of collective security. Nonetheless, the deference now paid to the principle indicates the far-reaching change in ideas about proper international behaviour that took place during the twentieth century. The principle of collective security reflected the assumption that the chief threat to a state's physical integrity was an armed attack by a state or states bent on territorial gain. Perhaps in part due to the general theoretical rejection of that activity, this type of threat appears in practice to have substantially diminished, which may explain why the concept of collective security is now not often expressed in those words. However, much is heard about \*peace enforcement – which, broadly speaking, is its contemporary semantic equivalent. (2) The principle on which a military

\*alliance is built: specifically, that an attack on any one member is to be treated as an attack on all its members, requiring a collective response in support of the victim. The term is sometimes used in this corrupted sense, especially in connection with NATO, because of its favourable connotations. However, it was precisely to avoid the need for alliances, the counter-alliances they were deemed to provoke, and the spiral to war to which this systemic rivalry could easily lead, that the supporters of collective security (sense 1) developed their doctrine. *See also* aggression; self-defence.

**co-location.** The sharing of the same building or complex by the separate \*missions (sense 1) of states enjoying close and well-established relationships. These include the Nordic countries and those within the European Union, although even in these instances the practice is not common.

**colonialism.** The acquisition and holding of \*colonies and the belief (now obsolete) in the propriety of so doing.

**colonial resident.** *See* resident (sense 3).

**colony.** A territory possessed or administered by a \*sovereign state which is both physically separate from it and not integrated into the governmental arrangements of the metropolitan state. A colony's constitution will thus be subordinate to that of the metropolitan state. But beyond that, a colony's constitutional position can vary enormously, from almost complete control by the colonial power to virtually unhindered internal self-government. Except for some very small or special instances, colonies have largely disappeared, reflecting the anti-colonial ethos of the age. Those which remain usually do so in order to retain the protection of the former colonial power or because of the lack of sufficient human and other resources to sustain full \*independence. *See also* agent-general; commission (sense 3); dependent territory; non-self-governing territory.

**comitology.** In the European Union, the procedures governing the dialogue which must take place between the European Commission and various committees consisting of representatives of member states before it adopts any

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measures to implement legislation at community level.

**comity.** Rules of international conduct which are based not in \*international law but on considerations of courtesy.

**commercial agent.** (1) An early term, common in the nineteenth century, for an \*honorary consul. (2) A synonym for a \*consular agent (sense 1). *See also* agent; agent-general.

**commercial attaché.** *See* attaché.

**commercial counsellor.** Sometimes 'counsellor (commercial)', a diplomatic officer of \*counsellor rank responsible for the commercial work of a mission, usually as head of its \*commercial section. *See also* Commercial Diplomatic Service; trade commissioner.

**commercial diplomacy.** The work of diplomatic missions in support of the home country's business and finance sectors. Distinct from, although obviously closely related to, \*economic diplomacy, it is common for commercial diplomacy to include the promotion

of inward and outward investment, as well as trade.

Important features of this work are supplying the sending state's trade ministry and businessmen (especially those from small businesses) with information about export and investment opportunities, maintaining contact with the businessmen and chambers of commerce of the receiving state, and organizing and supporting \*trade missions from home. In American diplomatic missions this work is currently undertaken largely by officers of the foreign commercial service of the Department of Commerce, assisted by the mission's \*economic officer, together with the \*chief of mission and other senior officers as appropriate.

**Commercial Diplomatic Service.** The British service created at the end of the First World War and jointly administered by the \*Foreign Office and the newly created Department of Overseas Trade. It developed from the growing corps of commercial \*attachés and soon saw the appointment to diplomatic missions of its own staff with its own ranks: \*commercial

counsellors and commercial secretaries. In 1943 it was absorbed by the new, unified \*Foreign Service, although until 1965 trade commissioners were still posted abroad by the Board of Trade as part of the Trade Commissioner Service. *See also* Diplomatic Service, British.

**commercial office.** This post is virtually the same as a \*trade office. It is not to be confused with a \*commercial section.

**commercial officer.** A rather loose term which generally signifies a \*diplomatic agent who is a member of the \*commercial section of a diplomatic mission. In the US \*Foreign Service, such an individual, if not a member of the Department of Commerce, is known as an \*economic officer. *See also* trade officer.

**commercial secretary.** A \*commercial section officer below \*counsellor rank. *See also* Commercial Diplomatic Service; trade commissioner.

**commercial section.** The section within a \*diplomatic mission responsible for all its commercial and financial work, although larger ones

now tend to have a separate one for \*economic diplomacy (sense 1). Sometimes also known as the 'commercial department' or 'commercial secretariat', a commercial section is to be distinguished from a \*commercial office. *See also* economic section.

**commission.** (1) A document supplied by the \*sending state to the head of a \*consular post and to the \*receiving state which certifies the officer's name, consular rank (also called class), the \*consular district to be headed, and the seat of the post. Members of a diplomatic mission without formal consular responsibilities can also hold consular commissions. *See also* exequatur; letters of commission. (2) A committee of one sort or another with a specific task, as in a \*joint commission or \*consular commission. (3) During the colonial era, the 'diplomatic' mission in London of a British colony or of a full member of the \*Commonwealth in a British colonial territory. (The term was also used in this sense by foreign states in parts of the British Empire. For example, China had a commission in British India.) The British view of the status and

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privileges of a commission of this sort was that they were identical with those of a \*trade commission (sense 1), the only difference being that its functions included information work and looking after visitors and students as well as trade promotion.

**commission of appointment.** The document given by the \*sending state to a new \*head of mission which confers appointment to the position in question. Historically, it sometimes detailed the diplomat's duties or provided \*instructions. It is to be distinguished from \*letters of credence or \*letters of commission, both of which accredit the appointee to the \*receiving state's \*head of state. British \*high commissioners, for historical reasons, do not receive commissions of appointment.

**commissioner and consul-general.** See agent and consul-general.

**commission rogatoire.** See rogatory letter.

**Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).** The term employed in the European Union which signifies (a) EU

policy on foreign political and security issues where cooperation or joint action is agreed by the Council of Ministers, and (b) the machinery for generating and implementing it. CFSP grew out of the largely extra-community, intergovernmental scheme for member state cooperation in this area which was known as 'European Political Co-operation (EPC)' and prevailed over the period from the early 1970s until CFSP was introduced by the Maastricht Treaty in 1993.

**common system.** The system of salaries, allowances, and benefits applied by the \*United Nations, its \*specialized agencies, and some other \*international organizations. See also international civil service.

**Commonwealth.** An association of 54 \*sovereign states which has grown out of the constitutional development and subsequent disintegration of the British Empire. It has no formal constitution, save the acceptance by all members of Queen Elizabeth II (and before her King George VI) as the symbol of their association and as the Head of the Commonwealth. (This

is a personal appointment and so does not necessarily pass to the succeeding British monarch.) Of the members, 16 have the monarch as their \*head of state, five have their own monarchical arrangements, and the remaining 33 are republics. Until the admission of Mozambique in 1995 furnished an exception, it had been assumed, and is still assumed, that the (normal) prerequisite for membership was for the state in question (or part of it) to have been, in one way or another, under British jurisdiction. Members are expected to behave in accord with certain broad principles, which endorse (for example) democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

The Commonwealth proceeds on the basis of consultation and engages in such cooperative action and extends such intra-Commonwealth assistance as can be agreed by all members. Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGMs) are held every two years and meetings of other \*ministers (sense 3) take place periodically. The Commonwealth's central coordinating body is the Commonwealth Secretariat, based in London, which

was established in 1965. Additionally, there are numerous unofficial Commonwealth bodies and agencies.

At CHOGMs and other official Commonwealth meetings, the representative of the \*host state (sense 2) is in the chair, with the other members being seated around the table on a clockwise alphabetical basis, the member highest in the alphabet taking the place immediately to the chairperson's left. Thus, at such meetings, the present membership of the Commonwealth results in the representative of Antigua and Barbuda always being to the chairperson's left and the Zambian being next but one on the chairperson's right. (The Commonwealth secretary-general sits between the chairperson and the Zambian representative.)

*See also* dominions; high commissioner; Queen's realms; trade commissioner.

**Commonwealth Office.**

*See* Commonwealth Relations Office; Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

**Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO).**

The British department of state which existed between 1947 and 1966



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(when it was merged with the Colonial Office to become, briefly, the Commonwealth Office) to conduct Britain's relations with the members of the \*Commonwealth. Before 1947, these relations were the responsibility of the \*Dominions Office. The officers employed by the CRO belonged to the Commonwealth Service and, although most were liable to spend part of their careers serving in \*high commissions (sense 1), they were members of the Home Civil Service and not the \*Foreign Service. *See also* Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

**Commonwealth Service.** *See* Commonwealth Relations Office.

**communiqué.** An agreed statement issued usually at the end of a \*summit meeting or other high-level visit or \*multilateral conference, or during a session of a body such as the \*United Nations. Occasionally described as \*declarations, to which they certainly bear a family resemblance, communiqués are designed to give the public some sense of what has been discussed under each head on the agenda and also suggest the substance of any

\*consensus achieved on future policy. However, they usually have to be drafted very quickly and, while it is fair to describe them as statements which prudence dictates should be honoured, they rarely have the status of \*treaties; to emphasize this, they are sometimes described as 'press communiqués'. Nevertheless, they can be of huge importance, as in the case of the Shanghai Communiqué, which was issued at the end of US President Richard Nixon's historic visit to the People's Republic of China in February 1972.

**Commynes, Philippe de (c. 1447–1511).** French diplomat and historian. Commynes wrote the best-known political and diplomatic memoirs of the late fifteenth century. Students of diplomacy chiefly remember him for his hostility to \*summitry: 'Two great princes who wish to establish good personal relations', remarked Commynes, 'should never meet each other face to face but ought to communicate through good and wise ambassadors.' Although he had other compelling reasons for arriving at this conclusion, his attitude may also

have been influenced by the fact that when Louis XI and Edward IV met on a bridge over the Somme at Picquigny to discuss the peaceful retreat of the English invasion force of 1475, the king instructed Commynes to wear identical clothes to his own as a precaution against assassination. Commynes' *Mémoires*, although written only to provide material for the Archbishop of Vienne's projected life of Louis XI, are themselves highly regarded. The first part covers the period 1464–83 and was published in 1524; the second narrated the Italian expeditions of Charles VIII and appeared in 1528. Although a firm believer in the power of the divine in human affairs, Commynes espoused \*realism (sense 1) and in this respect there are certain clear parallels between his thought and that of \*Machiavelli.

**compellance.** *See* coercive diplomacy.

**compensation.** The grant of territory to a state in order to reconcile it to a similar acquisition by a rival. This was a well-established means of regulating the \*balance of power (sense 3) in Europe in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**compliance mechanism.**

A formal arrangement to facilitate the \*following up of an agreement.

**compound.** The protected area sometimes constructed to enclose both the \*residence and the \*embassy (sense 1) of a \*sending state. At least where the United States is concerned, this may have so many additional buildings (including spacious residences for the ambassador and his deputy, apartments for other staff, recreational facilities, a shopping concourse and school) as to resemble a walled town in microcosm. A notable example is its embassy in Baghdad which, when it opened in 2007, was the largest and most expensive to date: it was roughly the size of Vatican City, had a staff of over 8000, and cost \$600 million to build. Diplomatic compounds are a common feature of diplomatic life in parts of the world where security is a serious problem, although the segregation from the host community which they entail sits uncomfortably with their \*diplomatic functions. *See also* emergency

## 66 comprehensive post

room; Inman standards; safe room (sense 1).

**comprehensive post.** A large \*diplomatic mission with a full range of specialist sections – political (\*chancery, sense 1), commercial, defence, and so on. The term was employed in a report on the British \*Diplomatic Service published in July 1969 (*Report of the Review Committee on Overseas Representation, 1968–1969*. Chairman: Sir Val Duncan) and contrasted with ‘selective posts’, the meaning of which is self-explanatory. The Duncan Report argued that only in Western Europe and North America (‘the Area of Concentration’), where the ailing British economy had its major markets, should the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office have comprehensive posts; for the ‘Outer Area’, selective posts would have to do. In practice, a less rigid and more flexible version of the recommendation has continued to be adopted, with a widely varying range of activities practised by UK diplomatic missions according to the extent and nature of British interests in the country concerned, from Washington, DC where the British embassy

resembles a miniature version of \*Whitehall, to a mini-mission in a former Soviet republic staffed by just two UK-based officers and a handful of \*locally engaged staff.

**compromis.** An agreement by which a dispute is submitted to \*arbitration or \*judicial settlement. In the former case, the *compromis* will have to determine the identity of the arbitrators, the subject of the dispute, the procedures that are to be followed, and the rules on the basis of which the decision is to be given. When two states agree to submit a dispute to judicial settlement, the document by which this is done is nowadays more usually known as a ‘special agreement’ rather than a ‘*compromis*’.

**compromise.** An agreement reached by \*negotiation in which each party surrenders a portion of its preferred outcome. *See also* concession (sense 1); endgame; fall-back position.

**compulsory adjudication.** The situation which exists when two or more states have agreed in advance that disputes between them (possibly

only those of a certain type or arising after a certain date) may be taken to \*adjudication at the instance of any one of them. It is thus a departure from the normal international principle that the settlement of a dispute by adjudication requires the specific consent of all the parties. *See also compromis*; compulsory arbitration; compulsory jurisdiction.

**compulsory arbitration.**

A scheme for the compulsory settlement of disputes which provides that the disputes in question shall be taken to \*arbitration. Accordingly, the parties have also to agree on a \**compromis*.

**compulsory jurisdiction.**

The jurisdiction enjoyed by an international judicial body in respect of cases falling within agreements for \*compulsory adjudication. Compulsory jurisdiction is bestowed on the \*International Court of Justice – as on its predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice – through declarations by states under what is known as the \*optional clause procedure.

**Concert of Europe.** The term used to describe the main

historical model of \*great power management of a \*states-system, that of nineteenth century Europe. It initially operated through the \*Congress System. However, with the exception of the peace congresses of 1856 (Paris) and 1878 (Berlin), after 1822 the concert found expression through conferences of ambassadors.

**concession.** (1) A point surrendered by one party to another in a \*negotiation. Opinions differ as to whether it is best to make only small concessions slowly (the ‘salami-slicing approach’) or instead to make what is believed to be a big but reasonable concession in one fell swoop and then stick to it (the ‘pre-emptive concession’). Henry \*Kissinger favours the latter and reports in the first volume of his memoirs that he was taught it in his first encounter with \*Huang Hua. (2) In the late nineteenth to early twentieth century the term ‘foreign concession’ is an area of land in China leased to a foreign power by the government under one or other of the \*unequal treaties. The most famous was the International Settlement at Shanghai. *See also capitulations* (sense 1).

## 68 Conciliar Movement

**Conciliar Movement.** A series of ecumenical councils held during the first half of the fifteenth century in an endeavour to reform the papacy-led international system of Christendom. The failure of the movement led directly to the breakdown of the medieval system and to the emergence of a secular international system made up of \*sovereign states.

**conciliation.** (1) The attempt to resolve a dispute by having it examined by an independent body, which may perhaps be called a commission of enquiry or a conciliation commission. Whatever its title, its recommendations, unlike a decision arrived at by \*arbitration, are not binding. Inspired by a somewhat sanguine doctrine concerning the persuasive power of an 'objective' analysis of the causes of international conflict, the technique of conciliation had a relatively short heyday in the interwar period. Nevertheless, it has occasionally proved of value and some treaties still provide for it, the Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982) being one. (2) In the European Union, the use since 1975 of \*negotiation in a joint 'conciliation committee'

to resolve legislative disagreements between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers. *See also* good offices; mediation.

**conclusions.** *See* agreed minute/s.

**concordat.** An \*agreement concerning the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in a particular state made between the pope and the head of the state in question. The nomination of bishops is a sensitive matter that is typically the subject of such agreements. There has in the past been controversy over whether or not concordats could actually be classed as \*treaties since the pope signs them in his capacity as head of the Roman Catholic Church rather than head of the Vatican state and by the 1970s it seemed that the concordat was gradually being dropped in favour of the agreement or \*modus vivendi. However, it has recently enjoyed a minor revival.

**concurrent accreditation.** *See* multiple accreditation.

**conditionality.** The principle that, in a \*negotiation,

concession of a point by one party is conditional on the other party also making a concession. It is therefore, often in a well-understood but somewhat imprecisely expressed form, of the essence of very many diplomatic exchanges. But in a form that is precisely expressed, it has become closely associated with the International Monetary Fund and with offers of development aid from other donors. It refers to the IMF's requirement that, before lending a state any money to meet a balance of payments problem, a convincing explanation be supplied as to how the state intends to solve the problem and so be in a position to repay the loan within the stipulated period. The IMF may make its own recommendations towards this end. Offers of development aid may similarly be made conditional on the recipient state agreeing to adopt economic, financial, and development policies which, in the opinion of the donor state or institution, will ensure that the aid will not be wasted but will make the maximum contribution to development.

**condominium.** The joint exercise of jurisdiction over

a territory by two or more \*states. The territory is thus in the nature of a joint \*colony. This arrangement presents difficult political and administrative issues. Hence it occurs only rarely, with no current instances. The last one was the Anglo-French condominium over the Pacific island territory of New Hebrides, which in 1980 became the \*sovereign state of Vanuatu. *See also* occupying power.

**confederation.** A union of sovereign states in which the member states retain their \*sovereignty (sense 1) and hence their international status, but in which the establishment of comprehensive quasi-governmental organs distinguishes the union from a typical \*international organization. However, the participant states are unlikely to permit any direct contact between the organs of the union and their citizens. A famous historical instance of a confederation is the United States between 1776 and 1787. Switzerland calls itself a confederation (and was one before 1848) and Canada is often referred to as a confederation, but in fact both are \*federal states. Within

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its spheres of competence, the European Union displays many confederal characteristics, but its lack of comprehensiveness means that it is not a confederation. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has long favoured a confederal constitution as the solution for the Cyprus problem.

**conference.** A gathering which may be \*bilateral or \*multilateral, ad hoc or permanent, held on \*neutral ground or not, conducted at the \*summit level or below, and concerned with any subject imaginable. All, however, tend to involve large \*delegations and have ambitious goals (even if the contrary is avowed beforehand). *See also* congress; video-conference.

**conference diplomacy.** A synonym for \*multilateral diplomacy.

**conference of the parties.** *See* review meeting.

**confessional.** In the terminology of the European Union, a secret bilateral meeting conducted at an EU \*summit by the leaders of individual member states with the leader of the state holding the presidency. At

these private meetings, leaders are supposed to reveal their hopes and fears, especially in regard to their \*red lines. The term came into vogue at the Nice summit in December 2000.

**confidence-building measure.** A joint activity engaged in by parties to a serious dispute with a view to lowering its temperature, demonstrating the advantages of cooperation, and generally preparing the ground for a diplomatic approach to the more difficult issues dividing them. Measures of this kind are very varied but include the regular exchange of military missions and the monitoring of regional arms agreements. Often promoted by a \*mediator, CBMs are sometimes seen as an aspect of \*preventive diplomacy. *See also* step-by-step diplomacy.

**confidential print.** Printed copies of important papers (\*despatches, memoranda, reports, etc.) which used to be produced for circulation within the \*Foreign Office and were also sent to the monarch, the prime minister, the cabinet, other government departments, dominion

governments, and diplomatic missions abroad. Confidential prints first appeared in 1829 and multiplied after about 1850; however, they declined after the Second World War. *See also* Blue Book; calendar.

**conflict resolution.** *See* mediation.

**congress.** An international \*conference of unusual importance and thus often attended by foreign ministers and sometimes monarchs, although this usage passed away with the nineteenth century. Thus the Crimean War was ended by the Congress of Paris in 1856 but the First World War was terminated by the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. *See also* Concert of Europe; Congress System; Vienna, Congress of (1815); Westphalia.

**Congress System.** The early manifestation of the \*Concert of Europe, in the shape of \*congresses held between 1818 and 1822 at Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau (now Opava), Laibach (now Ljubljana), and Verona.

**consensus decision-making.** In discussion of a subject in a \*multilateral forum where

majority voting would otherwise be used, the attempt to achieve the agreement of all participants without the need for a vote, thereby avoiding the risk of alienating weak majorities (if the voting is \*weighted) and powerful minorities (if it is not). A consensus exists when all parties are in agreement, which on the face of it is another way of saying that they are unanimous. However, a consensus may include some members whose support has been given only grudgingly and have simply registered no formal objection, whereas \*unanimity implies broader enthusiasm; hence the view that in fact they are not the same. It might be more accurate to say that a weak consensus is not the same as unanimity but that a strong one is.

Notice began to be taken of a growing trend away from \*majority voting and towards consensus decision-making following its successful employment at the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (1973–82). However, this was not so much a new development as a return to an older one, that is to say, \*negotiation, and it may be thought, therefore, that this



is a further instance of the regrettable rule that it is inadvisable to use one word when three will do. Having said this, multilateral conferences have certainly introduced novel procedural devices designed to foster consensus, notably in the area of chairman's powers. Furthermore, the constitutions of some international bodies require voting, even if it may do little more than ratify a consensus already negotiated. As a result, objection to use of the term 'consensus decision-making' instead of 'negotiation' in multilateral diplomacy should perhaps not be too strenuous. *See also* silence procedure; straw vote.

**consent.** A basic principle of \*international law, in that without it a state cannot be bound by a \*treaty or by any proposed change to one of its existing legal obligations. *See also* initialling; ratification; signature.

**conservatores pacis.** Preservers of the peace were 'men of standing' nominated by the parties to a peace treaty. They were charged with ensuring its observance, and to that end granted certain powers of enforcement. A device of an

earlier epoch, there are strong echoes of it in the \*joint commission (sense 2) and the \*eminent persons group, and, to a lesser degree, in the 'distinguished statesmen' on whom the UN \*secretary-general frequently calls for assistance.

**constituent assembly.** A body convened for the purpose of agreeing a constitution for a new state.

**constituent post.** A US State Department term for any \*mission subordinate to a particular \*embassy (sense 1).

**constituent treaty.** A \*treaty establishing and regulating an \*international organization.

**constructive abstention.** An \*abstention in a vote, where \*unanimity is required for a decision, which does not have the effect of blocking it; in this situation, an ordinary abstention would be tantamount to a \*veto. In the UN \*Security Council, and contrary to the UN \*Charter, abstentions on non-procedural matters have always been treated as 'constructive', although they have never been so described. The term itself was introduced

into the European Union's \*Common Foreign and Security Policy by the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). In the event that a constructive abstention permits a decision in CFSP, the abstaining state is obliged not to impede any action flowing from it and – except in the case of 'operations having military or defence implications' – bear its share of any consequent costs. Nevertheless, it is not required to take any part in this action.

**constructive ambiguity.**

The deliberate use of ambiguous language on a sensitive issue in order to advance some political purpose. The term is widely attributed to Henry \*Kissinger and also known as 'fudging'. In a \*negotiation, for example, constructive ambiguity might be employed not only to disguise an inability to resolve a question on which the parties remain far apart, but to do so in a manner that enables each to claim that it has actually obtained some \*concession. (The UN \*Security Council's resolution 242 of November 1967 regarding the withdrawal of Israel from territory occupied in the Six-Day War is a

good example.) It might also be hoped that, having thereby shelved this particular point in a way that causes neither side excessive discomfort, they will be able to make real progress on other matters. In this way the ground might be prepared for a later return to the unresolved question or it might dissolve altogether with the passing of time. Such hopes often prove ill-founded and ambiguity in \*agreements can also generate subsequent controversy. Whether on balance, therefore, such fudging proves 'constructive' in relation to further attempts to resolve a disagreement is for historians to determine. *See also* step-by-step diplomacy.

**consul.** In general usage, any \*consular officer; in more specific terms, one of the four \*consular ranks.

The office of consul is of great antiquity and predates the birth of the \*resident diplomatic mission. It was instituted by merchants of one country (organized in a \*factory) to protect their private interests in a foreign land. Only much later was it taken over by states, principally in order to protect their own commercial and political interests and

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those of their nationals who were travelling as well as those who were trading abroad. In contrast to the more general policy concerns of \*diplomats (sense 1), the work of consuls has always dealt chiefly with the problems of individual citizens and corporate bodies. Professionally speaking, they were in their prime from about 1850 to 1950, when there was a huge expansion in international commerce. However, the recent upsurge in cross-border population movements has witnessed a corresponding renaissance of the consul. *See also* consular functions; consular post; consular relations; consular section; consular service; honorary consul; honorary consular officer; military consul; political consul; proxenos; trading consul.

**consulage.** Historically, a tax on goods passing through their hands paid to a diplomat or consul by the merchants of his own state resident at his posting. Understood to be paid for the benefits of protection received, it was supposed to be employed for the upkeep of his mission.

**consular agency.** *See* consular post.

**consular agent.** (1) According to the Vienna Convention on \*Consular Relations (1963), the lowliest rank of \*career consular officer. However, not all states accept this or even recognize the term. (In the Havana Convention on \*Consular Agents, consular agents in this sense were described as 'commercial agents'.) In practice, when consular agents are employed – the United States being an important exception – they tend more closely to resemble \*honorary consular officers. (2) A synonym for a \*consular officer, as in the Havana Convention on Consular Agents, but one the use of which was deprecated by the \*International Law Commission because of the confusion it was likely to produce.

**Consular Agents, Havana Convention on (1928).** A \*convention which sought to \*codify the rules on \*consular officers – not, despite its title, \*consular agents (sense 1) – as between the member states of the Pan-American Union. It regulated their appointment, functions, and \*privileges and immunities, together with the suspension and termination of \*consular functions. It was

based on draft articles drawn up by the Inter-American Commission of Jurists and signed by the member states of the Pan-American Union on 20 February 1928. Like its sister agreement, the Convention on \*Diplomatic Officers, the Havana Convention on Consular Agents was embodied in the \*Final Act of the Sixth International Conference of American States held at Havana, Cuba. By 1956, the convention had been \*ratified by 12 states, among them the United States, and – despite its confusing title – was an important point of reference for the \*International Law Commission when it was seized with the \*codification of consular law in the late 1950s and early 1960s. *See also* Consular Relations, Vienna Convention on.

**consular archives.** *See* diplomatic archives.

**consular assistance.** Help given by \*consular officers to nationals in distress – for example, those who have lost passports, fallen victims to crime, or are swept up in some natural disaster or outbreak of internal conflict. In the absence of one of their

own consuls, European Union nationals have a right to receive consular assistance in emergencies from consulates of other member states. Consular assistance is sometimes referred to as ‘consular protection’. *See also* consular functions; emergency room.

**consular bag.** The consular equivalent of the \*diplomatic bag. Unlike the latter, it may be returned to its place of origin if the \*sending state refuses to accede to a request that the bag be opened in the presence of authorities of the \*receiving state.

**consular commission.** (1) A formal authorization to exercise \*consular functions issued by a sending state. *See also* exequatur. (2) A body consisting of the heads of their \*consular posts in a particular city established by a number of states to make local enquiries on a matter of international concern in a weak state or non-sovereign territory.

**consular corps.** (1) The body of \*consular officers resident in a particular city. When \*trade commissioners were distinguished from consular officers and resident in

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a city with a consular corps, they were sometimes, as a matter of courtesy, treated as members of the corps.

\*Honorary consular officers are also usually admitted to it. (2) The \*consular service of a state. The confusing use of the term 'consular corps' as a synonym for consular service – as, for example, in the *\*Foreign Office List* until the end of the Second World War – died out along with separate consular services.

**consular correspondent.** See warden network.

**consular diplomacy.** A recently introduced synonym for consular work, that is, the work done by \*consular officers. It reflects the frequent exchange of duties between \*diplomats (sense 1) and consuls now common, the narrowing of the gap between their respective \*privileges and immunities since the codification of diplomatic and consular law in the early 1960s, and the recent trend on the part of some foreign ministries to describe consulates as \*regional embassy offices. However, it does not assist clear thinking because there remains an important

distinction between consular and diplomatic work. See also consular functions.

**consular district.** The area assigned by the \*receiving state to a \*consular post, or the \*consular section of a \*diplomatic mission, for the exercise of \*consular functions. The need for the designation of such districts arises when, by agreement between the \*sending and the receiving states, the former establishes more than one consular body within the latter's territory.

**consular flag.** The flag used by a state on its consular premises and as the personal flag of the consular mission's head. It need not be identical with the national flag, nor with its \*diplomatic flag. Britain's consular flag is the national flag with, in the centre, the St Edward's Crown on a white disc. Most countries do not have consular flags.

**consular functions.** The chief functions of \*consular officers are to protect and advance their state's commercial interests; to check that their state's ships and aircraft are observing its laws and

regulations; and to provide assistance to nationals in distress. Consular officers serving outside the \*receiving state's \*capital city may also report to their state on local conditions – an activity of the sort normally associated with \*diplomatic missions. And if the \*sending state does not have a diplomatic mission in the capital and is not represented there by a third state, consular officers may, with the consent of the receiving state, perform characteristically diplomatic acts, principally the transmission of communications between the two states. *See also* consular assistance; Consular Functions, European Convention on; military consul; political consul.

**Consular Functions, European Convention on (1967).** A detailed and lengthy list of consular functions produced by a committee of experts appointed by the Council of Europe in 1960. It was opened for \*signature by member states of the council in 1967 and, although it has not \*entered into force, its influence as a model has been considerable.

**consular list.** The list maintained and perhaps periodi-

cally published by a \*receiving state which gives the names of those who, being officers of \*consular posts in a particular city or cities, enjoy \*consular status within the receiving state. In respect of any one city or \*consular district, the local authority or the \*consular corps itself may publish a consular list – although it would not be authoritative so far as the enjoyment of consular status is concerned. *See also* honorary consular officer.

**consular officer.** Any member of a \*consular post who is entrusted with the exercise of \*consular functions, irrespective of \*consular rank. (Earlier terms for consular officer were 'consular agent' or 'consular representative'.) Such an officer may be declared \*persona non grata. Consular officers are to be distinguished from non-consular members of the post's staff, such as those engaged on administrative, technical, and service tasks. *See also* career consular officer; honorary consular officer.

**consular post.** A post which, either throughout the \*receiving state or within a

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designated \*consular district, exercises \*consular functions only. Thus, when consular functions are exercised by a \*diplomatic mission, that does not make the latter a consular post. The intended head of a consular post is supplied by the \*sending state with a \*commission which must be submitted in advance to the receiving state; if that state has no objection to the appointment, it supplies the officer with an \*exequatur, thereby authorizing this officer to assume the responsibilities of head of post. In accordance with the head of post's rank, a consular post will be called one of the following: consulate-general, consulate, vice-consulate, and (although this category now appears to be rarely used) consular agency. *See also* American presence post; consular rank; consular relations; consular section; honorary consular officer; virtual consulate.

**consular privileges and immunities.** These are set out in the Vienna Convention on \*Consular Relations (1963), which has been widely accepted. In general, this provides \*career consular officers with immunity from the

jurisdiction of the \*receiving state in respect of their official acts but (unlike \*diplomatic agents) not in respect of their private acts. Consular premises and documents are inviolable, as are consular communications, although in some respects the protection is weaker than that enjoyed by the corresponding facilities and assets of diplomatic agents. For example, the consent of the head of the consular post may be assumed in case of fire or other disaster requiring prompt entry to consular premises. It is always open to states to extend these arrangements by way of a bilateral \*treaty and a number of such treaties have been concluded. \*Honorary consular officers and their posts enjoy a severely restricted version of the immunities granted to career officers. Members of the \*consular section of a \*diplomatic mission receive the full range of \*diplomatic immunities and privileges, as do members of the office of a \*deputy high commissioner.

**consular protection.** *See* consular assistance.

**consular rank.** \*Consular officers are customarily given

one of four ranks. In order of seniority they are consul-general, \*consul, \*vice-consul, and \*consular agent. The head of a \*consular post must be given one of these ranks. Members of a \*diplomatic mission engaged on consular tasks may be similarly designated. But they are also commonly given such titles as minister (consular affairs), counsellor and consul-general, second secretary (consular), or third secretary and vice-consul. *See also* pro-consul.

**consular relations.** A state must be in consular relations with another state before it can establish \*consular posts in that state's territory. Such relations are established by mutual consent. They may, however, be broken unilaterally, requiring the closing of all consular posts in both the states concerned.

Consular relations are distinct from \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). Thus two states may be in consular relations but not in diplomatic relations, and vice versa – although normally the establishment of diplomatic relations implies an agreement to the establishment also of consular relations. Two states

whose political relations have been poor, and (probably for that reason) are not in diplomatic or consular relations, sometimes make a preliminary move towards the establishment or re-establishment of diplomatic relations by first establishing or resuming consular relations. This procedure is in the nature of a testing of the political water. Nowadays, however, it is rarely adopted.

**Consular Relations, Vienna Convention on (1963).** The outcome of a conference held in Vienna in 1963 with the object of \*codifying and clarifying the existing \*customary international law on consular matters, notably the facilities, privileges, and immunities relating to \*consular posts and officers. The convention \*entered into force in 1967 and the vast majority of states have become parties to it. However, with a view to greater precision and sometimes also to extending the privileges and immunities set out in the convention, a number of states have concluded bilateral \*treaties on the subject.

**consular section.** That part of an \*embassy (sense 1) which executes \*consular



functions. Alternatively, where a consular section is not formally designated, members of the embassy's \*diplomatic staff may be authorized to perform such functions. In either case, as the persons performing these functions are \*diplomatic agents, they enjoy \*diplomatic and not \*consular privileges and immunities. *See also* consul; consular post; consular rank.

**consular service.** A state's service consisting solely of \*consular officers and hence distinct from a \*diplomatic or \*foreign service. In the past, the larger states even had consular services specializing in a particular region of the world. However, the rigid distinction between the consular and the diplomatic career tended to reflect social class divisions in recruitment which sat ill with the political climate of the twentieth century, as did the corresponding distinction, also now abolished, between separate \*commercial and diplomatic (or foreign) services. It also impaired the mobility of personnel and hindered cooperation between the two branches. And it rested on distinctions in tasks which began to grow thin

as \*diplomats (sense 1), traditionally preoccupied with high politics, were charged increasingly with consular, commercial, and economic duties as well. Accordingly, consular services were steadily incorporated into diplomatic services and diplomats have become routinely liable to engage from time to time in consular as in commercial work. Since consular work has grown so much in importance over the last few decades, several diplomatic services also require all of their officers to undertake consular assignments in the early stage of their career. *See also* career consular officer; Commercial Diplomatic Service; consul; consular section.

**consular status.** The status held by a member of the staff of a \*consular post who is classed as a \*consular officer. Those enjoying it are thereby entitled to \*consular privileges and immunities.

**consulate.** (1) Strictly, a \*consular post headed by a \*consul – as opposed to the more senior consul-general or more junior vice-consul. (2) In common usage, any consular post.

**consulate-general.** *See* consular post.

**consul-general.** *See* consular post; honorary consular officer.

**Consulta.** The colloquial term for the Italian \*foreign ministry following its transfer in 1871 from Florence to Rome, where it began business in the Palazzo della Consulta on 1 July. The ministry remained here until the end of 1922, when it was moved to the Palazzo Chigi. *See also* Farnesina.

**consultations.** Discussions at home with a \*head of mission following an unexpected recall. In fact, a summons to return home for 'consultations' is often a means of expressing displeasure at some act of the \*receiving state; or, sometimes, a way of enabling the head of mission to make a quick but dignified exit in circumstances where an imminent declaration of being \*persona non grata is anticipated.

**consultations of the whole.** *See* Security Council.

**consultative status.** (1) A status which may be granted

by an \*international organization to a private organization (and sometimes to a state) with a view to establishing a measure of coordination and cooperation between them. The privileges of the status may be non-uniform, as in the best-known instance of the arrangement: that between the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and \*non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Since the end of the \*Cold War, NGOs have multiplied four-fold and nowadays over 3000 have consultative status with ECOSOC. This usually confers more privileges than \*observer status, including the right to suggest agenda items and make oral presentations at meetings. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy. (2) More rarely, the status of a state with full rights to participate in meetings of a treaty regime, notably in meetings under the Antarctic Treaty (1959).

**contact group.** (1) An ad hoc group of senior diplomats and/or foreign ministers from three or more states created to coordinate their \*mediation of a conflict, typically by providing contact between the adversaries in \*proximity

talks. The first to put the new terminology in the lexicon was the Western Contact Group on Namibia, which was created in 1977 and consisted of representatives of Britain, Canada, France, the USA, and West Germany, which happened to be the Western states on the UN \*Security Council at the time – ‘The Five’. The Western Contact Group operated in a variety of theatres and with a variety of personnel, including Geneva, the capitals of The Five, the many black African capitals whose governments participated in the negotiations, and South Africa itself, where the ambassadors of the five states were its members. However, its original and chief focus was UN Headquarters in New York, where the \*permanent representatives of The Five, or more usually their deputies, constituted the original contact group. More recent examples include the Contadora Group and the Bosnia/Kosovo Contact Group, established in 1983 and 1994 respectively. (2) An ad hoc group of senior diplomats and/or foreign ministers established to coordinate the policy of a \*coalition. This is the new sense of the term evident in the formation of

the ‘Contact Group on Libya’ at a conference in London in March 2011. It held its first meeting in April in the Qatari capital, Doha, where it was co-chaired by William Hague, Britain’s foreign secretary, and the Qatari prime minister, Hamed bin Jassem. Those attending included 21 countries and representatives from the United Nations, the Arab League, NATO, the European Union, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, the Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States, and the African Union.

**container embassy.** *See* flat pack embassy.

**contracting state.** *See* high contracting parties.

**contribution principle.** The principle applied in \*international organizations that influence in decision-making and the allocation of posts in their \*secretariats should reflect the size of members’ budgetary contributions. *See also* geographical post; weighted voting.

**contributor state.** A state which contributes personnel to a \*peacekeeping operation.

**control officer.** A US State Department term for the member of an embassy responsible for looking after an important visitor from home for the duration of the visit.

**convention.** A synonym for \*treaty, used most often for multilateral treaties of general interest.

### Convention

— **on Consular Functions (1967)**

— **on Consular Relations (1963)**

— **on Diplomatic Relations (1961)**

— **on the Law of Treaties (1969)**

— **on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents (1973)**

— **on Privileges and Immunities of Specialized Agencies (1947)**

— **on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (1946)**

— **on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations of**

**a Universal Character (1975)**

— **on Special Missions (1969):** *See that part of the title of the convention which refers to its subject matter.*

**copie figurée.** *See* working copy.

**copie d'usage.** *See* working copy.

**coranto.** *See* gazette.

**COREPER.** The Comité des Représentants Permanents of the European Union, that is, the Brussels-based ambassadors of the member states. The Committee of Permanent Representatives has two divisions: COREPER I, which deals with domestic affairs and is composed of the Deputy Permanent Representatives; and COREPER II, which handles external affairs and is made up of the Permanent Representatives themselves. The Permanent Representatives are almost always senior diplomats, although their own staffs are increasingly composed of officials from domestic – as opposed to foreign – ministries. COREPER, which among other things prepares meetings of the Council of Ministers, is

one of the most influential institutions within the EU framework.

**COREU.** Correspondance Européenne is a communications network linking up European Union \*foreign ministries, the European Commission, and EU delegations abroad. With the creation of the \*European External Action Service, it is likely to become even more important. The languages used are either English or French – but mainly the former. The COREU system is a key element in the EU's \*Common Foreign and Security Policy.

**corps diplomatique.** *See* diplomatic corps.

**correspondence.** (1) Letters. (2) The exchange of letters. (3) In the phrase, to 'maintain a good correspondence', which was current until the end of the eighteenth century, a synonym for \*diplomatic relations (sense 2).

**correspondent.** Another term for a member of a \*warden network.

**counsellor.** The \*diplomatic rank immediately below

\*minister (sense 2) (or, where it is used, beneath minister-counsellor) and above \*first secretary. The spelling is 'counsellor' in the US Foreign Service.

**counter-espionage.** The attempt to discover and neutralize specific foreign \*espionage attacks, typically by visual surveillance and \*sigint interception of communications between \*agents (sense 4) and their controllers.

**counter-intelligence.** (1) The attempt to destroy or weaken the effectiveness of foreign \*espionage at its source, especially by penetration of its services. This is the older meaning of the term and the one still favoured by \*intelligence officers. (2) All methods, whether active or passive, designed to protect a state's secrets from any form of \*intelligence gathering by foreign agencies.

**countermeasure.** A \*reprisal which does not involve the use of armed force.

**country team.** The key committee in an American embassy. It is composed of the heads of any executive branch agencies operating

in the country and is usually chaired by the \*ambassador (sense 1). (It is not a statutory requirement that the ambassador should take the chair.) Designed to help US ambassadors reassert their authority following the colonization of their embassies during the \*Cold War by a plethora of different Washington-based agencies, the twin principles of the country team idea are consensus and coordination. The term first came into use in 1951 following a report by General Lucius D. Clay. Nevertheless, the country team is only a 'management tool' and American ambassadors have never been required to employ it. The economist, J. K. Galbraith, who was sent by President Kennedy as ambassador to India in 1961, regarded it as indispensable only when he did not want to do anything.

**courier.** See diplomatic courier.

**courtesy call.** A visit made as a matter of courtesy by a newly arrived \*head of mission to the \*foreign minister of the \*receiving state and, in most cases, to the head of government (where this

individual is not also head of state). Such calls may also be made to other local dignitaries (e.g. the mayor), and sometimes in \*federal states to such personages in the provincial capitals. Courtesy calls are also customarily made by a new head of mission (and any spouse) on all other heads of mission. In some cases diplomats who receive introductory courtesy calls expect to make return calls on the new arrival. In capitals with a very large \*diplomatic corps, it may as a practical matter not be possible to visit all of them and in this case courtesy calls are sometimes made only on heads of mission of states to which ties are close and on the one representing a regional group. Nonetheless, in some capitals, even in these circumstances, expectations of receiving a call may remain high and heads of mission – especially those representing small or obscure countries – who are overlooked may harbour an enduring resentment against the new head of mission. The \*dean should advise newcomers about local practice. Another round of courtesy calls is also often expected before a head of mission's final departure.

**court mourning.** The official period of mourning that follows the death of a monarch or other senior member of a royal family. It involves a dress code. During this period British diplomats traditionally use black-edged writing paper and their social activities are restricted.

***courtoisie.*** The correct way of signing off a formal letter sent by a diplomat. *See also appel.*

**Court of St James's.** The manner in which the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is referred to in the \*letters of credence supplied to heads of \*diplomatic missions being posted from or to that state: for example, they are 'accredited to the Court of St James's'. This is because the sixteenth century palace of St James's in Westminster remains the official royal residence, even though the sovereign has actually lived at Buckingham Palace since 1837. Nowadays several members of the royal family live or have offices in St James's Palace and it also contains the office of the \*Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps. Its state apartments are

sometimes used during \*state visits and on other ceremonial and formal occasions.

**Covenant of the League of Nations.** The 1919 \*instrument (which was part of the Versailles Peace Treaty) which provided for the establishment of the \*League of Nations and set out what, in effect, was its constitution. It \*entered into force in January 1920. *See also Estrada.*

**credence.** *See* letters of credence.

**credentials.** A document which authenticates a person's status and competence. *See also* commission (sense 1); letter of introduction; letters of commission; letters of credence; permanent mission; presentation of credentials; working copy.

**creeping annexation.** *See* annexation.

**crisis management.** The conduct of a crisis by diplomacy, normally to dampen it down. The term was popularized by US defense secretary Robert McNamara following the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. Techniques

borrowed from the corporate world are now sometimes employed to anticipate, prepare for, and handle crises; this includes preparation in advance of 'crisis portfolios' and carrying out training exercises.

**cross-accreditation.** *See* multiple accreditation.

**crossed bag.** *See* diplomatic bag.

**Crowe Report (1999).** *See* Inman standards.

**Crown dependency.** The status enjoyed by the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. Under the direct authority of the British monarch, they are not part of the United Kingdom and hence beyond the jurisdiction of the British parliament. Britain, however, is responsible for their \*international relations (sense 1) and defence. *See also* bailiwick.

**cryptanalysis.** \*Cipher- and \*code-breaking, or the craft of rendering into plain language an encrypted message. *See also* sigint.

**cryptography.** Secret writing, encrypting or writing

in \*cipher or \*code, together with the protection of these systems.

**cryptology.** \*Cryptanalysis plus \*cryptography.

**cultural diplomacy.** The promotion abroad of a state's cultural achievements, special emphasis often being given to language and the arts but also encompassing science and technology. Towards this end cultural \*attaches may be posted to embassies; and dedicated organizations closely associated with the \*diplomatic service, like the \*British Council and the \*Alliance française, are sometimes established. Such organizations maintain offices in major foreign cities and may provide tempting offerings: the Institut français in London has a cinema, library, bistro, and twice-monthly wine-tastings. Cultural diplomacy also attaches special importance to promoting links between parallel institutions at home and abroad: for example, between domestic and foreign universities. It may also be used in an attempt to ease tense relations as, for example, when Moscow's Bolshoi ballet visited New York in 1950



## 88 **cuneiform diplomacy**

and London in 1956. *See also* public diplomacy (sense 1).

**cuneiform diplomacy.** The \*diplomatic system (sense 2) in use between the kingdoms of the Near East from about 2500 to 500 BC, so called because it was based on the exchange of messages written on tablets in cuneiform characters. The system employed a common language and had its own law, custom, and protocol. In its essentials, modern diplomacy can be seen as expressing the same needs and practices as the ancient cuneiform system. *See also* Amarna letters.

**customary international law.** General practices (also known as international customary law or general international customary law) which have grown up among states and which have become

accepted as law – and hence as \*binding on all states. Thus, mere usage is insufficient to translate a custom into law; the belief must also have developed that that usage has legal status. This last aspect of the matter is often referred to as *opinio iuris sive necessitatis* (or, for short, *opinio iuris*). Custom is one of the two main sources of \*international law (the other being \*treaties) and in historical and jurisprudential terms it is the more fundamental of the two. In quantitative terms, however, treaties have in recent times come to overshadow custom as a source of international law. *See also* special customary international law.

**cyber diplomacy.** *See* e-diplomacy.

**cypher.** *See* cipher.

# D

**damages.** The pecuniary sum payable by one state to another to compensate the latter following a successful \*claim that a wrongful act has been done to it by the former. The award of damages is not necessarily linked with a pecuniary loss on the part of the wronged state. It should be noted that damages are not a form of punishment, \*international law being, overwhelmingly, in the nature of civil law rather than \*international criminal law. Consequently, damages are awarded as compensation for a wrong, not as punishment for a crime. *See also* diplomatic protection (sense 1).

**deadlock.** *See* impasse.

**dean.** The representative of the \*diplomatic corps on ceremonial occasions and its channel of communication on matters of common

interest (especially \*diplomatic privileges and immunities) with the government of the \*receiving state. The dean, or doyen(ne), is generally the longest serving member of the highest class of \*diplomat accredited to the country in question. Exceptions to this rule are to be found in states where \*precedence is by tradition granted to the papal \*nuncio and in certain other cases and circumstances. Other than when the most senior diplomat declines the appointment, one such situation may occur when this person is head of a \*non-resident mission – it being desirable, although not necessary, that the dean be resident in the capital in question.

Until 1952, when the matter was resolved, the indeterminate status of \*high commissioners in relation to the diplomatic corps meant that it was unclear whether such

heads of mission were eligible to be dean. Difficulties sometimes also arise when the dean represents a state or government that is not recognized by some of the other states that have diplomatic missions accredited to the receiving state. (Notably, this problem arose in respect of the representatives of China during the 1950s and 1960s when the United States and some of its associates refused to recognize the Communist regime which had come to power on the Chinese mainland in 1949.) In this sort of case, a state may debar its ambassador from having any dealings whatsoever with the person who is dean. More usually, however, states which do not recognize the dean's state or government permit their representatives to have contacts with the dean when acting in that capacity, but not otherwise. It should be noted that acceptance of the office of dean implies a willingness to have dealings with all heads of mission accredited to the capital concerned. There is also a dean of the \*consular corps and when \*legations were common their \*ministerial (sense 1) heads were also represented by a dean.

*See also* Dobrynin; vice-dean.

***debellatio***. Putting a forceful end to a \*sovereign state by the \*annexation of its territory. Such \*aggression is no longer lawful.

***décanat***. The office of the \*dean of the \*diplomatic corps. The adjectival form is *décanal*.

**declaration**. (1) A document which is not meant to have the \*binding character of a \*treaty but to have considerable political significance: for example, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Declarations of this kind, in addition to more general \*communiqués, are now commonly issued on specific subjects following \*summit meetings. (2) A now uncommon synonym for treaty: for example, the Paris Declaration of 1856. (3) A formal statement by the representative of a state which is meant to bind the state or is deemed so to have done. (4) A statement clarifying the position of a state regarding, for example, the interpretation of a particular provision of a just-agreed treaty. Such a statement does not purport

to exclude or modify the legal import of the provision in question.

**declaration of war.**

*See war.*

**decorations.** Any kind of personal adornment, for example a medal or chain, which a state bestows on individuals (including diplomats) and which, unlike a \*'present' or 'gift', is valuable principally for the honour that it signifies, usually membership of some prestigious order. Decorations, like presents, have long been employed by governments as instruments of influence, and for this reason some diplomatic services now prohibit their acceptance, or permit it only under very restricted conditions or where refusal would cause serious offence and damage relations. British diplomats may not accept foreign decorations without the permission of their own government, although such permission is rarely denied because of the risk of offence to the awarding government if the offer is refused.

**deductive method.** (1) The process of a priori reasoning whereby, for example,

principles of what is asserted to be \*international law are deduced from certain broader principles. It is also called naturalism (with reference to the idea of natural law). (2) The approach to \*negotiation which, in contrast to \*step-by-step diplomacy, favours seeking immediate agreement on general principles. If and when this is achieved, in the so-called \*formula stage, the details are, loosely speaking, deduced from them.

**deep cover.** *See* intelligence officer (sense 1).

**de facto recognition.** A form of \*recognition of a government or of \*recognition of a state which is provisional, either because of uncertainty regarding the immediate future of the recognized entity or because of political reluctance on the part of the recognizing state to accord the entity an unqualified status. If, later, unqualified status is granted, it will usually be referred to as \*de jure recognition. *See also* Estrada Doctrine.

**defector.** A prominent person, or one previously employed in a sensitive official position,

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who succeeds in fleeing, for whatever reason, to a state whose relationship with the country of origin is hostile or adversarial. Others who seek sanctuary in foreign states are simply known as refugees or asylum-seekers.

**defence adviser.** *See* service attaché.

**defence attaché.** (1) The senior \*service attaché at a \*diplomatic mission. (2) Another term for a service, or armed forces attaché.

**defence diplomacy.** The use of military personnel, including \*service attachés, in support of conflict prevention and resolution. Among a great variety of activities, it includes providing assistance in the development of democratically accountable armed forces. This bland umbrella term appears to have been introduced by the British government's Strategic Defence Review, 1998, and is now officially employed by a few other states as well. It is not to be confused either with \*coercive diplomacy or with 'diplomatic soldiering' in the sense employed by Joe \*Garba.

**defence intelligence.** (1) Information on the military power of foreign states and the international arms trade. (2) The agencies involved in the collection of this kind of information.

**defence section.** *See* defence staff.

**defence staff.** The body of \*service attachés at a major embassy. The US Foreign Service describes it as the 'defense attachés office' (although military officers not in the DAO are sometimes found at US posts), and the British Diplomatic Service as the 'defence section'.

**definitive signature.** *See* ratification; signature.

**de jure recognition.** A state's unqualified \*recognition of another state or government. It is so termed to distinguish it from \*de facto recognition, which it often follows. *See also* Estrada Doctrine.

**delegate.** An accredited member of a state's \*delegation to an international \*conference or other form of gathering. Support staff, such as

translators and secretaries, are not delegates.

**delegate-general.** The head of a \*general delegation.

**delegation.** (1) A party sent to represent a state or some other body at an international \*conference or other form of gathering. Such a group may be very large, especially if the conference is important and has a wide agenda and if the sending state is rich. Within the \*United Nations system, however, rules of procedure limit the size of delegations, although the attitude to their advisers is usually more liberal. The most senior diplomat or politician is normally styled 'head' or 'leader' of the delegation, and if it has been sent to negotiate a \*treaty, this person must be a \*plenipotentiary. (2) A resident mission of the European Commission in a non-EU state. EU delegations are the base on which the \*European External Action Service expects to build. (The Commission's outposts in the member states are known as 'representations'.)

**delimitation.** The drawing of a boundary on a map. The term is also often used to encompass \*demarcation.

**demandeur.** The party asking for a negotiation, or making the first move.

**demarcation.** The marking of a boundary on the ground.

**démarche.** (1) Any request for action – from a mild inquiry for information to a strong protest or an \*ultimatum – which is formally presented by one or more diplomats, usually in person, to the \*foreign minister or other official representative of a \*receiving state. A démarche normally has two components: an oral presentation and supporting documentation such as an \*aide-mémoire. (2) Informally, any communication, written or oral, from government to government.

**démenti.** A denial.

**demilitarize.** To agree that there shall be no military presence or function in a specified area (except, possibly, a \*peacekeeping group); or, in the case of an area within one state's jurisdiction or control, to prohibit such activity. The area in question may then be referred to as a demilitarized zone (DMZ). If it is adjoined by two or more

## 94 demilitarized zone (DMZ)

states, it may be known as a \*buffer zone.

### **demilitarized zone (DMZ).**

See demilitarize.

**denunciation.** See abrogation.

**Department of State.** See State Department.

**dependent state.** This phrase may be used synonymously with \*protected state. But in contemporary usage it is more likely to have a political than a legal connotation, meaning a \*state which is habitually subservient to another in respect of an important area or areas of policy. See also puppet state; satellite state; sphere of influence; vassal state.

**dependent territory.** A politically correct term for such \*colonies as remain, which has been replaced by one of even greater rectitude: 'overseas territory'. See also bailiwick.

**deposit.** See depositary.

**depository.** A state or the chief administrative officer of an \*international organization designated by a \*treaty to

receive and disseminate any formal written communications relating to it – such as \*ratifications, \*reservations, and \*declarations (sense 4) – and impartially to perform other functions specified by the treaty. A depositary is more likely to be appointed in respect of a multilateral than a bilateral treaty. The functions of a depositary are set out in Articles 77 to 79 of the Vienna Convention on the \*Law of Treaties (1969).

**deputy ambassador.** See deputy head of mission.

### **deputy chief of mission.**

The officer who is second in command in an American diplomatic mission and responsible for its day-to-day running. Occupying a position akin to the deputy head of mission in a British mission, the DCM is \*chargé d'affaires *ad interim* in the ambassador's absence.

### **deputy head of mission.**

The regular term for the second in command in Britain's embassies, who is now responsible for the managerial and coordinating work formerly carried out by the \*head of chancery. In British \*high commissions the equivalent term is

\*'deputy high commissioner', although here (as well as in embassies) the number two is referred to as the 'DHM'.

**deputy high commission.**

The name sometimes given to the \*office of a deputy high commissioner (sense 2) at a diplomatic outpost in a few \*Commonwealth countries. In 2004 there were deputy high commissions in India, Nigeria, and Pakistan, and, uniquely, Malaysia had an assistant high commission in Chennai (formerly Madras), capital of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

**deputy high commissioner.**

(1) The title sometimes given to the number two in a \*high commission. In British high commissions, this title is used in even the smallest posts; but in the case of the high commissions of at least two other \*Commonwealth states – Canada and South Africa – it is used only where the diplomat concerned is relatively senior. It is possible, although unusual, for more than one member of the staff of a high commission to be given this title. (2) The head of the \*office of a deputy high commissioner.

**deputy principal officer.**

The holder of the number two position at an American \*consular post.

**deputy under-secretary of state.**

Formerly the second-most senior official (as distinct from ministerial) position in the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office, coming below the \*permanent under-secretary of state and above the \*assistant under-secretaries of state (now known as \*directors-general). (The US \*State Department's number two is the deputy secretary.)

**deputy secretary-general.**

The second most senior member of the \*secretariat of some \*international organizations. In the UN Secretariat such a post was created in 1998.

**derogation.** An \*agreement between two or more parties to a multilateral \*treaty to modify its operation as among themselves, also known as 'modification'. The Vienna Convention on the \*Law of Treaties (1969) permits such action whether or not it is provided for in the treaty in question, but in the latter case



only if it neither damages the position of the other parties to the treaty nor relates 'to a provision, derogation from which is incompatible with the effective execution of the object and purpose of the treaty as a whole' (Art. 41).

**desk.** A small, if not the smallest, section of the \*foreign ministry. *See also* desk officer.

**desk officer.** A \*foreign ministry official charged with oversight of relations with a particular country or subject area. *See also* desk.

**despatch.** (1) In traditional British diplomatic usage, a formal and therefore stylized letter from a \*head of mission abroad to the \*foreign secretary and vice versa; and also from one head of mission to another. (The *Oxford English Dictionary* prefers 'dispatch', as does the US \*Foreign Service.) Among the words of advice given on the writing of despatches in the earlier editions of \**Satow's Diplomatic Practice* are these: 'Never place an adjective before a noun, if it can be spared; it only weakens the effect of a plain statement. Above all, do not attempt to be witty.' Despatches of this sort

are now generally obsolete. *See also* telegram; unofficial letter; valedictory despatch. (2) To send, as in to 'despatch a special envoy'.

**détente.** An easing of strained \*diplomatic relations (sense 2). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, first used in this sense shortly before the First World War; it is also contained in the short glossary appended to the first edition of Harold \*Nicolson's *Diplomacy*, published in 1939. The term achieved great currency when it was employed to describe the relaxation of \*Cold War tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States in the early 1970s.

**DEYOU.** Decypher yourself. A \*telegram with a named recipient which must be deciphered by that person.

**diaspora diplomacy.** Reaching out to, and cooperating with, overseas communities which can provide political, financial, and sometimes moral support for the 'home' state – for example, the estimated 17 million Nigerians (more than one in ten of the population), 20 million Indians, and 30

million Chinese overseas. *See also* Menon.

**difficult post allowance (DPA).** *See* hardship post.

**digital diplomacy.** *See* e-diplomacy.

**Dikko, Umaru.** A member of an earlier Nigerian government who, in 1984, was kidnapped in London on Nigeria's authority. He was drugged and placed in a crate, which was intercepted as it was being loaded on to a Nigerian Airways plane. On the grounds that it did not satisfy the criteria for a \*diplomatic bag, British officials opened the crate, thus securing Dikko's release.

**DiploFoundation.** A non-profit organization which specializes in online diplomatic education and training and \*capacity-building in areas of \*'global governance', particularly for the benefit of \*small and developing countries. It also promotes research on diplomacy – for example, on \*e-diplomacy and the diplomacy of small states. DiploFoundation grew out of a project begun in 1993 at the Mediterranean Academy

of Diplomatic Studies (Malta) which was designed to explore how diplomats might exploit new information and communication technologies to greater effect. In November 2002 – with support from the governments of Malta and Switzerland – DiploFoundation achieved independent status. In June 2006 it was granted Special Consultative Status with the UN Economic and Social Council. DiploFoundation works with a wide range of national governments, \*international organizations, and \*non-governmental organizations worldwide to design and deliver training and capacity-building programmes. In the field of Internet governance, its capacity development has helped enable a wide range of \*stakeholders to participate in global and regional negotiations on the future of the Internet. While most of its activities are conducted online through networks of experts, DiploFoundation is based in Malta with offices in Geneva and Belgrade.

**diplomacy.** (1) The conduct of relations between \*sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home or abroad, the latter being either

members of their state's \*diplomatic service or \*temporary diplomats. Thus diplomacy includes the stationing of representatives at \*international organizations. But the backbone of diplomacy has, for five centuries, been the despatch of \*diplomatic missions to foreign states, and it is still very much the norm. As states are notional persons, they cannot communicate in the manner of individuals, but must do so through representative human persons. In principle, this can be done by such individuals speaking to each other at a distance through electronic devices. But there are large practical objections to the use of these as the sole or even the prime method of interstate communication. Diplomacy is therefore the principal means by which states communicate with each other, enabling them to have regular and complex relations. It is the communications system of the \*international society. The label 'diplomacy' was first given to this system by Edmund Burke in 1796. (The English word derives from the French *diplomatie* – the last syllable of which is pronounced 'cie' – which in

turn derived from \*diplomatics (sense 2).) (2) The use of tact in dealing with people. Diplomacy in this sense is a skill which is hugely important in the conduct of diplomacy. But there is a large distinction between an apt way of executing a task and its underlying function. (3) Any attempt to promote international \*negotiations (particularly in circumstances of acute crisis), whether concerning inter- or intrastate conflicts – hence \*'track two diplomacy'. (4) Foreign policy. The use of the word 'diplomacy' as a synonym for foreign policy, which is especially common in the United States, can obscure the important distinction between policy and the (non-violent) means by which it is executed.

**diplomat.** (1) A person professionally engaged in the craft of \*diplomacy (sense 1) as a member of a \*diplomatic service, whether any aptitude for the craft is displayed or not. A diplomat may therefore be either a \*diplomatic agent or an \*official at a \*foreign ministry. This is a worn-down version of the older word \*diplomatist, which Britain's

Diplomatic Service finally abandoned when it realized that the Americans had done so. (2) In general speech, a person who is demonstrably possessed of those abilities traditionally associated with diplomacy, such as tact and moderation.

**diplomatic agency.** *See* non-diplomatic agent.

**diplomatic agent.** (1) The head of a \*diplomatic mission or a member of its staff having \*diplomatic status. (2) Formally, the head of a \*diplomatic agency.

**diplomatic archives.** (1) The records (in the pre-computer age, 'papers') of a \*diplomatic mission, whatever form they may take and including any containers or other devices employed for their storage. The somewhat odd phrase 'archives and documents' was used in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) to cover draft papers as well, these being regarded as not technically 'archives'. Diplomatic archives, and for that matter consular archives, are inviolable at any time and wherever they may be. *See also*

chancellor; registry. (2) The official papers of a \*foreign ministry, the earlier ones of which might have been deposited in a national archive and be available for public inspection.

**diplomatic asylum.** The granting of refuge in \*diplomatic (and by extension in consular) premises to fugitives from the authority of the \*receiving state when they are deemed by the \*sending state to have given political rather than criminal offence. But whether a sending state is entitled to grant such asylum is controversial, not least because receiving states jib at allowing sending states to suggest that an alleged criminal is in fact a victim of political persecution. Hence no general agreement has been reached on the subject. However, it is always open to a limited number of states to agree among themselves on a right of diplomatic asylum, or to develop \*customary law to that effect as among themselves, very possibly on a regional basis. It is frequently said that such regional rules exist in Latin America. Notwithstanding the lack of general agreement,

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diplomatic asylum is very occasionally given. It may be suggested that states are uneasy about agreeing to such a right (because of its \*reciprocal implications), but do not wish to impede their freedom to grant diplomatic asylum in exceptional circumstances. It should be noted that the issue of diplomatic asylum refers to a right which may be enjoyed by states; there is no question of a fugitive having the right to demand asylum. *See also* extritoriality; special international customary law.

**diplomatic bag.** A package which, to permit and protect \*free communication between a state and its diplomats, may not be opened or detained en route, whether it contains \*classified material or not. (A diplomatic bag containing classified material and thus requiring special protection is known as a 'crossed bag' because its label is marked with a large black 'X'.) Described in the US \*Foreign Service as the diplomatic pouch, it is meant only for official diplomatic correspondence and articles intended exclusively for the use of a diplomatic or permanent mission. It must

be clearly indicated as such and secured with a \*seal bearing the official stamp of the \*sending state or mission. It may be in the charge of a \*diplomatic courier or \*diplomatic agent, but may also be sent by other means, such as by the hand of an aircraft's captain ('care-of-pilot'). It has no agreed maximum size or weight, so a diplomatic 'bag' may, and often does, consist of a crate or container. Because of the suspected (and sometimes documented) abuse of this facility to carry currency, drugs, weapons and even bombs, some states have asserted the right to place limits on the size of the bag, X-ray it, or return it to the sender. However, the protests of other states and the principle of \*reciprocity go far to guarantee the inviolability and sure transmission of diplomatic bags.

In an effort to clarify disputed aspects of the relevant law and to encourage a more uniform observance of it, the UN General Assembly, some 35 years ago, asked the \*International Law Commission to examine the issue. In 1989 it produced a final text on the status of the diplomatic courier and the diplomatic

bag not accompanied by diplomatic courier and recommended that the General Assembly convene a conference to study the matter. However, informal consultations revealed wide divergences of view (not least between Britain and the United States) on some of the draft articles, particularly the one relating to the inviolability of the diplomatic bag. In consequence, progress towards a \*treaty on the issue remains held up. But at the level of practice the situation is in almost all respects managed satisfactorily. *See also* casual courier; Dikko; Queen's Messenger.

**diplomatic channels.** The term used to describe the customary route taken by messages from one state to another, although contingent factors sometimes lead it to be varied. Where one state's \*foreign ministry wishes to communicate with its counterpart in another, the message (whether oral or written) is ordinarily passed to the state's \*diplomatic mission in the capital concerned for onward personal transmission by a \*diplomatic agent to the relevant official in the other state's ministry. In this way

the message can in principle be delivered with least risk of interception, at the appropriate level, and with exactly the emphasis and tone that is calculated to be most likely to achieve the desired result. However, when one state wishes to protest strongly to another, the preferred channel is to use the resident mission of the state to which the protest is addressed. The \*head of mission can be summoned to meet a senior figure – a \*minister (sense 3) or a very high official – who can register the state's displeasure in no uncertain terms and with greater weight than would be available to the protesting state's head of mission in the foreign state's \*capital. In the event of one of these states having no diplomatic representation in the capital of the other, the single available mission is likely to be used for both types of message. But either the capital of a third state where both have representation, or the headquarters city of an international organization where both have \*permanent missions, may instead be used – as would necessarily be the case if neither was represented in the other's capital.

What this reflects is that the foreign ministry is the

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leading agency for the conduct of a state's \*international relations (sense 1), and that its diplomatic agents are the medium through which the state makes most external representations. In other words, \*diplomats (sense 1) act as the main voice box of the state vis-à-vis other states. However, in recent decades this once-normal situation has become much less so. *See also* diplomacy (sense 1).

**diplomatic classes.** The classes into which \*heads of mission are divided according to the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961). The first class consists of \*ambassadors or \*nuncios and other heads of mission of equivalent rank (notably \*high commissioners); the second of envoys, \*ministers (sense 1), and \*internuncios; and the third of \*chargés d'affaires. The class to which a head of mission is assigned must be agreed by the \*sending and \*receiving states. Heads of mission in the first two classes are accredited to heads of state, while those in the third are accredited to ministers of foreign affairs. The class of \*minister resident, which had been added at the

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 as the third out of four classes, was dropped in 1961. Today, heads of mission of the second rank are also a rarity. *See also* precedence; Regulation of Vienna (1815).

**diplomatic communication.** *See* diplomatic channels.

**diplomatic corps.** (1) The body of \*diplomats of all states, including \*attachés, who are resident at one \*post. The term is a corruption of the French phrase *corps diplomatique*, which translates correctly as 'diplomatic body'. The designation 'body' is appropriate since, however insubstantial this may now be, diplomats posted in the same capital still have a corporate existence founded on a common interest in defending their \*privileges and immunities. The diplomatic corps is led by the \*dean, has its own meetings, and is seen en masse at ceremonial occasions. (2) The body of \*heads of mission at one post. This is less common than the prior meaning in this entry. (3) The \*diplomatic service of a state. Use of the term 'diplomatic corps' as a synonym for diplomatic service has long been

common, not least among diplomats. (It was employed in this manner by the *\*Foreign Office List* until the end of the Second World War.) However, it blurs an important distinction and is explicitly rejected by the most authoritative manuals.

**diplomatic courier.** A person employed, either on a regular or ad hoc basis, for the expressly limited purpose of carrying a *\*diplomatic bag*. Hence a diplomatic courier is not a *\*diplomatic agent*, although in the ancient world the roles were usually fused in one individual. A diplomatic courier also carries identifying documents, usually a courier's passport (although in earlier times discreet badges were found useful). This is important because a diplomatic courier is entitled to personal inviolability and immunity from arrest and detention, but they are not entitled to the more extensive privileges of a diplomatic agent. The immunities of an ad hoc courier cease when the diplomatic bag has been delivered to the consignee. Whether regular or ad hoc, the diplomatic courier must also carry a document indicating which bags are

'diplomatic' and which are not, since personal luggage may be searched at any frontier. This document, known as a 'way bill' or *lettre de part*, must also list every diplomatic bag. Although the work of the diplomatic courier is not, as a result of the revolution in transport and *\*telecommunications*, by any means as important (or as dangerous) as in former times, it is still valued for especially sensitive documents and other items – and couriers still occasionally disappear. A dedicated courier service was not permanently established by the United States until shortly before the Second World War. *See also* casual courier; express; freedom of communication; herald; Queen's Messenger; *staffeto*.

**diplomatic cover.** *See* diplomatic service list; espionage; intelligence officer.

**diplomatic designations.** *See* diplomatic rank.

**diplomatic espousal.** *See* diplomatic protection.

**diplomatic family.** A family with a tradition of service to *\*diplomacy* (sense 1). Good



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examples are provided by the families of Paul \*Cambon, Nasrollah \*Entezam, K. P. S. \*Menon, and Harold \*Nicolson. The diplomatic family has always been important not only in encouraging diplomatic service but also in providing an informal education to those born into it, especially if they are brought up in an embassy or succession of embassies. Not to be confused with the \*family of a diplomatic agent.

**diplomatic flag.** The flag used by a state on its \*diplomatic premises and as the \*personal standard flown on the means of transport used by its \*heads of mission. It need not be identical with the national flag. Britain's diplomatic flag is the United Kingdom flag with the Royal Arms in the centre surrounded by a green garland. British \*high commissioners, however, fly the United Kingdom flag. A \*permanent mission is allowed the same flag-flying privileges as a diplomatic mission, and \*special missions are generally treated in much the same way.

**diplomatic functions.** Far and away the most important

function of the head and staff of a \*diplomatic mission is to act as a permanent channel of communication between the \*sending state and the \*receiving state, as it is only through such official human agencies that notional entities such as \*states can speak to each other. Sometimes such communication will take the very specific form of \*negotiation, but usually it will be a matter of conveying and receiving statements of opinion and formal messages. Any such function is often referred to as that of representation. Additionally, a diplomatic mission has the task of reporting to its state on conditions and developments in the receiving state (although, in theory, information may only be obtained by 'lawful means'); and promoting and protecting the interests of the sending state and its \*nationals in the receiving state. The Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) adds that another function of a diplomatic mission is to promote \*friendly relations between the sending and the receiving state. *See also* diplomatic channels; espionage; permanent mission; special mission.

**diplomatic gift.** *See* present.

**diplomatic history.** Generally used to connote the history of relations between states, that is, that in which diplomats are the executants. A diplomatic historian is therefore one who focuses on this subject. *See also* history of diplomacy.

**diplomatic identity card.** Many states issue accredited diplomats with such a card, in part with a view to minimizing difficulties between diplomats and law enforcement officers. *See also* silver car pass.

**diplomatic illness.** An illness feigned by a \*diplomat (sense 1) to avoid an official engagement that is likely to prove politically embarrassing.

**diplomatic immunities.** *See* diplomatic privileges and immunities.

**diplomatic incident.** *See* incident.

**diplomatic inviolability.** *See* diplomatic privileges and immunities.

**diplomatic language.** (1) Language which is mild, coded,

or circumlocutory, depending on the circumstances. It is usually employed in an effort to minimize the disappointment, offence, or provocation likely to be caused by delivery of an unwelcome message and thereby also help to preserve the possibility of future communications. \*'All necessary means' is a good example. (This is not to say that the use of 'diplomatic language' is always advisable. Richard Holbrooke is a well-known example of an American \*diplomat (sense 1) who sometimes used unvarnished language to good effect. In the case of the Turkish diplomat, Fatin \*Zorlu, however, whether his successes were achieved because of or in spite of his rough tongue is an open question.) *See also* diplomatic channels. (2) The technical words and phrases of the craft of \*diplomacy (sense 1). (3) The language most commonly employed for general communication in a \*diplomatic system (sense 1). For example, in the Ancient Near East, this was Akkadian; in the European system, it was first Latin and then French; and in today's world system, it is English. *See also* diplomatic list.

**diplomatic law.** The rules of \*international law governing the conduct of \*diplomacy (sense 1). Many of the rules regarding \*diplomatic agents and \*missions are embodied in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961). *See also* Bynkershoek; Diplomatic Officers, Havana Convention on; Gentili; Grotius; Harvard Draft; Hotman; *Oppenheim's International Law*; *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*; Wicquefort.

**diplomatic licence plates.**

The distinctive licence or number plates which are often attached to the official vehicles of \*diplomatic missions and personal vehicles of \*diplomatic staff. The plates on consular vehicles are usually different and in some countries different again for those belonging to \*administrative and technical staff. Distinctive licence plates permit easy identification of a vehicle whose occupants probably enjoy \*immunity from local process. However, since they also make it more likely that their vehicles will attract the attention of terrorists, the use of such plates has been discontinued in some states.

**diplomatic list.** The list maintained by a \*receiving state which gives the names of those who, being members of \*resident or \*non-resident diplomatic missions, enjoy \*diplomatic status within that state. The names are grouped by mission, missions being listed on an alphabetical basis. The order in which names are listed within each mission's list is indicative of the order of \*precedence, within that mission, of its named \*diplomatic agents. That order is entirely a matter for the \*sending state, as is the designation of the agents. (The receiving state, however, determines the general format of the overall list.) When, as is often the case, the agents at a particular mission are members not just of the sending state's \*foreign ministry but also of various other government departments, determining the mission's order of precedence can be a matter of controversy between both the individuals and the departments concerned.

Should internal dissension within a state result in more than one diplomatic mission being sent to a second state, each claiming to represent the first state, the receiving

state must decide which it regards as legitimate. Its decision will be reflected in its diplomatic list. If, however, it wishes to avoid or delay coming out in favour of one rather than the other but does not wish to acknowledge that fact, it may decline to publish a new diplomatic list until the matter has been resolved. This unusual state of affairs occurred in the Soviet Union in the early 1970s when two embassies from Cambodia appeared in Moscow. However, it appears that the secretive Soviets had for some time not published a diplomatic list. The inconvenience to diplomats which this entailed was, from January 1965 at least into the early 1970s, made good by the inclusion of an unofficial list in a directory called *Information Moscow* which was regularly compiled for members of the foreign community by the British wife of a Soviet journalist.

Diplomatic lists are published periodically by the \*protocol department of foreign ministries and now often appear on their websites. Traditionally some countries published their lists both in their own language and their favoured \*diplomatic language

(sense 3), while some published exclusively in the latter. It is testimony to the strong rearguard fought by French that some states outside the \*francophone world still publish their diplomatic lists only in this language – or at least did so until recently. They include Egypt, Finland, and Turkey: *Liste diplomatique (le Caire)*, *Corps Diplomatique accrédité à Helsinki*, and *Liste du Corps Diplomatique (Ankara)*, respectively.

An \*international organization to which \*permanent missions have been sent by member states may publish its own list of the members of such missions. However, although those individuals will be in receipt of certain \*privileges and immunities, they are not, formally speaking, regarded as enjoying 'diplomatic' status (although, at the level of practice, this is unlikely to be evident). Thus the organization's list may not use that term. The United Nations, for example, calls its list, 'Permanent Missions to the United Nations'. See also *Almanach de Gotha; Sheriffs' List*.

**diplomatic mission.** The diplomatic entity which

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permanently represents a \*sending state in a \*receiving state, although some or all of a mission's members may be resident outside it. Diplomatic missions are almost always established in the \*capital of the receiving state, although occasionally local circumstances may result in this not being so. Of the members of a diplomatic mission, only the \*diplomatic staff enjoy \*diplomatic status. Unless specific agreement has been reached to the contrary, the receiving state may require that the size of a mission be kept within limits which it deems reasonable and normal. This is particularly likely to happen where a mission is believed to have been involved in \*espionage or \*terrorism. Of course, such a requirement is likely to lead to \*reciprocal action by the sending state.

\*Permanent missions to an \*international organization and \*special missions are also diplomatic missions, in the sense that they are engaged on diplomatic tasks and are largely staffed by \*diplomats. But official \*diplomatic language (sense 2) tends not to refer to them as diplomatic missions. There is reason for that, as the legal regimes

which apply to them differ from those which applies to missions accredited to foreign states and their roles are also somewhat different. Accordingly, in this dictionary, the term 'diplomatic mission' is applied only to a mission accredited to a foreign state. Permanent and special missions are referred to as such. *See also* chancery; delegation (sense 2); micro-mission; multiple accreditation; non-resident mission; resident mission.

**Diplomatic Officers, Havana Convention on (1928).** A \*convention regulating the appointment of \*chiefs of mission and other \*diplomatic officers, together with their duties, \*privileges and immunities, and end-of-mission arrangements. It was drawn up by the member states of the Pan-American Union and signed on 20 February 1928. Like its sister agreement, the Convention on \*Consular Agents, it was embodied in the \*Final Act of the Sixth International Conference of American States held at Havana, Cuba. The Havana Convention was swiftly \*ratified by a number of important states

in the Americas, among them Brazil and Mexico, and by 1956 had \*entered into force among 14 Latin American states. However, despite the participation at the conference of an unusually strong American delegation under the skilful leadership of former US \*secretary of state Charles Evan Hughes, more than a hint of hostility to the \*Monroe Doctrine survived in the convention. For example, not only was \*agrément required for all diplomatic officers but they were also not to be allowed to intervene in either the domestic politics or *foreign* policies of the receiving state. As a result of these and 'numerous' other features believed by the \*State Department legal adviser to be 'contrary to long existing practice', the United States itself refused to ratify the Havana Convention. Nevertheless, it gave a firm push to the \*functional approach to diplomatic privileges and immunities and without doubt helped to inject momentum into the \*codification of \*diplomatic law. It was shortly followed by the \*Harvard Draft. The Havana conference also passed a resolution in February 1928 which

recommended the 'establishment or enlargement' of diplomatic and consular training establishments with a view to achieving 'the greatest possible uniformity' in the qualifications for entry to foreign service. *See also* Rio Branco.

**diplomatic overkill.** Diplomatic \*representations which are so powerful that although they may achieve their immediate goal, they may in the long run be counterproductive. The term was applied to President Johnson's letter of 5 June 1964 to prime minister Ismet İnönü of Turkey, demanding that Turkey call off its plan to invade Cyprus. The US \*State Department's George Ball called it 'the most brutal diplomatic note I have ever seen'. *See also* diplomatic language (sense 1).

**diplomatic passport.** A travel document issued by a state to the members of its \*diplomatic service and their families and also to government \*ministers (sense 3) and their families and, where relevant, to royal personages. In some states senior \*diplomats and their spouses

may be allowed to keep their diplomatic passports for life, and favoured political figures may also be granted a diplomatic passport. The holder of such a document may, as a matter of practice rather than of right, expect speedy and simplified treatment by customs and police officials at state borders. However, such a passport does not entitle the holder to \*diplomatic privileges and immunities, as the former president of Chile, General Pinochet, discovered following his arrest in London in October 1998. Britain did not issue the members of its diplomatic service with diplomatic passports until 1995. *See also* laissez-passer.

**diplomatic pouch.** *See* diplomatic bag.

**diplomatic premises.** The buildings or parts of buildings and their grounds ('irrespective of ownership') used as a \*diplomatic mission, including the \*residence of the \*head of mission. Such premises are inviolable and may not therefore be entered by the \*receiving state except with the consent of the head of mission. The receiving state also has an obligation

to protect diplomatic premises. For its part, the \*sending state is obliged not to use the premises in a manner which is incompatible with their \*diplomatic functions. Whether premises used for such purposes as an information centre, a tourist office, or an embassy school may be classified as 'diplomatic' is a matter to be agreed between the sending and the receiving state. In 1985 Britain decided that it would no longer allow tourist offices and places used for educational activity to be classified as diplomatic premises. *See also* compound; extritoriality; Hotman.

**diplomatic privileges and immunities.** The special legal position accorded to \*diplomatic agents by \*receiving states is generally referred to by this phrase, with the words in the order given. The details are spelt out in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961), but almost invariably require legislation by a receiving state for them to be operative domestically. The justification for treating \*diplomats in this special way is that such measures are necessary for \*diplomatic functions to

be executed effectively. This is not always understood by a state's public opinion, which can lead to adverse comment on the matter. But the potent consideration, which ensures that it is rare for states not to endorse and honour this aspect of \*diplomatic law, is the principle of \*reciprocity. That is, if state A's diplomats are treated in a less-than-proper manner by state B, it is highly likely that state B's diplomats in state A will suffer the same fate. So important is the role played by diplomats and so keen the wish of \*sending states to guarantee their personal safety that it is extremely unusual for a state not to take great care to guard against that eventuality.

The special legal position has three aspects. First, there are certain inviolabilities enjoyed by a \*diplomatic mission and its \*diplomatic staff. These apply to official premises and private residences, the mission's archives and documentation, and its correspondence, none of which may be entered or tampered with by the receiving state. The persons of diplomatic agents and of their \*family members residing with them are also inviolable,

in the sense that they may not be arrested or detained. Secondly, such individuals enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state and, in most respects, from its civil and administrative jurisdiction. Thirdly, they enjoy certain privileges, such as exemption from dues, taxes, and many customs duties, from the liability to undertake public service, and (generally) from having to submit their baggage to inspection at frontier controls.

This special legal position applies only to diplomats who enjoy \*diplomatic status within the receiving state, or who are in transit through third states on their way to or from such a posting. Thus they do not apply to diplomats who just happen to be in a foreign state.

It should be noted that diplomats' jurisdictional immunities do not place them outside the receiving state's legal system, but only beyond the normal consequences of alleged breaches of the law. Thus it is well understood that a diplomat claiming immunity in respect of an allegedly criminal act may be declared \*persona non grata by the receiving state. Furthermore,



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if a diplomat appears to be in breach of an obligation which exists under the civil and not the criminal law, but claims diplomatic immunity, the receiving state may press the sending state to ensure that the obligation is fulfilled. In any particular case, either criminal or civil, a sending state may \*waive a diplomatic agent's immunity.

One immunity that often gives rise to heated complaints by members of the public is that which allows diplomats to go unpunished for breaches of car-parking regulations. So much was this so that in the mid-1980s Britain said it would keep a record of such matters and, ultimately, would ask for the removal of persistent offenders. This produced a dramatic reduction in such offences. The United States withholds driving privileges from diplomats who persistently violate traffic laws and regulations.

*See also* consular privileges and immunities; diplomatic bag; diplomatic law; diplomatic premises; first-arrival privileges.

**diplomatic protection.** (1) The legal doctrine that any

means consistent with \*international law may be employed by one state in seeking redress for an injury to one of its \*nationals or corporate bodies caused by an internationally wrongful act or omission on the part of another – providing all local remedies have been exhausted. The traditional label, 'diplomatic protection', for this controversial doctrine is misleading because intervention in such cases by \*diplomatic missions (usually called 'diplomatic action' by legal scholars) is only one of the means which may be employed against a respondent state by a claimant. While force – except in extreme circumstances – is no longer permitted, these include \*judicial settlement, \*arbitration, \*sanctions, \*reprisals, and \*retorsion. The origins of diplomatic protection are normally traced to \*Vattel, but it did not develop strongly until the nineteenth century when the greater ease of foreign travel and the spurt in international trade and investment found many more persons and their property exposed to injury in foreign states. In 1996 the \*customary international law on diplomatic protection became

a subject of codification by the \*International Law Commission, which in 2006 produced draft articles as the basis for a possible international \*convention. In 2011 these were still under discussion. *See also* Calvo Doctrine; emergency room; intervention; letter of protection. (2) Special police or army provision for the security of \*diplomatic agents and \*diplomatic premises – protection of diplomats. In the United States this is the responsibility of the \*State Department's Diplomatic Security Service, while Britain has a specially trained body of police for this task known as the Diplomatic Protection Group. (3) A synonym for \*consular protection, now not in common use. *See also* emergency room.

**diplomatic quarter.** The area within certain \*capital cities where foreign states are required, encouraged, or simply choose to maintain their \*diplomatic missions. For example, from the end of the sixteenth century until the 1920s the foreign embassies in Constantinople (Istanbul) were concentrated in Pera on the heights above Galata on the northern side

of the waterway known as the Golden Horn (the palaces of the Ottoman sultans being on the southern side). In the early modern period certain of these quarters – notably in Rome and Madrid – claimed *franchise du quartier*, that is, that the inviolability of the missions within them extended to the quarter as a whole. Although this extravagant assertion of \*exterritoriality had been effectively extinguished in Europe by the end of the seventeenth century, it reappeared in somewhat different guise in the Far East in the nineteenth. The most remarkable case was provided by the legation quarter in Peking. This survived a prolonged siege during the Boxer uprising in 1900 and, under Article VII of the Final Protocol imposed by the allied powers on China shortly afterwards, was granted 'exclusive control' of its own affairs, including its own defence. Annex 14 contained a map showing the precise boundaries of this second 'forbidden city', which for once signified that exterritoriality meant what it said. The 1924 edition of the Tienstin Press *Guide to Peking and its Environs* states in

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matter-of-fact tones that '[i]n its present aspect Legation Quarter has the appearance of a small fortress of rectangular shape'. Control of the legation quarter was handed back to China in 1945. *See also* Chanakyapuri.

**diplomatic rank.** (1) One customarily used within a \*diplomatic or \*permanent mission to indicate the holder's hierarchical place. In order of seniority such ranks are \*ambassador, \*minister (sense 2) or minister plenipotentiary, \*minister-counsellor (used only by some states), \*counsellor, \*first secretary, \*second secretary, and \*third secretary; the rank of \*attaché may be used at various levels of seniority. It should be noted that different ranks, based on a domestic grading system, are likely to be given to members of a \*diplomatic service when they serve at home in their foreign ministry. Moreover, the head of a small \*embassy will almost certainly hold a domestic rank less senior than the head of a large one. Ranks should not be confused with positions: for example, head of \*chancery or \*deputy chief of mission. *See also* local rank. (2) Secretariat members

within the \*UN system enjoy 'diplomatic rank' if their posts are graded P-5 or above. This stands for Professional, grade 5. The hierarchy advances upward from P-1 to P-5, then to D-1 and D-2 (Director, grades 1 and 2), and thereafter to the most senior grades – in the case of the UN to the assistant and under secretaries-general, above whom sit the deputy secretary-general and the \*secretary-general himself. (3) Historically, a synonym for diplomatic \*precedence, as in the statement that 'heads of mission take rank according to the date of the official notification of their arrival'. (4) Sometimes the term 'diplomatic rank' has also been used as a synonym for \*diplomatic status.

**diplomatic relations.** (1) The situation enjoyed by two \*states that can communicate with each other unhampered by any formal obstacles. This is the prerequisite for normal \*diplomacy (sense 1) and states finding themselves in this situation are said to *have* or be *in* diplomatic relations with each other. Thus each may address the other, express views to the other and reach agreements with the other,

such business usually being done through \*diplomatic agents. Moreover, those agents may interact freely with each other. In the absence of diplomatic relations, none of these activities is likely to be straightforward and may even be impossible: when two states are not in diplomatic relations either is fully entitled to refuse any contact with the other. Thus, being in diplomatic relations is the usual (and easy) means of maintaining permanent contact between two states. Contrary to a popular view, diplomatic relations does not necessarily entail the despatch by either state of a \*resident mission or even a \*non-resident mission to the other. Such a development often follows the establishment of diplomatic relations, but there is no necessity for it to do so. Another misunderstanding is represented in the exchange of resident missions sometimes being spoken of as creating 'full' diplomatic relations. In fact, there are no degrees of diplomatic relations; any pair of states is either in this condition or not.

Diplomatic relations are established – and re-established – by agreement between the

two states concerned. That \*agreement is often explicit, although the form varies. However, in line with the increased casualness and informality of the age, the establishment or re-establishment of diplomatic relations may also be implicit. In any event, a precondition for it is the \*recognition of each state by the other. Especially in the case of a new state, recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations may take place simultaneously. More generally, it is now unusual for two states that recognize each other not to be in diplomatic relations.

As to the 'level' of diplomatic relations, this term is often employed when two states agree to exchange \*diplomatic missions, the rank of the \*heads of mission being said to be the level at which diplomatic relations exist. Thus two states may announce that they have established relations at ambassadorial level. Strictly speaking, however, the idea of levels is better applied to \*diplomatic representation (sense 1) than to diplomatic relations, as its use in the latter context mistakenly suggests that diplomatic relations is a variable

rather than an absolute concept.

Whereas the establishment of diplomatic relations is a bilateral affair, their downgrading or breach occurs through a decision to that effect by just one party to the relationship. 'Downgrading' is a non-technical term which refers to the temporary withdrawal of the head of mission or (although now it rarely happens) to the replacement of a head of mission by one of lesser \*diplomatic rank (sense 1). Such developments, however, are distinct from the breach of diplomatic relations. This is a formal, unilateral decision which has the consequence that neither state can maintain a diplomatic mission in or accredited to the other. By contrast, the mere withdrawal of a diplomatic mission, either temporarily or permanently, is not tantamount to a breach of diplomatic relations. It used to be the case that an outbreak of \*war also involved the breaking of diplomatic relations. But this is no longer seen as an automatic accompaniment of \*armed conflict (sense 1).

If two states have broken diplomatic relations, it does

not necessarily mean that they do not communicate with each other, despite the fact that that would seem to be the logical consequence of a breach. A form of relations may be continued through \*protecting powers, the establishment of \*interests sections (sense 1) in the missions of third states, occasional messages being passed via third parties, or through \*signalling. Ad hoc meetings may also be arranged, or encounters may take place in third states or at \*international organizations, the extent and openness of such contacts being dependent on the political relationship of the two states and perhaps also on the personal relationship of the diplomats concerned. States not in diplomatic relations may even conclude treaties with each other. But in all these circumstances, the diplomatic process is likely to be much more complex and tortuous, and perhaps less efficient, than it is when states are in diplomatic relations.

The re-establishment of diplomatic relations requires a new agreement – any proposal for which must, by custom, come from the state which instigated the breach.

(2) The condition of the political relationship between two states, as in the observation: 'there was a sharp deterioration in their diplomatic relations'.

**Diplomatic Relations, Vienna Convention on (1961).** The outcome of lengthy multilateral negotiations culminating in a conference held in Vienna at which 81 states were represented. Their object was to \*codify and clarify the existing \*customary international law regarding \*diplomatic agents and \*diplomatic missions exchanged between states, particularly their \*privileges and immunities. The convention \*entered into force in 1964; virtually every sovereign state has become a party to it; and it is also generally regarded as expressive of customary international law on its subject matter.

It must be noted, however, that the convention's formal acceptance by a state does not necessarily mean, and in practice very rarely means, that its provisions automatically take effect within that state's municipal law. For a municipal legal system to give effect to the exceptional

expectations of diplomats arising from the privileges and immunities which the convention says they should have, domestic legislation is almost invariably required. Only after such legislation has embodied these rules in a state's municipal law will its courts take formal notice of them.

Contrary to the implication of the convention's title, it says virtually nothing about \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). *See also* Harvard Draft; Diplomatic Officers, Havana Convention on; international law and municipal law.

**diplomatic representation.** (1) The representation of one state in another by a \*diplomatic mission. Contrary to what is sometimes thought, the establishment of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) between two states does not require this kind of representation, not even by a \*non-resident, let alone a \*resident mission. (In other words, there is no \*right of legation, representation in each direction being the product of agreement.) One state may also enjoy diplomatic representation in another without the second state being obliged

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to seek any representation in the first – what is sometimes called ‘unilateral diplomacy’. Historically, this situation was sometimes a product of a marked sense of material or moral superiority (or both) on the part of the \*receiving state. Probably the most famous instance of this was the system conducted by the Ottoman Empire, which was admitting permanent foreign embassies within months of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 but did not condescend to send them abroad itself until 1793. However, many of the new states which emerged from the European empires after the Second World War simply lacked the resources to establish large numbers of their own embassies and had to resort to \*multiple accreditation.

As there is no requirement that representation should be reciprocal, so also there is none that it should be symmetrical. Thus, one state may be represented in another by a mission whose head is of the first \*diplomatic class – that is, an \*embassy (sense 1) headed by an \*ambassador (sense 1) – while the second state may be represented in the first by a mission whose

head is in the second diplomatic class – that is, a \*legation, headed by a \*minister (sense 1). However, asymmetrical representation was never customary. Furthermore, in the third quarter of the twentieth century, representation by missions whose heads were in the second or third diplomatic class went speedily out of fashion, so that since then virtually all representation has taken place at ambassadorial level. (2) A synonym for \*démarche, although in this case the plural – ‘representations’ – is normally employed.

**diplomatic representative.** Any accredited \*diplomat, including a \*delegate to an international \*conference. *See also* diplomatic representation; representative; representative character.

**diplomats.** (1) The metatheory of diplomacy, that is, the theory in the light of which \*diplomacy (sense 1) proceeds. It therefore includes such basic postulates as, for example, that \*states are (deemed to be) persons, that they are bound by \*international law, and that \*diplomats (sense 1) speak for their

states. *See also* diplomatic theory. (2) The study of old documents, chiefly with a view to establishing their meaning and authenticity – and so exposing forgeries. These documents, or ‘diplomas’, include religious texts, titles to land, charters of nobility, and so on. Its birth as a technical discipline is dated from publication of *De Re Diplomatica Libri VI* by the Benedictine monk, Dom Jean Mabillon, in 1681. It is the origin of the French word *diplomatie* – and hence \*diplomacy (sense 1) – because the central feature of the negotiations between states was believed to be the production, exchange, and storage in archives of \*treaties – a species of diploma.

**diplomatic sanctions.** *See* sanctions.

**diplomatic service.** The bureaucracy of the professional diplomats of the state, usually embracing personnel in the \*foreign ministry as well as those employed at foreign postings. In the United States it is styled the \*‘Foreign Service’ and its members as ‘Foreign Service Officers’ or ‘FSOs’. It is now normal for

strict nationality criteria to be employed in recruitment to the diplomatic service, although there was a time when practice was quite different. *See also* Diplomatic Service, British; Venetian diplomacy.

**Diplomatic Service, British.** (1) The body which now embraces those officials of the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London who have a liability to be posted overseas, as well as its staff in all British diplomatic and consular missions. It was created at the beginning of 1965 by the merger of the former \*Foreign Service with the Commonwealth Service and the Trade Commissioner Service. (2) Until 1943, a term reserved exclusively for the diplomatic staff of Britain’s \*diplomatic missions. The staffs of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service were amalgamated after the First World War but the separate identities of the two bodies were retained until the Second World War. *See also* Commonwealth Relations Office; *Foreign Office List*.

**diplomatic service list.** The list of the members of a state’s \*diplomatic service,



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usually published annually by its \*foreign ministry. A diplomatic service list should not be confused with a \*diplomatic list, although they are sometimes printed between the same covers. Most diplomatic service lists restrict themselves to presenting brief details of the staff at the foreign ministry and posts abroad but it was the European and North American tradition to supplement this with a great deal of additional information. For example, European and North American lists might include diplomatic service regulations, salary scales, dress codes, and travel allowances, and even include illustrated and fully indexed pages of advertisements for the kind of equipment a diplomat might need while abroad. They also commonly included maps showing the location of posts and illustrations of flags and the \*diplomatic uniforms worn by officers of different \*diplomatic rank (sense 1) on formal occasions. Most importantly, they included detailed biographical information on the members of the state's diplomatic service. Thus this material was a major feature of such publications as the Austro-Hungarian *Jahrbuch des*

*K.u.K. Auswärtigen Dienstes*, the French *Annuaire diplomatique et consulaire*, the American *Biographic Register of the Department of State* (a separately published supplement to the US *Foreign Service List*), and the British \**Foreign Office List* (subsequently *The Diplomatic Service List*). Largely because it was relatively easy to identify \*intelligence officers from diplomatic service lists such as these and because journalists and disaffected former officers began to use them to expose these persons, in 1974 the US \*State Department stopped the public circulation of its *Register* (in recent years even its compilation has been abandoned). Nor has *The Diplomatic Service List* been published by the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office since 2006. The official explanation was that it had become too costly and time-consuming to produce but it would be surprising if the security of its staff – with identity theft also now a major worry – was not an important consideration as well. *See also Almanach de Gotha.*

**diplomatic solution.** One which gives priority to \*negotiation over the threat or use of force.

**diplomatic staff.** The staff of a \*diplomatic, \*permanent, or \*special mission who enjoy \*diplomatic status, as opposed to \*administrative and technical staff and \*service staff.

**diplomatic status.** The status held by a member of the staff of a \*diplomatic mission who is classed as a \*diplomatic agent. Those enjoying it, also called the \*diplomatic staff, are thereby entitled to \*diplomatic privileges and immunities and are included in the \*receiving state's \*diplomatic list. It is for the \*sending state to propose that an individual be so classified and for the receiving state to agree. No problem arises with regard to members of the sending state's \*diplomatic service; difficulties can, however, occur regarding members of other government departments who temporarily serve abroad. Usually there is pressure from such departments for their members to be given diplomatic status, especially as they are often quite senior. But the sending state's foreign ministry may be uneasy about that if such individuals are not obviously serving in a representational capacity; and those of its government departments

charged with the administration of the law and the raising of revenue may also be unhappy at the thought of the reciprocal requests which may follow from the receiving state. For its part, the receiving state may raise at least an eyebrow at proposed expansions of the \*diplomatic corps in its \*capital which bear a doubtfully diplomatic character.

As between states, such issues generally seem to be settled without much difficulty, albeit at the cost of the inclusion in diplomatic lists of some unusual-sounding 'diplomatic' titles – as indicated in the entry dealing with attachés. Latterly, too, the matter appears to be handled with increasing liberality (provided that the individuals concerned can reasonably be said to be performing duties of a diplomatic nature). There are two associated reasons for this. One is the ever-potent principle of \*reciprocity, which ensures equality of treatment as between any pair of states. The other is the worry that developed during the second half of the twentieth century about the safety, in many capitals, of members of diplomatic missions. Inasmuch

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as the granting of diplomatic status provides such individuals with some additional safeguards, states became rather more willing to be generous in this respect. It is unlikely that that development will now be reversed.

In the normal way, a receiving state is unlikely to agree to grant diplomatic status to an \*officer of a foreign state who is posted outside the capital of the receiving state. (\*Consular officers, of course, enjoy \*consular status, and are therefore not covered by this statement.) One exception to this approach, however, occurs with regard to the staff of the office of a \*deputy high commissioner (sense 2). Diplomatic agents making up a \*special mission or a \*permanent mission to an international organization also enjoy a privileged status, but strictly it should not be called 'diplomatic' and its detailed nature is likely to differ from that accorded to the diplomatic staff of resident and non-resident missions.

**diplomatic system.** (1) The communications network linking \*sovereign states which is expressive of the conduct of \*diplomacy (sense 1). (2) The

style of diplomacy (sense 1) in a given period. *See also* cuneiform diplomacy; history of diplomacy; states-system.

**diplomatic theory.** General inquiry into \*diplomacy (sense 1) which combines conceptual, ethical, legal, and historical analysis. *See also* diplomatics (sense 1).

**diplomatic titles.** *See* diplomatic rank.

**diplomatic uniform.** Special formal dress, mostly of vaguely military appearance, often including a dress sword, designed for \*diplomats (sense 1) to wear on certain formal occasions in some states. It is now rarely worn and is only essential in under a dozen states. Other than the Holy See they are all states where diplomats are accredited to royal courts. One senior British diplomat (Christopher Meyer) never wore a diplomatic uniform in his 36 years' service, but the \*FCO officials who attend credentials ceremonies – the \*permanent under-secretary and director for \*protocol (\*vice-marshall of the diplomatic corps) – wear the uniform on such occasions. \*Service

attachés, although enjoying \*diplomatic status, wear their own uniforms rather than diplomatic uniform.

**diplomatic visa.** See visa (sense 3).

**diplomat-in-residence (DIR).** A US State Department title for senior \*Foreign Service Officers assigned for one or two years to colleges and universities within the United States. DIRs do some teaching but their main purpose is to encourage and facilitate the recruitment of outstanding candidates to the Foreign Service. In the academic year 2010–11, there were 15 of them.

**diplomatist.** A member of the diplomatic profession. This was the term preferred to ‘diplomat’ by the British Diplomatic Service at least until the 1960s and is not entirely extinct. It is still occasionally employed by newspapers as well as by *International Who’s Who*, the *New Cambridge Modern History*, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. The term has the merit of underlining the important distinction between professional diplomats on the one hand,

and \*ad hoc and \*temporary diplomats, together with those in any walk of life favoured with ‘diplomatic’ skills, on the other. Nevertheless, the weight of opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of ‘diplomat’ rather than ‘diplomatist’ (which is felt by many to sound pompous and fussy) and hence this is the preferred usage in this dictionary.

**Diplopedia Wiki.** The \*State Department’s internal, unclassified online information-sharing platform for members of the US \*Foreign Service. Launched in September 2006, like Wikipedia it provides a huge range of regularly updated information, but users have to be registered and all contributions are attributed to their author or editor. Similar platforms are being used or experimented with by other diplomatic services and by international organizations; these serve for training purposes as well as for internal consultation. See also e-diplomacy.

**DipNote.** The official blog of the US \*State Department.

**direct dial diplomacy.** Communications with some

overseas body conducted by the international section of a ministry, for example defence or transport, which bypasses the \*foreign ministry of the state from which the communications originate. Direct dial diplomacy is especially prevalent between member states of the European Union. It is the great growth in this form of interstate communication that has often led foreign ministries to assert the importance of their coordinating function. *See also* diplomatic channels.

**directive.** A European Union decision which is \*binding as to its aims but not as to the manner of their achievement, which is left to member states. *See also* regulation.

**directorate.** An administrative section of the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office dealing with a wide but related range of issues: for example, 'Europe and Globalization' and 'Defence and Intelligence'.

**director-general.** Another term for 'department', as in the European Commission.

**director-general.** *See* chief clerk; secretary-general.

**discussions.** (1) A synonym for \*negotiations. (2) In nuanced contrast to negotiations, talking about a subject without implying any readiness to make \*concessions, as when the British indicated to the Argentines before the 1982 war that they were willing to 'discuss' the question of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands but not to 'negotiate' over it.

**dispatch.** *See* despatch.

**dissenting opinion.** The individual opinion of a member of the bench of the \*International Court of Justice who disagrees with the operative part of a \*judgment or \*advisory opinion. *See also* separate opinion.

**Ditchley Park.** An eighteenth century country house near Oxford, UK, at which the Ditchley Foundation holds small high-level conferences on matters of international concern. Typically, those invited are a mix of senior people working in politics, business and industry, academic life, the civil service, the armed forces, and the media. The Foundation has informal contacts with governments

but governments do not control its agenda or provide working funds.

**Dobrynin, Anatoly Fedorovich (1919–2010).** Soviet diplomat. The son of a plumber and a Moscow theatre usher (no \*diplomatic family for the young Anatoly), Dobrynin was a qualified aviation engineer. Nevertheless, in 1944 he was required by the Communist Party to train as a diplomat – according to *Pravda* because the Soviet leader, Josef Stalin, wanted technicians rather than intellectuals in diplomacy. In 1952 he was posted to Washington with the rank of \*counsellor (later minister-counsellor and number two in the embassy) and in 1957 – after an interlude in Moscow – was seconded to the United Nations as Dag \*Hammar skjöld's under-secretary general for political and Security Council affairs. In 1959 he accompanied the then Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, on his visit to the United States and in 1960 was back at the foreign ministry again, this time as head of the department dealing with the USA. In 1962 he was sent by Khrushchev to Washington as ambassador. He remained in

this post until 1986, an astonishingly long tour for a diplomat of the modern era. In this 24-year period he served six Soviet leaders and worked with six American presidents and seven secretaries of state. For the last eight years he was \*dean of the Washington diplomatic corps. 'Subtle and disciplined, warm in his demeanor while wary in his conduct, Dobrynin moved through the upper echelons of Washington with consummate skill,' wrote Henry \*Kissinger. The Soviet ambassador's importance was that he reported accurately and served as an efficient \*back-channel between the White House and the \*Kremlin, thereby playing a key role in easing tensions at some of the most dangerous moments of the \*Cold War. This began with the Cuban missile crisis shortly after he arrived but became most marked during the Nixon-Kissinger years in the first half of the 1970s. On returning to the Soviet Union in 1986, having been recalled by the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, Dobrynin may have hoped to be appointed foreign minister when Gorbachev – determined on a radical change in foreign policy – sacked Andrei Gromyko,

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himself a former Soviet ambassador to Washington and foreign minister since 1957. However, he was passed over for Eduard Shevardnadze. Anatoly Dobrynin had been a member of the Communist Party Central Committee since 1971 and was consoled with further senior positions in the party; he was also made a deputy of the Supreme Soviet.

### **domestic jurisdiction.**

This term refers to those matters arising within a \*state on which it has no international legal obligations and over which the state is therefore entitled to exercise an exclusive jurisdiction. (The principle is enshrined in Article 2.7 of the UN \*Charter.) By the same token, foreign states should not try to influence the handling of such matters. Much controversy may arise over whether any particular issue in fact falls within a state's domestic jurisdiction. *See also* human rights; intervention; R2P.

**domestic law.** *See* municipal law.

**dominions.** The former British self-governing territories

which emerged (gradually and often hesitantly) on to the international scene as \*sovereign states after the First World War: Australia, Canada, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and South Africa. In the 1930s Ireland contested its dominion status. India, although a member of the \*League of Nations, was not a dominion until independence (as India and Pakistan) in 1947. Newfoundland was not a member of the League and lost its dominion status in 1934 as a result of financial difficulties (being in a kind of constitutional limbo until it joined Canada in 1949). By the end of the Second World War, the connotation of dominus, or overlordship, was clearly out of date in regard to the dominions; and quite apart from its linguistic aspect, the term often irritated the states which were so described (New Zealand excepted) and was inappropriate for India as it was intent on assuming republican status. The term 'dominion' was therefore dropped in the late 1940s. *See also* Commonwealth; Dominions Office; governor-general; high commissioner (sense 1).

**Dominions Office.** The British department of state which from 1925 until 1947 was responsible for the conduct of its relations with the \*dominions.

**donner la main.** To give a visitor the seat of honour, that is, that which lies on the host's right hand. *See also* seating arrangements.

**double-edged diplomacy.** Negotiating at home as well as abroad in the attempt to ensure that any agreement reached will be \*ratified.

**double majority voting.** A form of \*qualified majority voting in which a decision requires two majorities: a majority of the total number of participants and a majority of some other kind. For example, under the Treaty of Lisbon, which \*entered into force on 1 December 2009, decisions of the European Union's Council of Ministers will, from 2014, require acceptance by a majority of members (actually 55 per cent) who themselves represent a majority of the total population of the EU (actually 65 per cent). In principle, there is nothing to prevent

use of triple majority voting, quadruple majority voting, and so on. *See also* consensus decision-making; super majority; weighted voting.

**downgrading of diplomatic relations.** *See* diplomatic relations (sense 1).

**doyen.** *See* dean.

**doyenne.** Either a female \*dean of the \*diplomatic corps, or the wife of a doyen.

**drafter.** The originator of a written communication, in the US \*Foreign Service also responsible for 'initiating clearance and finalizing changes'.

**dragoman.** A person employed by the \*diplomatic missions and \*consulates in the Ottoman Empire as an interpreter, information gatherer, and – above all – intermediary with the various central departments (the \*Porte) and provincial agencies of the sultan's government. Often spelled 'druggerman' in the earlier years after these missions began to appear in the fifteenth century, the word is a corruption of the Ottoman *tercimān*,



meaning translator or interpreter. Since so few ambassadors or their secretaries spoke Ottoman Turkish and so few of the sultan's officials initially spoke Italian (the Venetian-driven language of commerce in the Levant) or even French, dragomans (who were generally Italian, Greek, or Armenian 'Levantine') were considered indispensable. However, the temptations to sell information to the highest bidder and their vulnerability to pressure from the Porte (until the nineteenth century, they were nearly all subjects or, rather, slaves of the sultan) were so great that they were generally regarded as untrustworthy and insufficiently forceful in presenting an ambassador's view. Various attempts were made to replace the native dragomans with young men sent out from home to learn the language, among them the *jeunes de langues* launched into the East by Louis XIV in 1669 and the handful of \*oriental secretaries and \*attachés (sense 1) whom Britain began to despatch in the second decade of the nineteenth century. However, with the interesting exception of \*Dubrovnik, few of these experiments were very

successful and the embassies usually had as many native dragomans as they could afford. They were typically styled 'first (or chief) dragoman', 'second dragoman', and so on. The great growth in the facility of Turkish officials with the French language in the course of the nineteenth century and the introduction in Britain's case of the Levant Consular Service in 1877 (the first members of which, although British, were called 'student dragomans') were among the factors which spelt the end of the native dragomans. The title lapsed altogether after the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 finally ended \*capitulations (sense 1) in the metropolitan remains of the Ottoman Empire (i.e. Turkey), with the administration and defence of which the dragomans had been so closely associated. *See also* drogmanat; oriental secretary.

**drogmanat.** The \*dragomans' section of an embassy in Constantinople prior to the ending of the dragoman system after the First World War. 'Drogmanat' was a more elegant word than the English 'dragomanate' or German 'dragomanat'

(a syllable too far) and formally preferred by the British embassy in Constantinople itself.

**droit de chapelle.** The right of a \*diplomatic mission to maintain a chapel and conduct religious services on its premises. It arose against the background of religious intolerance of the sixteenth century as a means of enabling diplomats to engage in worship when posted to a state which espoused a faith other than their own. *See also* diplomatic premises; diplomatic privileges and immunities.

**drugs liaison officer (DLO).** An \*attaché (sense 2) specializing in the fight against the illegal drugs trade. DLOs – not always identified as such – began to appear in the 1980s and are now an important component of the staff of many embassies and consulates, especially those of the United States (Drugs Enforcement Agency agents) and the European Union in central and southern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

**dual accreditation.** *See* multiple accreditation.

**Dubrovnik, diplomacy of.**

Between the end of the thirteenth and the start of the nineteenth century the independent Republic of Dubrovnik (often known by its Italian name of Ragusa) had a well-organized diplomatic and consular service, at least on a par with those of the (better known) Italian city states, notably \*Venice. For longer than them it despatched its \*ambassadors extraordinary on \*special rather than \*resident missions, but its \*tribute ambassadors in effect held residential appointments. Dubrovnik's consular arrangements were especially extensive, it having in the eighteenth century (for example) no fewer than 50 \*consuls who were also enjoined to report regularly on political news.

**Dumbarton Oaks.** A mansion in Washington, DC, where in 1944 the \*major powers laid the foundations for the \*United Nations. This series of meetings was known as the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

**Duncan Report (1969).** *See* comprehensive post.

**durbar.** In British colonial practice, a \*levee at the court

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of a native ruler or at the residence of certain governors.

**duty officer.** The officer or officers left in a \*mission (sense 1) or \*foreign ministry, or available on call, outside normal office hours, that is, during the night or over weekends and holiday periods. Duty officers have the important

and ticklish task of deciding whether or not to postpone consideration of an incoming message of importance or immediately alert a more senior officer or \*minister (sense 3) (sometimes waking them in the night). The duty officers in Britain's \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office are known as the resident clerks.

# E

## **Eban, Abba (1915–2002).**

Israeli diplomat and politician. Abba Eban was blessed with a brilliant mind and great linguist ability. During the Second World War he served first as a liaison officer for British special forces with Jewish paramilitaries in Jerusalem and then as the first principal Arabic instructor at the \*Middle East Centre for Arab Studies. However, dedicated to the Zionist dream of a Jewish \*state in Palestine, in September 1946 he joined the political department of the Jewish Agency, which appointed him to its information department in London. With the subsequent British decision to turn over the question of the future of Palestine to the \*United Nations, the focus of Zionism's political struggle switched to New York. Eban duly arrived there in April 1947 and was swiftly appointed as a liaison officer

to the UN Special Committee on Palestine. Thanks in part to his lobbying, UNSCOP's majority report in September (endorsed by the \*General Assembly in November) recommended partition and a Jewish area which included the Negev. This increased his standing in the Jewish Agency and thereafter the rise to a dominating position in its ranks at the UN demanded by his eloquence and mastery of procedure was inexorable. His 'maiden speech' to the General Assembly on 1 May 1948 was a stunning success and a fortnight later the state of Israel was proclaimed and at once recognized by the \*superpowers. He was then appointed the provisional government's representative to the UN and, although Israel still only had \*observer status, commenced an 'almost daily vigil' at the \*Security Council. In May 1949 he finally

secured Israel's membership of the UN and became, at the age of 33, the youngest \*permanent representative (sense 1) to the organization at the time. In September 1950 he was also appointed to be simultaneously ambassador to the United States and retained both positions until 1959. At that point returning to Israel, he was elected to the Knesset and immediately given the first of a succession of senior ministerial posts. Between 1966 and 1974, years which witnessed two of the most significant wars in Israel's history, these included that of foreign minister. Abba Eban, who was known as a 'dove' in Israeli terms, was also a prolific writer. In *The New Diplomacy* (1983), he expressed deep reservations about the modern inclination to public negotiation and \*summitry (especially the former) but also said that both developments were irreversible; therefore, the wisest course for professional diplomats was to adjust to them. So scornful was he of the tendency of states to break contact at moments of crisis that he also sought to revive the \*'right of legation', although he did not use this term: an international

\*convention, he maintained, should be agreed on the 'universality of \*diplomatic relations'.

**economic attaché.** *See* attaché (sense 2).

**economic diplomacy.** (1) Diplomacy concerned with economic policy questions, including the work of delegations to conferences sponsored by bodies such as the World Trade Organization. While distinct from the \*commercial diplomacy of diplomatic missions, it also includes that part of their work concerned with monitoring and reporting on economic policies and developments in the receiving state and advising on how best to influence them. (2) Economic diplomacy (sense 1) plus \*commercial diplomacy, in fact anything concerned with the advancement of the state's economic interests. (3) Diplomacy which employs economic resources, either as rewards or sanctions, in pursuit of a particular \*foreign policy objective. This is sometimes known as 'economic statecraft'.

**economic officer.** A US State Department term for the

head of the \*economic section of a US diplomatic mission. Economic officers have broad responsibilities at posts that are too small to justify the appointment of a \*commercial officer as well.

**economic sanctions.** *See* sanctions.

**economic section.** (1) The section in larger embassies dealing with \*economic diplomacy (sense 1), especially economic reporting. (2) The section in smaller embassies dealing with both economic reporting and commercial work. *See also* commercial section.

**economic statecraft.** *See* economic diplomacy (sense 3).

**e-consulate.** (1) A synonym for a \*virtual consulate. (2) The section of the website of a (physical) \*consular post dealing with such matters as \*visa and passport applications.

**e-diplomacy.** The conduct of \*diplomacy (sense 1) via electronic information and communications technologies (ICTs), especially the Internet. ICTs have made a great difference to the ways in which

states conduct their international communications, both with their own officials abroad and with foreign states, international organizations, and \*non-governmental organizations. They have also deeply influenced the internal organization of \*foreign ministries and their diplomatic networks. For example, reliance on the traditional \*diplomatic bag has steadily diminished as documents have been digitalized, online learning systems are being used more and more for training purposes, and dedicated channels on YouTube and other social media are being exploited. Further applications for ICTs are being explored all the time. In the US \*State Department, for example, the Office of eDiplomacy has a 'Diplomatic Innovation Division'. However, the various technologies of e-diplomacy do not undermine the utility of traditional diplomatic missions in performing \*diplomatic functions. *See also* Diplopedia Wiki; e-gram; telecommunication; video-conference; virtual consulate.

**e-gram.** A message carried over a secure intranet system,

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which retains some of the traditional format of the diplomatic \*telegram and is intended for defined distribution to individuals and missions. The e-gram system of the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which replaced telegrams and \*teletexts for messages classed as 'confidential' down to 'unclassified', became fully operational in October 2005. *See also* e-diplomacy.

**election assistance.** The provision of technical or material support for the conducting of an election. Among other things, it may include legal guidance, voter and civic education, and the training of local observers. *See also* election monitoring; observer mission.

**election monitoring.** The independent and professional appraisal of an election process, with the related aims of deterring fraud and reinforcing the legitimacy of the result. *See also* election assistance; observer mission.

**electronic voting.** The use of an electronic device to record a vote, now often used in large meetings at

\*international organizations and \*conferences. *See also* roll-call voting.

**eleventh hour.** A term sometimes used in \*negotiations to indicate the approach of a deadline. *See also* stopping the clock.

**embargo.** (1) A decision to block the sailing of vessels from a port, which was a traditional form of international \*reprisal short of \*war. (2) A prohibition on the release of something, for example, arms shipments or the text of a speech prior to its delivery. (3) In the phrase 'trade embargo', a ban on all trade – imports as well as exports. *See also* sanctions.

**embassy.** (1) A \*diplomatic mission headed by an \*ambassador (sense 1) and hence the premises of such a mission. (2) Among other earlier meanings, the envoy and the members of his \*family (sense 2). (3) A synonym for any diplomatic mission. *See also* chancery; flat pack embassy; hub embassy; legation; virtual embassy.

**embassy of obedience.** A lavish and ostentatious

\*special mission sent to Rome by a secular prince, including the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, on the occasion of the election of a new pope. *Legationes obedientiae*, which had become customary by at least the eleventh century, were not only gestures of homage and religious affiliation but also marks of some degree of political subservience to the pope. They reached the highpoint of their importance probably at the end of the fifteenth century and had all but died out by the end of the eighteenth. The enthusiasm of the Habsburgs for these missions diminished as the power of their house increased.

**Embassy Row.** The stretch of Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, DC that extends out from Dupont Circle towards the National Cathedral. Along this are located many of the \*embassies (sense 1) of states with \*resident diplomatic missions to the United States.

**emblem.** *See* flag.

**emergency room.** The room (sometimes rooms) in a diplomatic mission located in a

chronically unstable or hostile state, which is dedicated to coping with an emergency. In this event, its chief task is to provide reassurance and assistance to the \*expatriate community and is manned 24 hours a day. Ideally, an emergency room should have, among other things, a bank of direct telephone lines ('hot lines'), television, and Internet connections. *See also* compound; consular assistance; Inman standards; safe room (sense 1); warden network.

**éminence grise.** The power behind the throne. The original grey eminence was Father Joseph, the Capuchin monk who provided spiritual reassurance as well as expert diplomatic assistance to Cardinal \*Richelieu, the early seventeenth-century French statesman, who was eight years his junior.

**eminent persons group.** An unofficial or quasi-official advisory group consisting of influential figures from varied backgrounds. Such a group may be employed to advise a state or international organization on a particular problem and disband



when its task is completed. Employed in this sense, the term gained currency following the appointment of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons on Southern Africa, which reported in June 1986. Eminent persons groups may also be employed on a more enduring basis to advise on the conduct of a particular bilateral relationship, in which case a co-chair is provided by each side. India's oldest group of this kind is the India-Japan Study Group, created in the early 1960s. *See also conservatores pacis*; joint commission.

**en clair.** In plain language, that is, not in \*code or \*cypher. Although usually just the normal way of sending non-sensitive messages, communications are sometimes sent uncyphered in the expectation that they will be intercepted. For example, during tense Anglo-Ottoman negotiations over the disputed Aden frontier in 1902, the British ambassador at Constantinople asked that an order should be sent *en clair* to HMS *Harrier*, instructing the warship to remain at Hodeidah for the present. This was clearly envisaged as an unprovocative

means of threatening the sultan with force.

**endgame.** The final or climactic phase of a \*negotiation. An American term loosely adapted from chess, the metaphor is not a bad one since a chess game which is not concluded by a checkmate in the 'middle game' will extend into a contest where both players have few pieces left. In this 'endgame' there are certain resemblances to the final stage of a negotiation: each side has few options left and the result may well be a draw.

**engagement.** (1) A synonym for \*step-by-step diplomacy. (2) In American usage, especially in military circles, a term widely used as a synonym for any kind of constructive communication, whether limited to an \*exchange of views or extended to \*negotiations.

**en poste.** The situation of a \*head of mission who, whether formally or informally, has presented \*letters of credence to the receiving state and so can proceed with official duties. *See also post*; working copy.

**en principe.** *See* in principle.

**entente.** In contrast to an \*alliance, a relationship between states in which military commitments are implicit rather than explicit – based on a common ‘understanding’. These may derive either from a formal agreement for consultation in the event of a crisis, or from some kind of practical military collaboration, for example, in arms sales, military assistance agreements, military research and development, manoeuvres, or arrangements for the use of \*bases. Ententes, in other words, suggest strongly that the parties are sympathetic to each other to the point that they will stand shoulder to shoulder in \*war but contain no international legal obligations. The modern concept derives from the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* of 1904. *See also* Cambon.

**Entezam, Nasrollah (1900–80).** Iranian diplomat and politician. Nasrollah Entezam, whose father and brother were also diplomats, entered the foreign ministry after the First World War. After a number of routine foreign postings, in the early 1930s his career began to take a \*League of Nations route. He became assistant

chief of the foreign ministry’s League of Nations Department and was on the delegation attending the League Council’s consideration of the Anglo-Persian oil dispute in 1933; shortly afterwards he was at the League-organized World Economic Conference in London. From 1934 to 1938 Entezam doubled as deputy head of the Iranian delegation to the League and \*chargé d’affaires at the \*legation in Berne; he then returned for another spell at the foreign ministry, although with a more general brief. In the difficult conditions of the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran during the Second World War, Entezam remained in demand at home and began to enjoy royal favour: first he was given the post of chief of protocol at the shah’s court and then a quick succession of ministerial positions unrelated to diplomacy. In 1944 he was made foreign minister but was permitted to resign this post in the spring of 1945 in order to attend the founding conference of the \*United Nations at San Francisco. His UN career then took off and was the more remarkable because – a man of many hats – over the following decade he was also for

long periods Iran's ambassador to the United States and even, it seems, intermittently foreign minister again. In autumn 1945 Entezam was one of the 14 members of the important executive committee of the UN \*preparatory commission which met in London and chaired the sub-committee dealing with the controversial question of the site for the UN's permanent headquarters. In 1947 he assumed leadership of Iran's \*permanent mission at the UN and was soon a member of another sensitive committee – the UN Special Committee on Palestine. One of those most partial to the Arab case, he nevertheless became a 'colleague and close friend for many years' of the Jewish Agency liaison officer to the committee, Abba \*Eban, which is perhaps why the adjective 'subtlety' sprang to Eban's mind when describing the Iranian in his autobiography. In the following sessions of the \*General Assembly Entezam was elected chairman of some of its most important committees and in September 1950 voted president of the Assembly's fifth session, in consequence occupying this position when the \*Uniting for Peace resolution was passed

in November. In the face of Chinese Communist opposition, his 'good offices committee' for the Korean War never got off the ground but this was a minor setback. In late 1952 he was a strong candidate to be the next UN \*secretary-general but in 1953 – although one of the three initially short-listed – his campaign faltered and Dag \*Hammarskjöld was elected instead. Entezam's diplomatic career had peaked. It had also taken a buffeting in September 1952 when the government of his political opponent, Mohammad Mosaddeq, had removed him from the Washington embassy and, while he was restored to this post in November 1953 shortly after the coup which led to the return of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, he was never to achieve such prominence again; he left Washington in 1956. From 1958 to 1962, he was ambassador to France and afterwards briefly a minister without portfolio. Following the Indo-Pakistani war in 1965, he served for several years as the nominee of Pakistan on the three-man tribunal established in Geneva to \*arbitrate on the dispute over the international boundary in the Rann of Kutch. After this Entezam

went into semi-retirement but after the revolution which overthrew the shah in 1979 he was arrested on 'political charges' and tortured in prison; he died shortly afterwards.

**entry clearance certificate.**

*See* visa (sense 2).

**entry clearance officer.**

Sometimes 'visa officer', a British Diplomatic Service term for an officer based in one of its missions overseas who examines applications for entry into the United Kingdom.

**entry into force.** A term used in a \*treaty stating the circumstances in which and the time at which the treaty will become operative.

In the case of a bilateral treaty which requires \*ratification, the date in question will necessarily be linked with the treaty's ratification by each \*party: it might be three calendar months after the exchange of \*instruments of ratification. In the case of a multilateral treaty requiring ratification, it might be a certain time after ratification by a stated number or a majority of the signatories, and that group might have to include certain specified signatories. In the case of

a general multilateral treaty which is likely to receive many \*signatures, it might be 30 days after the deposit of the 50th instrument of ratification or \*accession. Some multilateral instruments, however, provide for entry into force as regards any particular state as and when that state accedes to the instrument. The General Convention on the \*Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations is such an instrument.

When a multilateral treaty enters into force, it does so only between those states that have ratified it. However, a growing number of treaties permit any of the signatories to give provisional effect to the treaty's obligations prior to that state's ratification of the treaty, whether or not the treaty has entered into force. This can result in a treaty being brought provisionally into force – and some treaties even offer mechanisms for bringing them into force provisionally if there is an undue delay in obtaining the number of ratifications necessary to bring them formally into force.

**envoy.** A synonym for \*diplomat (sense 1). *See also* envoy

extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

**envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.**

The full title of the \*head of mission to a foreign state where that head, as among heads of mission, falls into the second \*class. The head is, however, called \*minister (sense 1); and his mission is called a \*legation. While accredited to the head of state, a minister is not invested with 'the \*representative character'. This class of head of mission had been noted by \*Vattel and was subsequently codified in the \*Regulation of Vienna (1815). However, it is now a historical curiosity, no state wishing to place its head of mission in anything other than the first class. *See also* envoy; foreign minister (sense 2).

**equality of states.** The principle that all \*sovereign states, by virtue of the fact that they all enjoy \*sovereignty (sense 1), are equal in status (notwithstanding the wide disparities of power and influence which exist between them). The principle often finds expression in diplomacy, for example, in

the rules regarding interstate \*precedence. *See also* great power; legation; major power; micro-state; middle power; superpower.

**espionage.** Obtaining \*foreign intelligence by human rather than technical means. \*Embassies (sense 1) provide cover for those professionally engaged in espionage, that is, \*intelligence officers, but diplomats themselves have always been directly associated with this kind of work, either because they spied on their own account or – more often – hired others to do it for them. Indeed, the acquisition of local information, by both legal and illegal means, was in general the most important of all of the functions of the first \*resident missions, which is why they were regarded with great suspicion and why \*diplomatic privileges and immunities developed only slowly. When the diplomat was described as an 'honourable spy', however, as was common by the seventeenth century, reference was being made only to his role in the acquisition of information by lawful means. *See also* diplomatic functions; humint; intelligence; Kautilya.

*estafette*. See *staffeto*.

**Estrada Doctrine.** The doctrine that the \*recognition of governments is superfluous and, indeed, amounts to \*intervention in circumstances where it involves passing judgment on the legitimacy of a government which has come to power by 'unconstitutional' means. It was inspired by hostility to another doctrine, the \*Monroe Doctrine. Announced in 1930 by Don Genaro \*Estrada, the foreign minister of Mexico, the Estrada Doctrine – also known for a time as the *Doctrina Mexicana* – has grown in popularity over recent years. It has the advantage that it implies neither approval nor disapproval of a government, and, in a civil war, of easing the establishment of diplomatic contacts with rebel groups with a view to protecting the interests of the \*sending state. However, adopting the Estrada Doctrine does not relieve states of the political necessity of deciding whether they are willing to enter into or continue \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) with a new regime, nor of the need to decide, where two rival regimes appear, whether it should

have dealings with both, one rather than the other, or neither. See also official level (sense 2); de facto recognition.

**Estrada, Genaro (1887–1937).** Mexican diplomat and politician. Estrada held a number of diplomatic posts before being appointed \*acting foreign minister in 1927 when the \*substantive (sense 2) foreign minister, Aaron Saenza, was elected to a governorship. He was not made substantive himself until the incoming president, Don Pascual Ortiz Rubio, formed his cabinet in February 1930. In September of the following year, Estrada took Mexico into the \*League of Nations, although he added the rider to his formal acceptance that this should not be taken to imply any change in Mexico's long-standing objection to the statement in Article 21 of the League \*Covenant that nothing in that instrument affected the validity of international engagements such as the \*Monroe Doctrine. Estrada was also one of his country's first \*delegates to the League Assembly. From 1932 to 1934, he was ambassador to Spain. Estrada's hostility to the Monroe Doctrine

made him enemies in the north. *Time* magazine disliked the 'carefully wrapped lemon' directed at Washington which he had enclosed with his acceptance of League membership and subtly retaliated by describing him as the 'fat foreign minister'. For his part, Harold \*Nicolson, the unlikely biographer of Dwight Morrow, the American ambassador to Mexico during Estrada's time at the foreign ministry, admitted that he was 'a man of culture and intelligence' but could not resist revealing that 'his bed was a reproduction of the tomb of Lorenzo il Magnifico'.

**European External Action Service.** The \*diplomatic service of the European Union. Provided for in the Treaty of Lisbon, which \*entered into force on 1 December 2009, it is headed by the \*high representative (sense 1) and is composed of staff drawn from other EU bodies as well as those seconded from the diplomatic services of EU member states. It was quietly launched in December 2010 and the first intake of members was in January 2011. *See also* COREU; delegation (sense 2).

**European Political Cooperation.** *See* Common Foreign and Security Policy.

**ex aequo et bono.** On the basis of justice and equity, as distinct from law. Thus, if an international tribunal is asked to adopt this principle, it is then entitled (but not obliged) to disregard existing law in making its award.

**excellency.** A style used in addressing or referring to an \*ambassador or \*high commissioner (although today 'ambassador/high commissioner', sometimes prefixed by an indication of gender, is more common). When used referentially, it is prefixed by 'his' or 'her'. Originally intended only for the ambassadors of crowned heads of state, in the nineteenth century its use as regards ambassadors became general. In the twentieth century \*ministers (sense 1) began to press for the style to be used with regard to them. It is for a receiving state to determine official usage within its jurisdiction, and practice varied. It was accorded to ministers in Latin American states (where the style 'excellency' was already distributed with a

generous hand) and in Britain and some \*Commonwealth states, but South Africa resisted this instance of title creep into official usage (worrying, among other things, about the impact it might have on its domestic order of \*precedence). In the United States, ministers were called 'the honourable', not 'excellency'. High commissioners were accorded the style 'excellency' only after 1948, when it was decided that henceforth they would rank alongside ambassadors. With the general upgrading of \*legations to \*embassies in the middle of the century, the pressure for ministers to enjoy stylistic equality with ambassadors died a natural death. As already implied, high-ranking persons outside the world of \*diplomacy (sense 1), such as \*heads of state and government or government ministers, are also often accorded the style 'excellency'.

**exchange of notes.** *See* note (sense 3).

**exchange of views.** As opposed to a \*negotiation, a diplomatic exchange limited to clarifying the attitudes of the parties towards a

particular subject or range of subjects. In French, a *tour d'horizon*. *See also* discussions.

**executive agreement.** An international \*agreement made by the US president either on the authority of Congress or solely on the basis of the president's power to conduct foreign relations. The feature which distinguishes such an agreement from one termed a \*treaty is that before its \*ratification the latter requires the support of two-thirds of the Senate, whereas an executive agreement does not have to surmount that hurdle. Thus such agreements may be made in respect of matters of a technical kind or ones with a low political profile and also in respect of higher profile issues which may run into trouble in the Senate but on which the president is most anxious to take to a speedy conclusion. In \*international law an executive agreement enjoys the same status as any other formal undertaking made on behalf of the United States as the actual term, which is used to designate an international agreement, is irrelevant. Thus an executive agreement is



\*binding on the United States in the same way as a 'treaty' which has been approved by the Senate.

**exequatur.** The document supplied by the \*receiving state to the head of a \*consular post authorizing the officer to exercise \*consular functions within the post's district.

**exhaustion of local remedies.** *See* diplomatic protection (sense 1).

**expatriate community.** Citizens of one state who are temporarily or permanently resident in another, although they are not always as organized as the term implies. The welfare of such communities is a particular concern of \*diplomatic missions and consular posts, especially during crises and emergencies. *See also* consular assistance; diaspora diplomacy; emergency room; national day; warden network.

**express.** A \*messenger who carried mails at the fastest speed possible. This usually meant travelling on horseback or by post-chaise (a fast, horse-drawn carriage) but

sometimes (as in Japan until the nineteenth century) on foot. In England at the end of the seventeenth century, the ordinary post travelled at an average speed of about four miles an hour, while an express messenger would travel at between five and seven miles an hour depending on his burden and the quality of the fresh horses available at the staging posts on his route. (An express would sometimes consist of one rider carrying the message for the whole journey, and sometimes comprised relays of riders; in either event, he would often be accompanied by a guide and, if necessary, by one or more armed guards.) Nevertheless, the chief advantage of an express lay in its ability – for a price – to depart as soon as letters were ready for despatch. For urgent messages, this was essential since ordinary international posts were regulated by schedules with days or even weeks elapsing between departures. The slowly increasing frequency of the ordinary posts, together with dramatic technical developments (better roads and mail coaches, railways, steamships, and finally the

\*telegraph), made expresses outmoded in Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century. Until then, however, they were of the greatest value when it was, for example, necessary to issue fresh \*instructions to envoys and for the latter to return urgent \*despatches. \*Machiavelli had much admired their employment by the Duke Valentino at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, their use was restricted not only because they were very expensive but also because, like \*special envoys, they were inclined to attract attention and excite rumour. Some of the members of the British government's own express service, the \*Queen's/King's messengers, became quite well known and their arrivals were announced in the press. At the end of the nineteenth century there was even a cartoon of the portly senior messenger, Captain Conway F. C. Seymour, published by 'Spy' in the popular periodical *Vanity Fair*.

**extender.** A nineteenth century \*Foreign Office term for a \*despatch sent by messenger or regular post which was designed to 'extend', that

is, fill out with supporting detail and arguments, a brief \*telegram already transmitted. *See also* PRODROME; recorder.

**external affairs, ministry or department of.** A \*foreign ministry so called in order to avoid the implication that the chief states with which it deals are 'foreign', rather than members of some close and intimate association. The few ministries still preferring the word 'external' in their titles provide an echo of the days when all \*Commonwealth foreign ministries outside the United Kingdom itself bore this name. The Indian foreign ministry is called the Ministry of External Affairs.

**exterritoriality.** Sometimes spelled 'extraterritoriality', the fiction that in law \*diplomatic agents abroad remain at home and certainly outside of the territory of the state to which they are accredited. The term itself probably originated with an observation of \*Grotius in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625). Now a quality most commonly associated with \*diplomatic premises and still sometimes believed, or at least pretended, not least

by professional diplomats, to be an important explanation of \*diplomatic privileges and immunities, extraterritoriality is in fact no more than a very loose description of them. As \*Vattel wrote in *Le Droit des Gens* in 1758, 'this is only a figurative way of expressing his [the ambassador's] independence of the jurisdiction of the country and his possession of all the rights necessary to the due success of the embassy'. Lawyers have attached little importance to extraterritoriality since at least the nineteenth century and it is nowhere mentioned in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961). Nevertheless, it remains, as has been said, a 'striking image' and thus a useful political buttress to diplomatic immunity. *See also* functional approach.

**extradition.** The process whereby one state surrenders to another (on the latter's request) a person accused or convicted of a criminal offence against the law of the requesting state. Extradition usually takes place on the basis of a bilateral \*treaty but may also proceed under

multilateral \*conventions relating to serious crime.

**extraordinaries.** A term going back to the early modern period for what would now be called a diplomat's 'expenses'.

**extraordinary.** Originally an additional title given to an \*ambassador on a \*special mission, it became the custom also to attach it to the title of resident ambassadors and \*envoys. Now it is part of the full title of most \*heads of mission of the first and second \*class. However, British \*high commissioners do not have the word included in their title. Instead they are spoken of as an 'accredited Representative and Plenipotentiary'. (Not all \*Commonwealth states distinguish in this way, or in others, between the titles of their ambassadors and high commissioners.)

**extraordinary ambassador.** *See* ambassador extraordinary.

**extraterritoriality.** A synonym for \*extraterritoriality.

**eyeball-to-eyeball.** Mutual \*brinkmanship.

# F

**face.** *See* prestige.

**facilitator.** A modern term for a \*third party who provides \*good offices (sense 1) in an attempt to facilitate or assist the settlement of an international or intrastate conflict. *See also* mediation.

**fact finding.** *See* inquiry.

**factor.** In early modern Europe (1) a trader (*see also* factory), or (2) an agent acting on an employer's behalf.

**factory.** In early modern Europe, the body of \*factors (sense 1) established at any one place, usually a port; hence, for example, 'the English factory at Smyrna'. The affairs of a factory were a major responsibility of the \*consul of the state of which the factors were subjects.

**facts on the ground.** Changes in human geography

engineered by a state to strengthen a political claim. They are most likely to occur on territory over which a state does not possess \*sovereignty, but in which it can exert influence. A \*delegation may sometimes be under instruction deliberately to drag out talks in order to permit changes of this kind to occur. *See also* playing it long.

**fading opportunity.** *See* Sibylline books principle.

**fait accompli.** A decision reached or action accomplished, usually in the context of anticipated opposition.

**fall-back position.** In \*negotiations, the most a party is willing to concede, and the least it will accept in return, as the basis for concluding an agreement. For obvious reasons, formally drafted fall-back positions or

'bottom lines' – unless drawn up for purposes of deception – are best kept secret. Those who are doubtful that secrecy can ever be maintained and believe that professional diplomats are in any case always too ready to \*compromise, believe that fall-back positions should never be produced at all. *See also* red line.

**family of a diplomatic agent.**

(1) The spouse or partner of a \*diplomat, together with their dependent children and any other relative (usually in the 'immediate' family) admitted to this category by agreement with the \*receiving state at the time of the relative's arrival. This definition of what used to be known as the 'domestic family' is based on current practice rather than the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961), as it was not possible to reach detailed agreement on the controversial question of who qualifies as a 'member of the family'. Most states use their national laws to determine who are minors and consider individually any 'unusual' cases (e.g. the arrival of a polygamous diplomat with two or more wives). However, such cases are normally dealt

with at the time of notification of arrival. It is accepted that recognized members of the diplomat's family should enjoy the same privileges and immunities as the diplomat. (2) Until well into the nineteenth century, however, the head of mission's 'family' meant the entire embassy (sense 2) and thus included what was known as the diplomat's 'official family', usually a \*secretary of embassy/legation, \*attachés (sense 1), servants, and so on. *See also* administrative and technical staff; diplomatic family; service staff.

**farewell call.** One made by departing \*heads of mission to the \*head of the state to whom the diplomats concerned have been accredited, or to any other dignitary with whom they have had dealings. In many countries \*protocol does not require a call on the head of state, but some circumstances may result in one being made: close ties between the two states concerned, a personal relationship between the departing head of mission and the head of state, or just the expressed wish of the head of mission. In the last case, as well as when a farewell call is a protocol requirement, the

diplomat may find that the diary of the head of state is somewhat congested. This is a real likelihood if this person is also \*head of government and months may pass before a convenient time for a farewell call can be found. Any such call is likely to be less formal than the initial one made by a head of mission to present \*letters of credence to the head of state. Farewell calls on the \*receiving state's \*foreign minister are more likely to be made than on the head of state. Also known as a 'farewell audience'.

**farewell despatch.** *See* valedictory despatch.

**Farnesina.** The Italian \*foreign ministry, so called because it has occupied the Palazzo della Farnesina in Rome since 1959. *See also* Consulta.

**FCO.** *See* Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

**federal state.** A \*sovereign state the constitution of which assigns a significant measure of self-rule to the state's main constituent territorial parts. That measure may include the right to engage in limited

international activity, so that the agents of the constituent parts may sometimes play a superficially diplomatic role, in connection with which they may be accorded certain privileges and immunities by the \*receiving state. However, as the constituent units are not sovereign (sense 1), their international activity is not diplomacy (sense 1) and hence their agents are not classified as \*diplomats and \*diplomatic law does not apply to them. *See also* agent-general; paradiplomacy (sense 2).

**Federation.** *See* federar state.

**ferman.** Sometimes '*firman*', this was an official decree handed down by the Ottoman sultan – an imperial edict.

**fetial priest.** A member of the Roman college, the *fetiales*, which was responsible for the ceremonial associated with diplomatic moves of high significance, such as forming an \*alliance, issuing an \*ultimatum, surrendering a prisoner, or concluding a \*peace. In his *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (1585), Alberico \*Gentili, drawing chiefly on Livy, devotes two chapters in his first book to 'fecial [*sic*]

## 150 field diplomacy

priests', noting inter alia that 'redress was sought through feodal priests on those occasions when other kinds of embassies had failed to get any satisfaction'. *See also* herald.

**field diplomacy.** \*Peace-making at a local level in conflict zones, in practice conducted mainly by \*non-governmental organizations.

**final act.** A summary of the proceedings of an international \*conference, which typically lists any \*agreements reached and \*resolutions adopted. A final act of this – the usual – sort is not itself a \*treaty, but a treaty is very occasionally called a final act.

**fin de non-recevoir.** Rejection of a \*démarche (usually consisting of a complaint or a demand) without looking into its merits: an evasive reply or a brushing off.

**first-arrival privileges.** The exemption from customs duties and taxes which the \*receiving state is obliged to grant in respect of such personal and household goods as are brought into the state by \*diplomatic agents accredited to that state and by members

of their \*families on the occasion of their first arrival.

**first person note.** *See* note (sense 2).

**first poster.** A diplomat preparing for, or already at, a first overseas posting.

**first secretary.** In \*diplomatic ranks, that which lies beneath counsellor and above second secretary. *See also* secretary of embassy/legation.

**flag.** *See* diplomatic flag.

**flag of truce.** One under which, during the course of hostilities, a messenger from one side approaches the other, the flag being designed to ensure the messenger's safe passage. *See also* herald.

**flash telegram.** A \*telegram of the highest priority.

**flat pack embassy.** A temporary embassy building erected quickly. The idea for such buildings received publicity after Britain put one up in Baghdad following the invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

**flying a kite.** In \*negotiation, putting out a feeler or

leaking a radical proposal with a view to examining the reaction of the other side. If this is not too hostile, the kite-flyer may well pursue the matter. The French equivalent is *envoyer un ballon d'essai* and the American expression is a direct translation: 'trial balloon'.

**flying seal.** *See* under flying seal.

**Foggy Bottom.** The flat ground by the Potomac River in Washington, DC, where the current \*State Department building was erected after the Second World War and hence the name sometimes used for the department itself.

**following up.** Taking steps, for example, the holding of \*review meetings, to ensure that \*treaties and other agreements are implemented. *See also* armistice commission; *conservatores pacis*; guarantee; hostage; joint commission; preparatory commission.

**follow-up conference.** *See* review meeting.

**force majeure.** An irresistible force. The legal defence of force majeure is sometimes

used by states to justify a failure to execute an obligation or the commission of an apparently unlawful act.

**foreign affairs community.** (1) The foreign or international affairs specialists in a country, including scholars, media commentators, and members of think-tanks, most of them non-officials. *See also* Chatham House Rule. (2) The departments and executive agencies located in Washington and involved in formulating and executing American foreign policy. No longer current.

**Foreign Affairs Council.** The term currently applied to the European Union Council of Ministers when a meeting under this head is composed of \*foreign ministers as opposed to, say, transport ministers.

**foreign affairs, ministry of (MFA).** *See* foreign ministry.

**foreign aid.** Economic resources (including interest-free/low-interest loans and lines of credit) transferred from one state to another, either at significantly less



than market price, or without anticipation of payment, or as a gift. Loans are often tied to the purchase of goods and services from the donor state.

\*International organizations may also extend such aid.

### **Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO).**

Britain's \*foreign ministry. Its political head is called the 'Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs'; its most senior official is the 'Permanent Under-Secretary of State and Head of the \*Diplomatic Service'. The FCO's name derives from the merger in 1968 of two departments, the \*Foreign Office and the Commonwealth Office.

However, the FCO is now routinely referred to in the British media by the earlier and shorter name – 'Foreign Office'. *See also* Commonwealth Relations Office; Whitehall.

**Foreign Buildings Operations (FBO), Office of.** *See* Larkin.

**foreign intelligence.** (1) All information on foreign targets obtained by intelligence agencies, including \*defence intelligence. (2) All information

on foreign targets obtained by intelligence agencies, excluding defence intelligence. (3) The intelligence agencies of foreign states.

It will thus be clear that 'foreign intelligence' is a highly treacherous term. Apart from the difference in the first two meanings, the phrase 'foreign intelligence agencies' can mean either (a) agencies specializing in gathering \*intelligence on foreign targets, or (b) the intelligence agencies of foreign powers. Particular attention must therefore be paid to the contexts in which these terms are employed. *See also* agent (sense 4); all-source analysis; espionage; intelligence community; intelligence officer.

**foreign minister.** (1) The government \*minister (sense 3) in charge of a state's \*foreign ministry, although actual titles vary from country to country. (2) Historically, any \*diplomat or \*public minister. Thus, at the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary in June 1911, the programme and foreign guest list produced by the \*Foreign Office listed, for example, \*ambassadors, \*envoys extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary under the heading

'Foreign Ministers at this Court in order of their precedence in each class'.

**foreign ministry.** Also known as the ministry of foreign affairs (MFA), the government ministry with formal responsibility for the making and execution of \*foreign policy (both senses). Traditionally, this was an almost exclusive responsibility, but as the twentieth century progressed its prerogatives began to suffer erosion. First, largely through their increasing involvement in important international \*conferences and \*summitry (and occasional disdain for foreign ministries), \*heads of government not only began to play a larger external role but sometimes also to seek advice from sources other than the foreign ministry. Second, the increasing complexity of international matters and ease of communication led to the growing involvement of other ministries in the making and even the execution of foreign policy. Economic and defence issues spring to mind here, but others supposedly of a more technical character – such as transport – can be easily identified. And in some special circumstances, such as those which exist

within the European Union, 'domestic' ministries are even more clamant.

In consequence, the traditional claim of the foreign ministry to be the channel of communication with other states has come under much strain. Such ministries remain very sensitive about others' external dealings going beyond the permitted ambit or, in the case of heads of government, being based on inadequate advice, and are always keen to emphasize their prime responsibility for communications which bear on principle or high policy. But there is no doubt that over the last two or three generations foreign ministries have been on the back foot, although at the time of writing (2011) they were holding their ground. *See also* diplomatic channels; direct dial diplomacy; external affairs, ministry or department of; foreign affairs community; functional department; geographical department; policy planning department; Richelieu; *and under names of individual foreign ministries.*

**Foreign Office.** The British department of state responsible from its establishment in 1782 until 1968 for the execution

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(except in relation to members of the \*Commonwealth) of the country's foreign policy. Thereafter this responsibility across the whole foreign spectrum lay with the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Prior to 1919–20, the members of the Foreign Office served only in London, Britain's diplomatic posts abroad being staffed by members of the separate \*Diplomatic Service. *See also* external affairs, ministry or department of.

### **Foreign Office certificate.**

The traditional British term for a communication from the Foreign Office (now the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office) to a court of law setting out the former's understanding as to some factual matter, such as whether a state has been \*recognized by Britain, whether Britain is at \*war with another state, and whether a person enjoys \*diplomatic status. British courts accept such statements as conclusive. Also known as a secretary of state's certificate.

**Foreign Office List.** The short name by which Britain's *Diplomatic Service List* used to be known up to and including 1965, although the full

title was more revealing: *The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book*. It was first published in 1852. The \*Commonwealth Relations Office produced an equivalent list. *See also* diplomatic list; diplomatic service list.

**foreign policy.** (1) The political and security policies adopted by a \*state in relation to the outside world. (2) All of the policies (including economic policies) adopted by a state in relation to the outside world.

**foreign secretary.** A synonym, in Britain, for \*foreign minister (sense 1). In some states it is the title of the head official of the \*foreign ministry.

**foreign service.** *See* diplomatic service; Diplomatic Service, British; Foreign Service, British; Foreign Service, US.

### **Foreign Service, British.**

The body created in 1943 by the amalgamation of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, the Consular Service and the Commercial Diplomatic Service. It ceased to exist at the end of 1964,

when it was itself amalgamated with other services to form part of the new British \*Diplomatic Service.

**Foreign Service Institute (FSI).** The US \*State Department's training division. Founded in 1946 and located in Arlington Virginia, it provides both language and other professional instruction. It also trains \*foreign service nationals. The training wings of other foreign ministries also use this title, while others use the term 'diplomatic academy'.

**foreign service list.** *See* diplomatic service list.

**Foreign Service National (FSN).** A US State Department term for a member of a \*diplomatic mission's \*locally engaged staff.

**Foreign Service Officer (FSO).** A member of the US \*Foreign Service.

**Foreign Service Reserve officer (FSR).** A member of the US \*Foreign Service Reserve corps, a category of \*attachés (sense 2) created by the Foreign Service Act of 1946. FSRs were appointed

by the \*secretary of state rather than the president and had no tenure. Apart from that, their terms and conditions (including ranks) were much the same as those of \*Foreign Service Officers. FSRs were mainly officers working for the US Agency for International Development (USAID) but also included a significant proportion of \*CIA officers. This greatly assisted in identifying them when the Agency attracted hostile attention in the United States in the early 1970s. The curiously named Foreign Service Reserve corps – which to the uninitiated might have suggested veterans liable to call-up in a diplomatic crisis – was abolished by the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

**Foreign Service, US.** The \*diplomatic (including consular) service of the United States. The United States, like Britain, originally had separate diplomatic and consular services but these were merged into a unified service – the US Foreign Service – when the Rogers Act became law on 24 May 1924. Under this act, which was also of great significance for putting the service for the first time on a

secure professional basis, permanent officers under the rank of \*minister (sense 2) were designated Foreign Service Officers (FSOs). A further amalgamation, analogous to that which had taken place in Britain after the First World War, occurred when, following the Wriston Report of 1954, the Foreign Service absorbed the personnel of the hitherto separate \*State Department. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 did not alter the overall shape of the Foreign Service but introduced many significant changes to its management and especially its personnel arrangements. *See also* career ambassador; career minister; career officer; diplomat-in-residence; Foggy Bottom; Foreign Service Institute; Larkin; senior foreign service.

**foreign trade service.** The governmental agency which, quite separately from the \*diplomatic and \*consular services, often used to be charged with promoting a state's foreign trade. Nowadays, even if such a distinct agency is maintained domestically, its work abroad is likely to be closely integrated with that of the diplomatic service and its members serving abroad

are likely to enjoy \*diplomatic or \*consular status. *See also* Commercial Diplomatic Service.

**formula.** In \*negotiations, the broad principles of a settlement, which ideally should be comprehensive, balanced, and flexible. 'Guidelines', 'framework for agreement', and 'set of ideas' are alternatives to 'formula'. *See also* framework treaty.

**forum.** (1) Any international gathering. (2) An informal international gathering which has a fairly sharp focus for discussion and is often held at high level. For example, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum meets annually at \*foreign minister level to exchange views on regional security and has resisted external pressure to develop organizational features and concerted policies. Membership of such a forum provides opportunities for influence and \*intelligence-gathering while imposing few obligations on members and signalling little more than interest in its subject matter. As a result, the opportunity for participation is rarely missed. In many

ways a forum is a \*functionalist conception.

**forum shopping.** Raising the same issue in a variety of different \*multilateral bodies (typically UN \*specialized agencies or \*regional organizations) to see which of them is likely to serve best the interests of the state concerned.

**frais de représentation.** The allowances of a \*head of mission (and in US practice for the entire mission), including entertainment allowances. *See also* representational officer.

**framework for agreement.** *See* formula.

**framework treaty.** A multilateral \*treaty usually setting out obligations only in general terms, the assumption being that the parties will fill out the details either in subsequent treaties (usually called protocols), or national legislation. *See also* formula.

**Françafrique.** A term signifying France's neo-colonial relationship with its \*sphere of influence in West Africa. Initially this took shape in the 'French Community', a

device instituted by President de Gaulle in 1958 in the hope of staving off the full impact of the decolonization movement on France's overseas territories. However, within two years all the French \*colonies in sub-Saharan Africa had demanded and received \*sovereignty (sense 1) and the Communauté Française was adjusted to resemble the \*Commonwealth. It has since been displaced by the institutions of \**francophonie*.

**franchise de l'hotel.** A \*diplomatic mission's right to use its premises for their prescribed purpose. *See also* diplomatic premises; diplomatic privileges and immunities.

**franchise du quartier.** *See* diplomatic quarter.

**francophonie.** The collectivity of French-speaking states and communities. Support for the idea of *la francophonie* revived strongly at the beginning of the 1960s and now finds expression in a variety of institutions, most visibly the annual Franco-African \*summit. *See also* Françafrique.

**free city.** *See* internationalization.

**freedom of communication.** The right of \*diplomatic missions to enjoy unimpeded communications for all official purposes. However, under the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) the permission of the receiving state is required for the installation and use of a 'wireless [i.e. radio] transmitter' – unless, as in the case of Britain, the receiving state's general policy is not to require such permission. With the rapid advances in \*e-diplomacy of recent years, concern over freedom of communication – as opposed to the security of communication – has much diminished. *See also* diplomatic bag; diplomatic courier; Queen's Messenger.

**freedom of movement.** The entitlement of all members of a \*diplomatic mission to move freely in the territory of the \*receiving state. However, for reasons of national security, that state is entitled to prohibit or regulate entry into certain areas. Sometimes receiving states have interpreted this entitlement very broadly, but the principle of \*reciprocity tends to place limits on such developments.

**French Community.** *See* Françafrique.

**French Political Academy.** *See* Torcy.

**French system of diplomacy.** *See* old diplomacy.

**friendly relations.** (1) Contacts between \*states which are at the least marked by easy and unfettered diplomatic links and at the most by productive liaisons in a variety of spheres. In this sense the term tends to have the connotation of 'normal' diplomatic relations, and ones based on utility rather than the liking which is the basis of friendship among humans. (2) Warm relations between \*heads of state or \*heads of government. Affective as opposed to merely utilitarian relations between states are quite possible and in many cases essential to friendly relations in the first sense; this is especially true of those states in which personal rule is the norm. *See also* diplomatic functions; special relationship; summitry.

**friends.** (1) The term employed in the British \*Diplomatic Service to refer to the Secret

Intelligence Service (SIS) in general and, in particular, to those \*intelligence officers (sense 2) who have 'diplomatic cover' in a British \*diplomatic mission. (2) An informal grouping of states which bands together in support of another state or \*international organization, typically one engaged in a \*mediation. Hence, in the UN context, the 'group of friends' or 'friends of the Secretary-General' on such-and-such an issue. *See also* contact group.

**frontline diplomacy.** (1) Generally, an alternative term for \*bilateral diplomacy (sense 1). The use by \*foreign ministries of military metaphors like the 'front line' to describe their role is now common; a variation on this one is 'first line of defence'. This sort of language has two uses. First, where falling back on armed force – the vastly more expensive and unpredictable 'second line of defence' – is a possibility, it dramatizes the considerable potential of diplomacy to avoid this outcome. Second, it highlights the mounting stresses and physical dangers faced by diplomats in recent years and not just in zones of conflict. Hence the language

is popular with foreign ministries when campaigning for budgetary support from politicians – less so when they are trying to recruit new entrants to the career. *See also* Inman standards. (2) Specifically, \*bilateral diplomacy (sense 1) in a zone of conflict.

**fudging.** *See* constructive ambiguity.

**full and frank discussion.** \*Diplomatic language (sense 1) for a disagreement, even a sharp one.

**full diplomatic relations.** *See* diplomatic relations (sense 1).

**full partner.** (1) A state or other entity closely associated with others in some international campaign or project (e.g. the so-called War on Terror, or 'rebuilding Iraq'), although no formal relationship is necessarily implied. *See also* alliance. (2) When applied to a \*third party in a negotiation, a \*mediator or 'active intermediary' rather than a \*facilitator.

**full powers.** The capacity to sign a \*treaty. Usually it consists of a specific written



authorization granted by a state to one of its \*diplomatic agents. Full powers must be available for inspection by the other party or parties to the treaty and may be exchanged for theirs. However, a \*head of state, \*head of government, and \*foreign minister (sense 1) enjoy full powers by virtue of their offices. Someone with full powers is known as a plenipotentiary. The inclusion of that term in the full title of an \*ambassador indicates that in principle such an official does not need full powers to sign a treaty between the \*sending and the \*receiving state, although in practice a full powers authorization will invariably be required. Full powers are not required for signing an exchange of \*notes and they now tend to be dispensed with for bilateral treaties. *See also* general full powers.

**Function 150.** The term used in the US federal budget for the 'international affairs' function. This refers to funding not only for the \*State Department but also for the Agency for International Development and certain other agencies involved in international affairs.

**functional approach.** (1) The view that \*diplomatic privileges and immunities are accorded and justified because they permit the effective execution of \*diplomatic functions. (2) An activity exemplifying the principle of \*functionalism.

**functional department.** In a \*foreign ministry, a department (or bureau) dealing with a general issue, such as the environment, arms control, or drugs, as distinct from a \*geographical department.

**functionalism.** The belief that international conflict can be eliminated by developing institutionalized international cooperation in the economic and social spheres. The idea is that such cooperation will 'spill over' into areas of greater political significance, although there is not much evidence in its support. It is a theory which was advanced and strongly advocated by David Mitrany (1888–1975).

**functions of diplomacy.** *See* diplomatic functions.

**funeral diplomacy.** *See* working funeral.

# G

**G4.** The leading contenders for permanent representation on the UN \*Security Council. The Group of Four consists of Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan.

***Gaimushō.*** The Japanese foreign ministry. The ministry was established in 1868, although it was not called the *Gaimushō* until 1885. *See also* Tadasu.

**Garba, Joseph Nanven (1943–2002).** Nigerian army officer, politician, and diplomat. Until his early thirties, 'Joe' Garba was a professional soldier. After military training in Britain, in 1962 he became the youngest officer in the Nigerian army and rose quickly through the ranks. Following a tour with the UN \*Military Observer Mission in India/Pakistan, in the middle of the civil war over Biafra he was given command of

the elite Brigade of Guards at Dodan Barracks in Lagos and had responsibility for the personal security of General Gowon, the head of the federal military government from 1966 to 1975. Despite their friendship, in July of that year, 1975, Colonel Garba, as he was by this time, was one of the leaders of a successful bloodless coup against Gowon and was the first to announce it. He was appointed as \*foreign minister in the new government of Murtala Mohammed with the military rank of general and the title of 'Commissioner for External Affairs' (all ministers in the new government were called 'commissioners'). Then followed a period of what he called 'diplomatic soldiering', which included support for the \*mediation of inter-African disputes (sometimes on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, of which he was a keen supporter)

and energetic skirmishing at \*Commonwealth meetings and the \*United Nations on behalf of those suffering from racial oppression in southern Africa. (He briefly acquired an additional platform at the UN when Nigeria was elected to a two-year term on the \*Security Council in October 1977.) In 1978, as Nigeria commenced its transition from military to civilian rule, he surrendered his post as foreign minister for a lengthy educational interlude; this included a spell as commandant of the Nigerian Defence Academy and personal study abroad, in the course of which he obtained an MA degree at Harvard. He retired from the army in 1980 and in February 1984 returned to diplomacy, this time as Nigeria's \*permanent representative (sense 1) at the United Nations; subsequently, he also served as chairman of its special committee against apartheid and special committee on \*peace-keeping operations. In 1989 he was elected president of the General Assembly for its 44th session, as also for its three special sessions, which included one on apartheid. When Nelson Mandela, released from prison in South Africa in February

1990 and addressing the special committee against apartheid in New York on 22 June, thanked UN member states which had campaigned against apartheid, he stressed in particular the leadership role of its then president, Joseph Garba. It was perhaps the crowning point of his diplomatic career.

**Garter mission.** A \*special mission sent by Britain, headed by a senior member of its royal family, to bestow The Most Noble Order of the Garter (founded in 1348) on the royal head of a state with which Britain has or wishes to have warm political relations.

**gazette.** A printed news sheet produced by governments and sold to the public, the gazette first appeared in the early seventeenth century and was so called because in Venice it was sold for a *gazeta*, a coin of small value. Also sometimes referred to as a 'coranto' or 'couranto' (from the French *courante*, meaning running), it contained government proclamations and the official version of domestic and foreign events. The foreign news was obtained largely from manuscript \*newsletters

and other gazettes, as well as from diplomatic and consular \*despatches. Their content made them of interest to envoys themselves, although as obvious organs of \*propaganda they were not generally held by them in high regard. Notable examples were the *Gazette de France* (which started in the time of Cardinal \*Richelieu and became the mouthpiece of the French court), the *Relations Véritables* of Brussels, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant* (known in England as the *Haarlem Gazette*), and – late on the scene – the *London Gazette*, which did not appear until the mid-1660s. As their monopolies of the news gradually weakened, especially in the nineteenth century, official gazettes changed their form, lost their political importance, and became not much more than vehicles for governmental statements (including official appointments) and legal notices – very often material which would be given publicity nowhere else, but for which some kind of formal announcement and record is highly desirable.

**general act.** (1) A synonym for a \*treaty, usually a multilateral

one of widespread interest. (2) Detailed regulations deriving from general principles contained in a treaty.

**General Assembly.** Formally, the chief deliberative organ of the \*United Nations. It consists of all UN members, each of them having one vote. The assembly's \*resolutions are passed by either a two-thirds or a simple majority of those present and voting. On external matters, its resolutions are only recommendatory, but on matters internal to the UN – such as budgetary questions and the election of non-permanent members of the UN \*Security Council – the assembly's resolutions are \*binding on the members and the organization.

The General Assembly meets each year in regular session between mid-September and late December; sometimes this session is continued in the next calendar year. Special sessions of the assembly are convoked at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of UN members.

The fact that since about 1960 most of the world's states have been UN members and hence represented in the assembly has resulted in

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a tendency to refer to some of its most popular themes as expressive of world public opinion. More cogently, what they represent is the numerical balance of the opinion of member states, which some observers have called diplomatic opinion. However, there can be little doubt that the work of the assembly added much political weight to some of the key ideas of the latter part of the twentieth century, such as the need to remedy economic inequality and, especially, the impropriety of \*colonialism and racism.

*See also* multilateral diplomacy; open diplomacy; self-determination.

**general delegation.** *See* representative office.

**general full powers.** \*Full powers of a general kind which may be granted by a state to its \*permanent representatives to those \*international organizations (such as the United Nations, the European Union, and the Council of Europe) whose work gives rise to a relatively large number of \*treaties. Possession of such powers permits the \*signature of these treaties without the specific documentary authorization

which would otherwise be required.

**general international customary law.** *See* customary international law.

**general principles of law.** The Statute of the \*International Court of Justice states that in settling disputes in accordance with \*international law it shall apply not just \*treaties and \*customary international law but also the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations. It may be that this 1945 statement was the last official expression (in public) of the belief that some nations are less than civilized.

**Geneva Conventions.** *See* Red Cross Conventions.

**Geneva mandate.** That part of the responsibilities of a \*protecting power concerned solely with supervising the implementation of the 1949 \*Geneva Conventions and their supplementary 1977 Protocol dealing with the victims of international \*armed conflict. It is distinguished from the 'Vienna mandate', which is that part of the responsibilities of a protecting power dealing with

the political and economic interests of the \*protected state (sense 2) as provided for in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) and the Vienna Convention on \*Consular Relations (1963). The usual assumption is that it is best if one state holds both mandates but there is nothing to prevent it being shared by two, or between a state and a 'substitute' for a state, usually the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). This is what happened in the India-Pakistan War in 1971, when Switzerland held the Vienna mandate as protecting power for both sides, while the ICRC held the Geneva mandate.

**Gentili, Alberico (1552–1608).** An Italian lawyer of Protestant conviction who in 1580 sought refuge from the Inquisition in the England of Elizabeth I. He found employment at Oxford University and from 1587 until 1600 was Regius Professor of Civil Law. His chief interest for students of diplomacy is his remarkable work *De Legationibus Libri Tres*, which has been justly described by Peter Hagenmacher as 'undoubtedly the first successful attempt to encompass diplomatic law

as a coherent whole'. Published in 1585, it was inspired by his involvement in the case of the Spanish ambassador, Don Bernadino de Mendoza, who had been accused in the previous year of complicity in the Throckmorton plot against the queen. Contrary to the view of Elizabeth's privy council, which wished to punish Don Bernadino, Gentili, together with \*Hotman, held that the ambassador's status gave him \*immunity. This was accepted and he was simply expelled from the country. Thereafter Gentili's work focused on the law of war. His writing is generally believed to have exerted considerable influence on \*Grotius.

**geographical department.**

In a \*foreign ministry, a department dealing with a particular state or region, as distinct from a \*functional department. In some ministries such departments go by different names: for example, in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs it is a 'territorial division', whereas in the US \*State Department it is a 'regional bureau'.

**geographical post.** A post in the \*secretariat of an \*international organization allotted

to a specific member state so that at least in non-specialist areas the staff might provide evidence of 'equitable geographical distribution'. See also contribution principle.

***giovanni di lingua***. Student \*dragomans attached to embassies and consulates in the Ottoman Empire.

**Glaspie, April (1942-)**. American diplomat. April Glaspie entered the US \*Foreign Service in 1966. Her first overseas post was as \*political officer in Kuwait, the first woman to be appointed to such a position in the Arab world. Specializing in the Middle East, she later served at the US embassies in Cairo, Amman, Tunis, and Damascus, in the last post as \*deputy chief of mission. Mixed in with these postings were tours as political officer in London and at the US mission to the United Nations in New York; she also held important positions in the \*State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. The turning point in Glaspie's career came in 1988 when she was appointed ambassador to Saddam Hussein's Iraq, which was another first for her: the first female American

ambassador to an Arab country. The United States had reluctantly tilted to Saddam during his long war with Iran and had a policy of seeking to moderate his domestic behaviour and reduce his external bellicosity by wrapping him in a cocoon of commercial and investment relationships while he refinanced a crushing external debt. With Iraqi forces massing near the border with Kuwait, on 25 July 1990, Glaspie was summoned by Saddam to hear his complaints against the United States following a joint US military exercise with the United Arab Emirates. In response, as now seems clearly confirmed by the \*WikiLeaks release of her reporting \*cable to the State Department, Glaspie – who had no \*instructions to issue a precise warning against an attack on Kuwait – informed Saddam that while the United States 'took no position' on inter-Arab border disputes (a standard US position in an area in which colonial borders were often drawn in the sand), it could 'never excuse settlement of disputes by other than peaceful means'. Nevertheless, when Saddam invaded Kuwait a week later, Glaspie – who had

been photographed smiling on meeting him and taken approved leave for family reasons the day before the invasion – was vilified in the United States for giving him the ‘green light’. Although President Bush received her warmly at the White House, \*secretary of state James Baker had made her the scapegoat for the ‘loss of Kuwait’. This was obvious to her colleagues from the beginning. Even John Kelly, the assistant secretary for Near Eastern affairs, who was no friend, concedes that ‘the most effective ambassador in the Service’ would have failed to deter Saddam. After a period of bureaucratic limbo, Glaspie was diverted to the Bureau of African Affairs at the State Department as the director for Southern African Affairs. In 1993 she was appointed \*political advisor to Admiral Jonathan Howe, director of the ill-fated ‘nation-building’ stage of the UN operation in Somalia, and later made \*consul-general at Cape Town, a post she held until her retirement in 2002. April Glaspie was variously described by the better informed not only as one of the State Department’s leading Arabists but also as a real

professional and a role model for women in the US Foreign Service. *See also* *ambassador*.

**GlavUpDK.** The ‘Main Administration for Service to the Diplomatic Corps under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation’, that is, a foreign ministry agency devoted to providing the members of the Moscow \*diplomatic corps with day-to-day living, travel, and recreational requirements. It also publishes a monthly journal called *Diplomat*. Assisting with the provision of \*service staff to embassies, at least during the \*Cold War the *UpDK* was in effect a branch of the KGB, designed to assist its surveillance and control of foreign diplomatic activity.

**global governance.** The network of \*multilateral diplomatic bodies (particularly \*international organizations) which provide the opportunity for \*diplomats (sense 1), \*international civil servants and the representatives of \*non-governmental organizations to agree and promote policies. It has its conceptual origins in such Western academic traditions as International Organization



and Public Policy Analysis. *See also* international community; international society; multi-stakeholder diplomacy.

**globalism.** The idea that worldwide problems should be approached on a worldwide basis. It is thus little more than a semantically fashionable expression of the obvious.

**globalization.** The vague but omnipresent term for the changes – especially in the areas of finance, trade, investment, and communications – which over recent decades have limited the effective economic freedom of \*sovereign states. The extreme claim is that linked, but nevertheless previously separate national economies, have been replaced by a ‘global economy’ and that national cultures are being slowly replaced by a ‘global culture’. In this process the activities of the multinational corporation are given pride of place and the collapse of Communism and the deregulatory policies of some of the leading free-market economies are held to have given it added impetus. Nevertheless, it is difficult to envisage globalization overcoming \*nationalism

(sense 1) because there is as yet little evidence that the latter is withering as quickly as the former is allegedly growing.

**Goethe-Institut.** The Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes e. V., founded in 1951, is the vehicle of German \*cultural diplomacy.

**golden bull.** A golden ornament representing a \*seal (sense 1) (*bulla* is Latin for ‘seal’) attached, usually by a silk thread, to a decree – hence the decree itself. Such a decree was the most important device of medieval government and diplomacy, particularly in the affairs of the Byzantine Empire (330–1453), where it was known as a *chrysobullos logos* or simply *chrysobull* (*chrys* is Greek for ‘gold’). Byzantium’s ideology turned on the claim that the emperor was chosen by God to rule the only legitimate empire on earth. The empire was surprisingly successful in persuading other states to accept this, even to the extent of making what were in effect \*treaties by means of the (unilateral) golden bull. In this way even the most humiliating \*concessions (sense 1) (including paying

\*tribute to powerful barbarians) were made to appear as acts of imperial grace. But by the beginning of the twelfth century, in an acknowledgement of political reality, the emperors had begun to admit the advisability of inserting into such golden bulls a sworn statement of the reciprocal obligations of their negotiating partners. Albeit thus modified, golden bulls remained the characteristic form of Byzantine treaty with foreign powers until the middle of the following century, that is to say, until only two centuries before the empire's final eclipse. This was a significant tribute to the efficacy of \*Byzantine diplomacy and the energy of its Orthodox Christian missionaries. Golden bulls were also used in the Holy Roman Empire. The bull issued by Charles IV in 1356, which prescribed the rules for the election of a new emperor, was in use as late as 1710.

**good offices.** (1) Diplomatic intervention by a \*neutral \*third party (or 'facilitator') in an international or intrastate conflict which is usually limited to providing assistance in bringing the rival parties

into direct negotiations but may extend to suggesting a \*formula for a settlement. Good offices (*bons offices*) do not, however, extend to active participation in discussions once they are beyond the procedural stage; if this develops, as sometimes happens, the provision of good offices has changed into \*mediation. In his *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (1922), where he devoted separate chapters to 'good offices' and 'mediation', \*Satow was rightly impatient with those who could not grasp this distinction and added the acute observation that, unlike mediation, good offices could be exerted at the request of only one party to a dispute, 'since the essential character of such a step is the presentation to the other party of reasons for a particular course of action which he is invited to take into consideration and adopt'. This is the earlier notion of good offices. *See also* venue. (2) A synonym for mediation. Support for this usage pre-dated Satow and is now, largely thanks to the United Nations, widespread. Long gone is the separate chapter on good offices from *Satow's Guide* (now *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*).

**goodwill visit.** A visit by the representative of one state to another which is formally limited, or at any rate primarily devoted, to improving the atmosphere in relations between them or to confirming an already \*friendly relationship. Generally conducted at a senior level, it may also produce useful personal contacts. Although not formally concerned with \*negotiations, in reality goodwill visits are sometimes used to mask sensitive talks or, when the term is bestowed on the event afterwards, to conceal the fact that they have failed: 'it was only a goodwill visit'.

**government-in-exile.** A body which claims to be the legitimate government of a state, but which is unable to establish itself in the state in question. It may be \*recognized as such by other states – at the cost, of course, of that decision being seen as a hostile act by the government actually in control of the state.

**governor-general.** Numerous imperial powers have in the past appointed persons with this title; in the Philippines even the United States had a governor-general. But today

it appears that only in the British case does the tradition linger. In this instance a governor-general is the official who represents and acts on behalf and in the place of the \*head of state in those (now relatively few) members of the \*Commonwealth who accept the British monarch as their formal head. Originally, the governor-general was the representative, and always a national, of Britain in a British \*dominion (and in those dependent territories comprising a \*federation of formerly separate \*colonies) and was the local head of the territory's administration. But as the Commonwealth underwent constitutional development and the dominions became internally self-governing and later \*independent, the office of governor-general changed and its holder became the representative of the country's head of state. Thus a governor-general was never a \*diplomat; and in the twentieth century, the holder of this office ceased to be the representative or agent of the British government. The appointment is made by the monarch on the advice of the head of government of the state concerned. In the federal state of Australia

the monarch is represented at the federal level by a governor-general and in each of Australia's constituent states by a governor; and in each of the provinces of the federal state of Canada by a lieutenant-governor, while also being represented at the federal level by a governor-general. Today the Queen is head of state of a little over a quarter of the members of the Commonwealth and is represented in each by a governor-general. *See also* high commissioner; viceroy.

**grand vizier.** The head, under the sultan, of the former Ottoman government; in other words, his senior slave. The term is derived from the Arabic *wazir* (minister). *See also* Porte.

**great game.** The struggle between Britain and Russia for influence in central Asia in the nineteenth century, in which \*intelligence officers and \*military consuls, as well as diplomats, played important roles.

**great power.** Until the end of the Second World War, the term for a power of the first rank in terms of reputation for military strength. The great powers always dominated

the peace conferences following major wars and assumed special rights and obligations in any formal machinery created to preserve international peace and security. *See also* major power; middle power; permanent members; Security Council; superpower.

**Great Seal.** *See* seal.

**green line.** A phrase sometimes used for a \*ceasefire line, or a line of division within a state between hostile communities. It derives from a line drawn on a map in Cyprus in 1963 with a china-graph pencil of this colour. However, its use is not confined to post-1963 lines.

**green room consultations.** Informal small group consultations in the World Trade Organization (also known as the 'green room process') which are held prior to formal meetings. The term is derived from the theatrical lexicon, in which the room the performers wait in before appearing on stage is known as the 'green room'.

**Greenwich Mean Time (GMT).** The local time at the 0 degree meridian passing

through Greenwich, London, site of the Royal Observatory at which ships passing Greenwich on the river Thames used to set their chronometers. It is standard time throughout the United Kingdom, and the basis for establishing standard time in each of the 24 time zones into which the world is divided – although since 1986 the term has been replaced internationally by \*UTC. In diplomatic (and military) communications which cross time zones, GMT is sometimes used to give the time of despatch rather than the local time. This is indicated by placing the letter Z ('Zulu') after the time. Alternatively, the letter A signifies a local time of GMT + one hour; the letter B, GMT + two hours; and so on.

**greeter.** A colloquial term for the \*protocol official who welcomes visiting dignitaries. *See also* marshal of the diplomatic corps.

**Gromyko, Andrei.** *See* Dobrynin.

**Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645).** Dutch scholar and lawyer. Born Huig de Groot, Grotius was also a politician and diplomat and between 1607 and

1618 served in both of these capacities under the patronage of Oldenbarnevelt, the powerful Advocate of Holland. When Oldenbarnevelt fell in 1618, Grotius fell with him and was condemned to life imprisonment. Nevertheless, he escaped in 1621 and fled into exile in France, where he was given a pension and encouraged to make his home. In 1634, following negotiations with the Swedish chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, he agreed to become Sweden's ambassador in Paris. This position – 'the top post in the Swedish diplomatic service' – was occupied by Grotius until 1644, the year before his death.

Grotius was a prolific writer, but among his works, the pride of place is generally given to his magisterial *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres* (*Three Books On the Law of War and Peace*). This first appeared in 1625 and was the fruit of his first years of exile in France. It was subsequently republished many times. Although students of jurisprudence argue over the scope and general significance of *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, there is now wide agreement that it was of great importance in the general development of \*international

law, the theory of the just war, and the notion of an \*international society. Although \*diplomatic law itself is not much more than a long footnote in *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (Chapter 18 of Book 2, which Grotius titled 'The Right of Legation'), it has been well said that in this account 'the outlines of the modern law are for the first time clearly discernible'. See also Hotman; right of legation.

**group of friends.** See friends.

**guarantee.** This does not have a technical meaning in \*international law and diplomacy. But it generally indicates a legal undertaking by a relatively strong state or states to protect – by force unless otherwise specified – the \*independence and territorial integrity of another and usually weaker state, or some other important aspect of its condition. As such it differs from an \*alliance, although in the eighteenth century it became fashionable to use the word 'guarantee' in practically every alliance treaty. However, as a historical adviser to the \*Foreign Office pointed out, such 'ornamental expressions'

could lead to very inconvenient and difficult responsibilities. He wisely advised: 'Never enter into a guarantee if you can possibly avoid it, but if you do so, then see to it that the obligation is made firm and precise and let there be no hesitation about honouring it.'

By a 1960 \*treaty of guarantee between Cyprus, Britain, Greece, and Turkey, the last three guaranteed the independence, territorial integrity, and security of the first, and the same three states also guaranteed Cyprus's renunciation of union with Greece (*enosis*) and of partition (*taksim*) between Turkey and Greece. The guarantee also covered the basic articles of the Cypriot constitution, which attempted to balance the interests of the Greek Cypriot majority and the Turkish Cypriot minority. Given the keen interest of Greece and Turkey in the internal affairs of Cyprus, they were highly unsuitable as guarantors; and Britain was unlikely to take armed action against either of them (both were NATO allies). Indeed, there was no obligation on the guarantors to take armed action under the guarantee, only a right to do so, either

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jointly or severally. As a guarantee, therefore, the arrangement was extremely dubious, and in practice it has proved little better than worthless. Generally in \*international relations (sense 2), guarantees are more an indication of a contemporary political disposition than a reliable indication of future behaviour. *See also* neutralization.

**guardship.** *See* *stationnaire*.

**Guicciardini, Francesco (1483–1540).** Florentine lawyer, diplomat, and historian. Having trained and practised successfully as a lawyer, Guicciardini served as ambassador to Spain from 1512 to 1514 and, in his later capacity as a papal lord-lieutenant, received envoys and despatched his own, including his friend \*Machiavelli. However, Guicciardini is remembered today chiefly for his great works of history, especially his *History of Italy*, in which he displayed a taste for methods well ahead of his time. He also committed to paper some interesting general reflections on diplomacy. A few of these are to be found in his sympathetic but cautionary observations on Machiavelli's *Discourses*.

Most, however, are located in a volume entitled the *Ricordi*, which consists of a list of more or less elaborated maxims and observations on a miscellaneous range of topics which he began to write during his sojourn in Spain and periodically revised until 1530, when the final version, known as 'Series C', was produced. This contains 221 *ricordi* in all, about 50 of which are of relevance to the student of diplomacy. The *Ricordi* is important because they reveal the thinking about certain key elements of diplomacy of one of the greatest minds of the Italian Renaissance at precisely the time that \*diplomacy (sense 1) was being established. They are also a valuable antidote to the elegant caricature of the 'Italian method' of negotiation offered by Harold \*Nicolson.

**guidance telegram.** A \*telegram issued by a foreign ministry giving guidance on the state's policy towards a major issue and the reasoning behind it. It was sent to many or all of its diplomatic missions.

**gunboat diplomacy.** The use of naval power in support of \*diplomacy (sense 1). A form of what would now

be called \*coercive diplomacy, this became common in the second half of the nineteenth century, not least along the China coast. Although by no means the only kind of vessel employed even at that time for this purpose, gunboats were ideally suited to it. They were small and lightly armed but had a shallow draught and great manoeuvrability deriving from their steam and screw-driven propulsion. These design features made it possible for them to enter rivers, estuaries, and shallow coastal waters either to 'show the flag' or go into action.

An exercise in showing the flag which usually involved larger warships was known as a 'naval demonstration'.

*See also stationnaire.*

**gun salute.** The aspect of national ceremonial which involves the firing of guns in honour of distinguished visitors or to mark important occasions. Such a salute may be given on the occasion of an official visit by a \*diplomatic agent to a warship from home when it is berthed in a port of the state to which the officer is accredited.



# H

**Hague Conferences.** Conferences held at the instigation of the tsar of Russia in 1899 and 1907 to try to reach agreements on disarmament, the mitigation of the horrors of war, and the \**pacif* settlement of disputes. No progress was made on the first of these aims; on the second, a number of \**conventions* were agreed; and in pursuit of the third, the \**Permanent Court of Arbitration* was established.

**Hammar skjöld, Dag (1905–61).** Swedish civil servant and \**international civil servant*. Hammar skjöld was the \**United Nations'* second \**secretary-general* (1953–61) and proved to be an inspired appointment, combining ingenuity, subtlety, and tact with deft political skills. He immediately used these talents to deal with the UN's internal problems, receiving appropriate acclaim. But it

was his achievements on the international stage for which he became most admired and that led to his association with the term '*quiet diplomacy*'.

Hammar skjöld's quiet working behind the scenes was a welcome contrast with the headline-grabbing busyness of his predecessor and was not long in bearing fruit. In 1956 he had a major hand in creating a UN Emergency Force as a means of calming the Suez crisis and before long the term \**'peacekeeping'* was coined to refer to the work of such bodies. Hammar skjöld was (wrongly) credited with the invention of this phenomenon and it is therefore ironic that it was because of his handling of a peacekeeping operation that he seriously jeopardized his position. He had been granted considerable powers over a force sent to the former Belgian Congo in 1960, and – in rightly seeing

himself as the UN's servant – ignored the vital importance of keeping in with the organization's principal members. His running of the operation was deemed by the Soviet Union as pro-Western to such an extent that its leader, Nikita Khrushchev, demanded that the office of secretary-general be reconstituted as a \*troika, consisting of representatives of the West, the East, and the \*non-aligned; and later the USSR refused to have any further dealings with him. With Hammarskjöld's early (Congo-related) death, this problem was in effect resolved and no more was heard of the troika idea.

**handed passports.** *See* ask for passports.

**handing over note.** A note prepared by an outgoing \*ambassador (sense 1) to assist the swift familiarization of the envoy's successor with conditions at the \*post. Among other things, it may include details on key contacts, as well as an analysis of unfinished tasks and possible new priorities.

**hardship post.** A diplomatic \*post which is deemed

to be exceptionally 'difficult'. This might be because of its unhealthy climate, lack of amenities, inaccessibility, or – especially today – physical danger. For working at such posts, diplomats are sometimes given compensations of different kinds, including special financial allowances varying according to the difficulty of the post. Until a few years ago the provision of extra pensionable periods was the normal form of compensation employed in the British \*Diplomatic Service. It was then replaced by a 'Difficult Post Allowance (DPA)'. In the US \*Foreign Service the comparable allowances are called 'post differentials'. Until air conditioning became readily available to mitigate the effects of its hot and humid summers, Washington was a hardship post for British diplomats. Tours of duty in hardship posts may also be much shorter than usual. *See also* summer embassy.

**Harris, Sir James (1746–1820).** British diplomat. Sir James Harris was one of the most notable British diplomats of the late eighteenth century. St Petersburg, where he resided from 1777 until

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1783, is the posting for which he is chiefly remembered. This is because the handsome ambassador made such an impression on Catherine the Great that the setting of his diplomacy moved to her 'boudoir'. Harris had a general reputation for exceptional audacity in obtaining information and was one of the first Englishmen to be regarded as a professional specialist in diplomacy – a \*diplomatist. In 1800 he was created Earl of Malmesbury. *See also* boudoir diplomacy.

**Harvard Draft Convention on Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities (1932).** A draft \*convention drawn up by the 'Harvard Research in International Law', a research and drafting team based at the Law School of Harvard University which was devoted to promoting the \*codification of international \*agreements. The draft convention on \*diplomatic privileges and immunities, described by its authors as 'frankly pragmatic' in its approach, consisted of 31 articles and was published as a supplement to volume 26 of the *American Journal of International Law* in 1932. In addition to the draft

itself, the supplement contains almost a hundred pages of commentary on the articles and a lengthy appendix reproducing key documents, among them the Havana Convention on \*Diplomatic Officers. The Harvard Draft is generally believed to have been particularly valuable to the \*International Law Commission when it was engaged in its codification of \*diplomatic law in the 1950s.

**Havana Convention on Consular Agents (1928).** *See* Consular Agents, Havana Convention on.

**Havana Convention on Diplomatic Officers (1928).** *See* Diplomatic Officers, Havana Convention on.

**H.E.** Short for 'His Excellency', the way in which the members of a British diplomatic mission commonly used to refer to their ambassador. Since the late 1970s (and the *diktat* of the then Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Dr David Owen), it has gone out of use, 'HMA' (Her Majesty's Ambassador) generally being substituted for it. As British \*high commissioners have never been formally described

as 'Her Majesty's', the abbreviation HMHC has never been used. *See also* excellency.

**head of chancery.** The head of the political section of a \*mission and its ex officio general manager. This individual is responsible for coordinating the work of all of the sections, identifying and eliminating policy deviations by individuals or sections, ensuring that all sections have the necessary resources to do their jobs, promoting cooperation between sections, and other such matters. The head of chancery is normally a \*counsellor in a large or medium-sized embassy and a \*first or \*second secretary in a smaller one. Although the position still exists in many diplomatic services, it has been abolished in the British \*Diplomatic Service, where the general managerial role is now the responsibility of the \*deputy head of mission.

**head of department.** In many ministries of \*foreign affairs, the middle-ranking official who is in charge of a particular geographical or functional area.

**head of government.** A title used to describe the head

of the executive branch of the central government of a \*state where this position is separate, as in the United Kingdom, from that of a largely ceremonial \*head of state. In Britain the prime minister is the head of government (by virtue of commanding the support of a majority of members of the House of Commons), while the monarch is the head of state. In certain countries, for example, the United States, the head of government is also the head of state, that is, the president. It should, however, be noted that where, as also in the United States, there is a genuine separation of powers, this person can have no position in and is subject to significant constraints by the legislative and judicial branches. Heads of government now play an important part in \*summitry, as do heads of state who are also heads of government. Persons who are merely ceremonial heads of state do not, although their symbolic potency is of value on other diplomatic occasions. The phrase 'heads of state and government' to describe those who take the lead at multi-lateral summits neatly covers these possibilities.

**head of mission.** The person charged by the \*sending state with the duty of acting in that capacity in a \*resident or \*non-resident mission. (In American parlance, the term is 'chief of mission'.) The heads of mission fall into one or other of three diplomatic \*classes and within each class take \*precedence in the chronological order in which they took up their functions. Other than in respect of precedence and etiquette, there is no difference between heads of mission by reason of their class – yet classes two and three have been virtually abandoned. *See also* ambassador (sense 1); *chargé d'affaires en titre*; *envoy extraordinary* and *minister plenipotentiary*; *minister resident*; *head of post*; *high commissioner*; *nuncio*; *principal officer*.

**head of post.** The British term for the head of a \*consulate or other post subordinate to an \*embassy (sense 1).

**head of state.** The person who, on the basis of a \*state's constitution or of other effective internal procedures, is designated as its head. This individual may possess supreme executive power, as

in the case of the president of the United States, or retain largely ceremonial functions, as in the case of the British monarch. *See also* *governor-general*; *head of government*; *state immunity*; *summitry*.

**head of state immunity.**  
*See* *state immunity*.

**headquarters agreement.** One regulating the relationship between an \*international organization and its \*host state (sense 2). An example is the agreement between the \*United Nations and the United States regarding UN \*headquarters.

**Headquarters of the United Nations, Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Status of the United Nations in New York, Convention on (1947).** This agreement (also known as the Headquarters Agreement, the Host-Country Agreement, and the Host-State Agreement) deals with the position of the \*United Nations' headquarters in New York. A headquarters district was defined, placed under the control and authority

of the UN, and declared to be inviolable. The UN was given the power to make such regulations for the district as the UN's functions required; any US laws and regulations which were inconsistent with them were declared to be inapplicable within the district, but otherwise US laws were to apply. Provision was made for the UN to establish communication facilities and the representatives of its members and its officials were to enjoy freedom of transit through the United States to and from the headquarters. The members of \*permanent missions to the UN were to have the \*privileges and immunities in the United States which that state accorded to accredited diplomats. In sum, the UN headquarters was to be treated in much the same manner as an \*embassy (sense 1).

**heads of agreement.** A form of \*interim agreement, but one which is not necessarily \*binding.

**Henderson, Loy Wesley (1892–1986).** American diplomat. A diplomat who achieved such stature in the American profession that

he came to be known as 'Mr Foreign Service', Henderson was a founder member of the \*State Department's influential 'Soviet Service', serving in Riga and Moscow as well as in Washington. However, he was profoundly out of sympathy with Roosevelt's wartime policy of friendship towards Stalin and in July 1943 threw up his expertise in Soviet questions to become head of mission in Iraq. This led to a concentration on the Middle East which culminated in his appointment as ambassador to Iran in 1951, although – following a disagreement with the Truman administration over policy towards Israel – he had been diverted to India for the three years preceding this.

By 1955 a grandee of the profession, in that year Henderson was appointed deputy under-secretary of state for administration. This gave him responsibility for two issues which were of cardinal importance to the morale and efficiency of American diplomacy: the merger of the \*Foreign Service with the personnel of the State Department which had been recommended in the Wriston Report of the previous year, and the department's foreign

building programme which had been launched successfully by \*Larkin after the war but was now facing mounting congressional resistance. In 1956 Henderson was given the coveted rank of \*career ambassador; he retired in 1961.

**herald.** In the ancient world, a member of a profession responsible, among other things, for declaring \*war, seeking permission for the removal of the dead from a battlefield, and securing agreement to the safe passage of envoys. Regarded in ancient Greece as the offspring of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, and bearing a staff as the symbol of their office, heralds were believed to enjoy divine protection at a time when ordinary envoys could not regard this as axiomatic and had to rely more on codes of hospitality. It was this special immunity which made it possible for heralds to take on the most dangerous of all diplomatic tasks. Heraldry was last seen in medieval Europe, where they acted under and on behalf of the code of chivalry of the feudal nobility. However, these heralds lacked the status of those of the ancient world

and possessed no more immunity than a \*nuncio or \*plenipotentiary, the two principal kinds of envoy of this period. *See also* diplomatic courier; diplomatic privileges and immunities; fetal priests.

**hidden agenda.** *See* agenda.

**high commission.** A \*diplomatic mission headed by a \*high commissioner (senses 1 and 3) and hence the premises of such a mission. In the \*Commonwealth context, this mission was originally known as 'the office of the high commissioner' but in the course of the 1960s – despite resistance from purists – use of the shorter and therefore more convenient term, 'high commission', won the day.

**high commissioner.** (1) The title given to the \*head of mission of the first class sent by one member of the \*Commonwealth to another. Apart from terminology and some small additional privileges and ceremonial differentiation in London, a high commissioner is in exactly the same position and has exactly the same role as an \*ambassador (sense 1). However, the \*credentials carried by high

commissioners are not the more usual letters of credence. Where both the \*sending and \*receiving states are of the \*Queen's realms – that is, where both of them have the same \*head of state – the high commissioner carries a letter of introduction from the sending state's head of government (the prime minister) to the receiving state's head of government (the prime minister). This is because it is not deemed possible for a head of state to accredit a representative to herself or himself, nor for the Queen to accredit someone to her \*governor-general or for a governor-general to accredit someone to the Queen. It may be supposed that a similar procedure would have taken place in the case of (now extinct) \*personal unions. Unlike ambassadors (who are *of* the sending state *to* the receiving state), such high commissioners are described as high commissioner *for* (the sending state) *in* (the receiving state). Where either the sending state or the receiving state is not of the Queen's realms – that is, it is a \*republic or a \*monarchy with a head of state other than the British Queen – the high commissioner carries a letter of

commission from the sending state's head of state to the head of state of the receiving state. In another terminological twist, such high commissioners are often described as high commissioner *for* (the sending state) *to* (the receiving state).

All British high commissioners (whether in the Queen's realms or otherwise) are called just that – never Her Majesty's high commissioner. The reason for this is that British high commissioners do not hold commissions or warrants of appointment from the Queen, which alone would entitle them to be described as 'Her Majesty's'. It is thought that this usage stems from the origins of the office, when all high commissioners, whether representing the \*dominions in London or vice versa, were subjects of the crown. Hence they were not representatives of one \*sovereign state to another and thus did not require to be commissioned to represent their sovereign at a foreign court. Additionally, all British high commissioners fly the United Kingdom flag, never the British \*diplomatic flag.

Given that the point is very frequently misunderstood, it



perhaps bears emphasizing that as between two states of the Queen's realms their high commissioners represent *not* their (common) head of state but their heads of government. Thus, when the Queen visits one of her other realms, she is neither accommodated nor escorted by the British high commissioner, but by her governor-general.

The title of high commissioner derives from the late nineteenth century, when the oldest British dominion (Canada) first sought representation in London. As the territory was not a \*sovereign state, it could not appoint a \*diplomatic representative and hence a different terminology was adopted – which was later used for the representatives of other dominions. When, later still (in the 1920s), Britain began to appoint political representatives to the dominions, the same title was used. Soon afterwards, the dominions slowly became accepted as sovereign states and in some dominion quarters there was unease at the continued use of the colonial-sounding title of high commissioner and at the fact that such representatives were not members of the \*diplomatic corps or

entitled to the usual \*diplomatic privileges and immunities. Suggestions emerged that the title be replaced by that of ambassador. However, some of these (by now Commonwealth) states were unenthusiastic about a change and in the late 1940s the impetus behind it was largely removed by high commissioners being integrated into the diplomatic corps of the relevant states and made heads of mission of the first class. Since then there has been no serious opposition to the title, and now its distinctive character is often viewed very positively. *See also* presentation of credentials.

It is perhaps worth adding that although it is only in intra-Commonwealth relations that the title of 'high commissioner' is a genuinely diplomatic one, historically it has also served as a convenient title to give to senior officials with at least quasi-diplomatic responsibilities, not least when working in unusual circumstances. Hence, (2) Some governors of \*dependent territories not formally part of an empire, as in the former British 'high commission territories' in southern Africa and certain League of Nations \*mandates (sense 2).

(3) Representatives of victorious states sent to a defeated territory to conduct relations with its authorities and oversee its civil administration, as, for example, in Turkey after the First World War and Germany after the Second World War.

(4) Representatives to unrecognized governments which nevertheless the sending state wished to support, as, for example, with the short-lived anti-Bolshevik government of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia during the Russian civil war.

(5) Some \*international civil servants with overall responsibility for certain humanitarian matters, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

**high contracting parties.**

The way in which \*heads of state are referred to in a \*treaty which is expressed as being an agreement between them, other than when they are referred to by name.

**high representative.** In some ways resembling \*high commissioner, a neutral title now sometimes favoured for important representative positions which, if described

more exactly, would be likely to arouse opposition. Thus the effectively \*proconsular task of nation-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina was given in the Dayton Peace Accords (1995) to a high representative, while under the Lisbon Treaty (2009) the same title was bestowed on the individual who is effectively the European Union's foreign minister, the latter designation – suggestive of statehood and actually proposed in the ill-fated EU constitution – attracting the ire of those member states most opposed to losing influence to \*Brussels.

**history of diplomacy.**

The historical study of the methods of \*diplomacy (sense 1), or the study of diplomatic methods in different periods and in different civilizations in the same period. Thus quite distinct in focus from \*diplomatic history, the history of diplomacy embraces the study of \*diplomatic systems. These include those in the ancient world (notably Greece, the Near East, and Asia), medieval Europe, renaissance Italy (the birth of the resident embassy), Europe together with the Ottoman Empire (during which long

period, according to Harold \*Nicolson, the Italian method was greatly improved, chiefly by the French), and in the world as a whole following the First World War (when \*open diplomacy made its first major appearance). *See also* Amarna letters; Byzantine diplomacy; Dubrovnik; Kautilya; Ottoman diplomacy; Venetian diplomacy.

**Holbrooke, Richard.** *See* diplomatic language; special envoy.

**Holy See.** (1) A synonym for the Vatican City State. (2) The government of the Roman Catholic Church, based in the Vatican City State. (The city state itself is administered by a separate body appointed by the pope.)

The highest of the Holy See's sacred congregations is the Secretariat of State and within this it is the Second Section which deals with Vatican relations with foreign states.

**Homans's theorem.** This, according to the sociologist George Homans, asserts that in a \*negotiation '[t]he more the items at stake can be divided into goods valued

more by one party than they cost to the other and goods valued more by the other party than they cost to the first, the greater the chances of successful outcomes'. In other words, it is not likely to be difficult for a negotiation to be successfully concluded between a meat-loving weight-watcher embarrassed by a gift of chocolates and a sweet-toothed vegetarian with a joint of beef won in a raffle. *See also* linkage.

**honorary attaché.** In British practice, a well-connected and affluent young man who found attachment to an embassy – preferably at an intriguing place like Constantinople – an ideal means of widening his knowledge of the world while sampling a possible career. What such \*attachés (sense 1) actually did depended on their abilities and the attitude of their \*head of mission. Some did valuable diplomatic work, others did not. Honorary attachés could also be appointed to \*special missions. A few people of varied age and experience were appointed honorary attachés until well into the second half of the twentieth century.

**honorary consul.** (1) A generic term which refers to any rank of \*honorary consular officer. (2) The rank of honorary consular officer intermediate between honorary consul-general and honorary vice-consul.

**honorary consular officer.**

An officer performing \*consular functions in an honorary capacity, although some are appointed for purely political or honorific reasons. Such an officer is normally a citizen of or permanently resident in the \*receiving state and is not a member of the \*sending state's \*diplomatic service. However, some substantial connection with that state is usual. An honorary consular officer may, and generally does, head a \*consular post and that post may be at any consular level. Thus these officers are encountered as honorary consuls-general, honorary consuls, honorary vice-consuls, or as honorary consular agents, but most commonly as one of the middle two of these four ranks.

Where a state has an honorary consular officer in a capital city in which it has no other residential representation (because no diplomatic

mission has been accredited to the state in question or because all the members of its mission are \*non-resident), the receiving state may, as a convenience, include any such officers in an annexe to its \*diplomatic list. This is Britain's practice. It reflects the fact that consular facilities in capital cities now appear almost invariably to be provided through the \*consular sections of embassies rather than through separate consulates. Accordingly, consular lists in respect of capital cities – in which such honorary consular officers would normally be included – seem to be a rarity, or even extinct. In the case of those few \*Commonwealth states which do not exchange 'consuls', an honorary officer performing consular functions is usually called an \*honorary representative (sense 2). A state may decline to receive honorary consular officers. *See also* consular privileges and immunities; proxenos; trading consuls.

**honorary consular representative.** A title occasionally given to those who serve as \*honorary consular officers.

**honorary representative.**

(1) A position analogous to that of \*honorary consular officer sometimes established by a state in one where it is not \*recognized. (2) A term used by \*Commonwealth states which do not exchange 'consuls' for an honorary officer who performs consular functions. *See also* non-diplomatic relations; representative office.

**honour.** A term which in the past states have often associated with \*vital interests – as in the phrase 'honour and vital interests' – to indicate that they regarded the matter in question as having the gravest importance. When US President Richard Nixon used the phrase 'peace with honor' in a speech in January 1973 to describe the Paris Peace Accord which ended the Vietnam War, it meant an insistence that the agreement had not sacrificed American vital interests, in particular the reputation for standing by allies. *See also* red line.

**honourable.** A title bestowed on senior diplomats and the US \*secretary of state. In the USA, someone who has held a position that entitled

them to 'The Honorable' continues to retain that honorific title even after leaving that position, although in practice it is rarely used.

**honourable spy, diplomat as.** *See* espionage.

**hostage.** (1) In some ancient \*diplomatic systems, a valuable person (e.g. the heir to a throne) temporarily surrendered to guarantee, or at least make it more likely, that a treaty would be honoured. This was an important institution in relations between different courts and \*Kautilya wrote a whole chapter on the subject in the *Arthashastra*. In the Ottoman Empire, ambassadors permanently resident in Constantinople were themselves regarded as hostages for the good behaviour of their princes until at least the end of the eighteenth century. In the event of hostilities breaking out between the Turks and the sending state, the ambassador concerned was removed to the so-called Ambassadors' Tower – their prison within the Castle of the Seven Towers. (2) More recently, in the context of diplomacy, the term has come to signify a person seized

by a \*terrorist group in an attempt to get something to trade in exchange for the gratification of its political demands. Diplomats are often involved in the consequent negotiations and sometimes have themselves been taken hostage.

**host-country agreement.** See headquarters agreement.

**host state.** (1) A synonym for \*receiving state. (2) More appropriately, a state which has agreed to an \*international organization having offices on its territory; or to the presence of a foreign military \*base, a \*peacekeeping mission, or a \*military observer group; or to an \*ad hoc conference being held there. In the last event, it is customary for its \*foreign minister or principal \*delegate to be the president of the conference. With responsibilities which include the chairing of \*plenary sessions and perhaps the drafting of any final report, this gives the host state a position of some influence.

**host-state agreement.** See headquarters agreement.

***hôtel de l'ambassadeur.*** A term which, for much of the

modern period, was used to refer both to the \*residence of an \*ambassador and the \*chancery of his \*embassy (sense 2).

**hot line.** (1) The popular term for the emergency communications link between the White House and the \*Kremlin during the \*Cold War. This was first proposed by the US State Department's Gerard C. Smith in 1960 and installed under a \*memorandum of understanding of 20 June 1963 following the alarm caused by the Cuban Missile Crisis of the previous October. Known formally as the 'Direct Communications Link', this was a precautionary measure designed to help cope with the consequences of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons. It consisted of a wire-telegraph circuit which was routed Washington-London-Copenhagen-Stockholm-Helsinki-Moscow and a backup radio-telegraph circuit routed Washington-Tangier-Moscow. At each end were teleprinter terminals through which encoded messages in the sender's language were received. It had apparently proved its worth during at least one crisis but had weaknesses,

one of which became apparent when the landline link in Finland was put out of action by a farmer's plough. As a result the hot line was upgraded with satellite circuits under an \*executive agreement (negotiated during the SALT I talks) which \*entered into force upon signature on 30 September 1971. It soon proved useful again, especially during the Arab-Israeli war in October 1973. Interestingly enough, however, the hot line continued to have no 'voice capability' on the grounds that oral exchanges, with their requirement for simultaneous translation, would have been less accurate than the written message. Harold \*Nicolson, who maintained that diplomacy was essentially a written art, would have approved of this. The hot line was further reinforced in the late 1980s by the creation of 'risk reduction centres', which directly linked the American and Soviet defence establishments. (2) Any close relationship, especially between \*heads of state or government, which is supported by rapid direct communication links capable, in an emergency or when extreme

confidentiality is required, of bypassing advisers and officials. When recorded, these communications links are sometimes known as 'black box hot lines'. This is because they can be examined for an explanation, as with the black box flight recorder on an aircraft, in the event that the relationship 'crashes'. (3) Telephones manned 24 hours a day in the \*emergency room of a diplomatic mission during an emergency.

**Hotman, Jean (1552–1636).** French diplomat. A devout Calvinist, Jean was the eldest son of the famous Huguenot revolutionary and scholar, François Hotman. An anglophile, his father sent him to study law at Oxford. This led directly to a distinguished five-year career as secretary to the Earl of Leicester in the first half of the 1580s. Learned and influential and with a familiarity with embassy life acquired a few years earlier when he was a tutor in the household of the English ambassador at Paris, Hotman (like \*Gentili) had been consulted in the Mendoza case in 1584. By students of diplomacy, he is now remembered chiefly as

the author of *L'Ambassadeur*, published in 1603 and expanded and corrected in the following year under the title *De la charge et dignité de l'ambassadeur*. This work was important for being the first to argue that the inviolability of \*diplomatic premises, as opposed to the person of the envoy, was a central component of \*diplomatic law. Although other jurists were soon to accept this view, it was still unacknowledged by \*Grotius two decades later.

**Huang Hua (1913–2010).**

Chinese diplomat and politician. Huang joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1936 and was much employed by the party as a Chinese-English translator/interpreter and foreign affairs specialist. When Communist forces occupied Nanking (Nanjing), the then Chinese capital, in April 1949, he was responsible for the takeover of the \*foreign ministry and given the title of Director of the Aliens' Affairs Office. Among other things, this gave him the duty of informing foreign envoys of the new government's policies on establishing \*diplomatic relations and helping to arrange the departures of those

who were instructed to leave. The American ambassador at Nanking, J. Leighton Stuart, found him sympathetic and easy to deal with on practical matters but, on more general questions, 'impermeable to argument and even to facts'. Huang was subsequently a member of the delegation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the Korean War \*armistice talks and in 1953 was appointed director of the foreign ministry's Department of Western European and African Affairs. In that capacity he supported \*Zhou Enlai as adviser and spokesman at major international conferences and in late 1958 was briefly \*counsellor of the PRC delegation to the ambassador-level Sino-American talks at Warsaw (these dealt chiefly with nationals detained by both sides and had hitherto been conducted at consular level in Geneva). From 1960 to 1971, he then served successively as ambassador to Ghana, Egypt, and Canada. (His vital presence in Cairo during the June War in 1967 caused him to be the only Chinese ambassador to escape recall during the Cultural Revolution.) In 1971, he was temporarily recalled from Ottawa by Zhou



Enlai to support him in his talks with Henry \*Kissinger on the occasion of the latter's secret visit in July. Kissinger, whose memoirs heap praise on him for his wisdom and practicality, claims that it was Huang who taught him the Chinese approach to making \*concessions (sense 1). After the PRC was admitted to membership of the \*United Nations in place of the Republic of China in October 1971, Huang appeared in New York as the PRC's first \*permanent representative to the organization. For the next two years his secret meetings with Kissinger represented the White House-PRC \*backchannel in emergencies. In 1976 he was appointed foreign minister, although he had difficulties with the military group in the foreign ministry – which had gained an ascendancy since the Cultural Revolution – and had to surrender his office in 1982. Nevertheless, among other signal achievements prior to this, Huang had the satisfaction of overseeing the conclusion of negotiations which he had begun with Ambassador Stuart in Nanking 30 years earlier: the \*normalization of relations with the United States in 1979.

**hub embassy.** A \*resident mission larger than others in a region and acting as a base for specialists who travel to neighbouring embassies as required. They may, for example, provide training programmes for \*locally engaged staff or help manage aid.

**humanitarian intervention.** *See* intervention.

**human rights.** The modern term for what political theorists used to call 'natural rights', that is, rights alleged to belong 'naturally' to all human beings irrespective of what positive law has to say on the matter. On this view, human rights should be replicated in legal rights, although often they are not. Nevertheless, first stimulated by the reaction to the Holocaust during the Second World War, \*international law has come to embody a substantial body of human rights \*treaty law (plus machinery for implementation) via both the \*United Nations system and regional bodies such as the European Union, the Organization of American States, and the Organization of African Unity (now African Union). It is also held by international human rights

lawyers that in addition to treaty instruments such as the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (both adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966, and both \*entering into force ten years later), certain human rights are now enshrined in \*customary international law in consequence of state practice. Notable among these are the prohibitions on genocide, slavery, and torture, and the principle of non-discrimination. A controversial question within Western political theory and jurisprudence for long, human rights is now a controversial question in interstate relations. It presents a particularly testing problem for diplomats from states concerned about human

rights who are resident in those which are not, or which are concerned but subscribe either to a different list of human rights or to the sophistry that 'collective human rights' (as determined by the government) take precedence over 'individual human rights'. *See also* domestic jurisdiction; intervention; R2P.

**humint.** This abbreviation stands for 'human intelligence'. It is an inelegant \*CIA term that has come into common use. It has two connotations: (1) The use of \*intelligence officers to collect \*intelligence (sense 1) – human beings as collectors, and (2) the collection of such intelligence from human beings (e.g. refugees), as opposed to, say, collecting it from intercepted radio signals – human beings as sources.

# I

**idealism.** Used in \*International Relations (sense 3) to refer to views or policies which are deemed to reflect ideals rather than practicality. Scholars and politicians of the 1918 to 1939 period, especially supporters of the \*League of Nations, have often been criticized for being idealists. *See also* realism (sense 1).

**identic notes.** \*Notes addressed separately to a government by the \*diplomatic agents of two or more states which contain essentially the same message, although they may be expressed somewhat differently. They are presented as nearly as possible simultaneously. Designed like the \*collective note to give maximum impact to a joint representation, the strategy of the *notes identiques* is to achieve this with less risk of an appearance of ganging up.

**illegal.** *See* intelligence officer.

**immigration liaison officer (ILO).** An \*attaché (sense 2) dedicated to combating illegal immigration in general and people smuggling in particular, so named because of the ILO's primary function of liaison with the \*receiving state's immigration authorities, police, and \*intelligence (sense 2). ILOs seem to have appeared somewhat later than \*drugs liaison officers but now appear to be equally if not more important, especially in diplomatic and consular missions on the main people-trafficking routes from the Middle East and Asia into the European Union.

**immunity.** *See* consular privileges and immunities; diplomatic privileges and immunities; permanent mission.

**impasse.** A point in a \*negotiation, or on one item on

the agenda of a negotiation, when the parties acknowledge that they cannot agree. This need not lead to a breakdown and abandonment of the talks but only to their suspension. If the item concerned is not vital, it may merely lead them to move on to another subject.

**incident.** An event which causes a sharp deterioration in \*diplomatic relations (sense 2) and may or may not lead to a crisis. The 1949 'Yangtze Incident', when the British vessel HMS *Amethyst* was fired on by Communist batteries as it was attempting to reach the British embassy at Nanking, is a case of an incident which did not lead to a crisis.

**independence.** (1) Used in a legal sense to refer to a \*state's lack of constitutional subordination to another state, that is, to its \*sovereignty (sense 1). In this sense, independence has an absolute character. (2) Used in a political sense to refer to a state's degree of effective freedom in its dealings with other states. In this sense, independence has a relative character – but measuring the extent of a state's independence is enormously difficult.

**independent state.** A synonym for \*sovereign state. States commonly refer to themselves and other states as 'sovereign and independent'.

**indirect rule.** *See* colony.

**inductive method.** (1) The establishment of general rules on the basis of particular instances. It is also called positivism. Many lawyers see \*customary international law as established by this method, although some are uneasy about its exclusive claims. Contrast, \*deductive method. (2) In negotiations, a synonym for \*step-by-step diplomacy.

**informal consultations.** *See* Security Council.

**informal diplomacy.** *See* personal representative; track two diplomacy.

**information officer/section/service.** *See* information work.

**information work.** The favoured euphemism for \*propaganda during and for many years after the Second World War. Separate information services were created under new ministries or agencies; and

information officers (*attachés d'information* in the French diplomatic service), formerly known as 'press attachés', were sent to embassies to staff their new information sections (sometimes called information and cultural relations sections), which were later known in the US Foreign Service as 'public affairs sections'. *See also* cultural diplomacy.

**initialling.** A common way of \*adopting a \*treaty between two or a small number of states, which may also amount to \*authentication. It consists of \*delegation leaders inscribing their initials on the agreed text, this being an alternative to the placing of \*signatures. In special circumstances, initialling may give the parties enough confidence in the treaty to take limited steps to fulfil its provision before it has \*entered into force. For example, the initialling of the Hong Kong Airport Agreement by Britain and the People's Republic of China on 30 June 1991 led to the immediate commencement of work on two urgent contracts. *See also* ad referendum; plenipotentiary; ratification; *toilette finale*.

**Inman standards.** The security-driven design and building standards for new US diplomatic and consular properties introduced in the late 1980s, notwithstanding the rule of \*diplomatic law that the protection of embassies is the responsibility of \*receiving states. This development came in the train of a steady escalation in violent ground assaults after the mid-1960s which culminated in the suicide bomb attack on the American embassy \*compound in Beirut on 18 April 1983. (A van containing over 400 lb of explosives was driven into the side of the embassy, killing approximately 60 people and injuring 120 and completely destroying the central \*consular section of the building.) The new standards were named after Admiral Bobby R. Inman, former head of the National Security Agency and Chairman of the Advisory Panel on Overseas Security which reported in June 1985 (although the detailed work was done in a separate study by the National Research Council).

Inman standards called for missions to be located at remote sites (optimally 15

acres in size), a setback of 100 feet from any surrounding streets, blast-proof construction, an absence of handholds of any kind within 15 feet of the ground, windows limited to 15 per cent of the total wall area, safe havens for all embassy personnel including foreign nationals, perimeter walls, electronic vehicle arrest barriers, electronic locks, cameras, and monitors. All of this was far removed from the look of American embassies of the late 1940s and 1950s, buildings which typically featured glass walls, visual openness, and easy access, and were the fruit of a programme directed by Fritz \*Larkin.

The financial burden of imposing Inman architecture was great and it was also beginning to be feared that a heavy diplomatic price would be paid if all of America's 'downtown' embassies in cities such as Rome and London were replaced by inaccessible suburban fortresses. However, further embassy bombings, followed by the \*terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on September 11, 2001 ('9/11'), stiffened the resolve of the United States to continue

implementing Inman standards. Among other missions affected was the US embassy in central London (the largest in Europe), which the State Department decided to move to a slightly more distant location in Wandsworth, south of the Thames. If this goes to plan, the new embassy will be surrounded by a 30-metre-wide moat and rolling parkland, which will separate the building not just from the main road but also, it is hoped, from would-be bombers. *See also* safe room (sense 1); warden network.

**inquiry.** A method of promoting \*pacific settlement by appointing a commission to enquire into the facts of a dispute and report on them (but not to make recommendations for its solution). The commission may be appointed by the parties or, with their agreement, by an \*international organization. It is then for the parties to decide what effect, if any, is to be given to the report, or for the appointing organization to decide on what recommendations should be made to the parties. Such a commission may also be described as one of fact-finding or of investigation. *See*

*also* conciliation; good offices; mediation.

**instant.** Of this month, as in 'Thank you for your \*despatch of the 19th instant.' Often abbreviated to 'inst.' Now only historical. *See also* ultimo.

**instructions.** (1) Today, any orders issued, at whatever level and in whatever form, by a diplomat's head office at home. It is common for diplomats, in talking to an \*interlocutor of the \*receiving state, to stress that they are acting or speaking either 'on instructions' or 'personally', that is, not on instructions. In the last event, they may have to return later and say either that what they did or said had been confirmed from home or else that a different view had been taken and that they can now act or speak 'on instructions'. *See also* steering brief. (2) In earlier times, a stylized letter to a diplomat from a \*head of state (or secretary with responsibility for foreign affairs), the core component of which was a list of the aims to be pursued at his post. Sometimes described as containing 'general instructions', this was handed over, along

with \*letters of credence, prior to the diplomat's departure. Essentially a feature of the pre-telegraphic era, instructions in this form, even when very detailed, invariably permitted the diplomat a fair degree of discretion in pursuing the directives which they contained since 'fresh instructions' could take weeks and, at distant posts, even months to obtain. A British diplomat's instructions also reminded him to maintain good relations with the other members of the \*diplomatic corps, maintain a correspondence with British diplomats at other posts, and send regular reports home. On the assumption that it might be expedient on occasion to reveal his instructions at the court to which he was accredited, a diplomat was sometimes issued with a second, secret set of instructions designed for more precise guidance. Instructions were generally more detailed when the diplomat was charged with an important negotiation, which is why they continued to be given to \*delegates to \*congresses and \*conferences for long after they had generally become obsolete, at least in their traditional

form, for \*resident ambassadors. It is still certainly not unknown for ambassadors and \*high commissioners to be given written guidance before departing on a mission, although this may now be styled a 'directive' or 'letter of appointment'. French ambassadors, for example, are still given such instructions by the \*Quai d'Orsay and are also required to respond with a plan of action for their implementation. *See also* sponson.

**instrument.** A formal legal document, such as a \*treaty.

**insurgency.** A status sometimes accorded by \*third parties under the traditional law of \*war to an insurgent group which, while not in a sufficiently strong position to justify recognition of its \*belligerency, is nonetheless in effective occupation of and constitutes the de facto authority in a large part of the territory of the \*state in question. For a recognizing third party, the grant of insurgency may be a prerequisite for the protection of its interests in the territory which the insurgents control, as it is a means of establishing formal communication with them.

**intelligence.** (1) Information, whether foreign or defence, political or economic, secret or openly available. (2) The government organization or organizations ('intelligence agencies' or 'secret intelligence agencies') which collect, analyse, and disseminate this information, which is chiefly about actually or potentially hostile foreign countries. What gives the final assessments of these agencies special authority and their activities a special flavour is that (a) they seek the most sensitive and highly \*classified information and (b) they seek it by means which are themselves either secret or, as with orbiting satellites, employed without the consent of their targets. This meaning began to emerge in the late nineteenth century. *See also* agent in place; CIA; foreign intelligence; intelligence community; intelligence officer; intelligencer.

**intelligence assessment.**  
*See* all-source analysis.

**intelligence community.** The entire range of intelligence agencies responsible to one government. In Britain and the United States, where



## 200 **intelligence officer**

the term gained currency during the \*Cold War, it also implies the existence of high-level mechanisms for the coordination of the work of these agencies and \*all-source assessment. *See also* CIA.

**intelligence officer.** An official of an agency of secret \*intelligence (sense 2); not to be confused with an \*agent (sense 4). There are two main types: (1) The 'illegal', who is sent with an assumed personality to gain information on a target by observation or theft and sometimes works under deep cover, perhaps as a businessman or journalist. These operations are difficult to set up, wearing on officers, and often unproductive. (2) The 'legal', who has the cover of a \*diplomatic agent or \*consular officer (loosely known as 'diplomatic cover') and therefore enjoys their \*privileges and immunities. The well-known novelist, John le Carré (real name David Cornwell), was an MI6 officer who enjoyed cover initially as a \*second secretary in the British embassy in Bonn in the early 1960s and then briefly as a consul in the large \*consulate-general in Hamburg. The identity of 'legals' is often

strongly suspected and sometimes an open secret but they usually find it easy to move in circles of influence and have a secure base and communications. *See also* diplomatic service list; espionage.

**intelligencer.** A term employed in the early modern period for any supplier of \*intelligence (sense 1) to a diplomatic mission or directly to a government. An intelligencer was typically one of its own \*consuls or an official attached to a foreign court who was paid a retainer by an envoy. *See also* Wicquefort.

**interests section.** (1) A small group of \*diplomats of one state working under the flag of a second on the territory of a third. The interests (not interest) section is an elaboration of the much older diplomatic institution of the \*protecting power. There were harbingers of this development in Constantinople at least as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, for when an embassy in the city was forced to close, sometimes one of its \*dragomans would be transferred to the embassy or consulate-general of the protecting power,

where he would continue his previous work. However, the first interests sections in this sense were not established until May 1965 (in Cairo and Bonn), following Egypt's decision to break \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) with West Germany in retaliation for the latter's decision to open them with Israel. Designed to maintain communication in the absence of diplomatic relations, the interests section permits the \*sending state to retain its own diplomats in the \*receiving state by the ruse of attaching them in law, together with their mission premises, to the embassy of a protecting power. (Previously, the protecting power's own embassy staff had to do the work of protection.) The idea quickly caught on, and interests sections have become widely used as halfway houses to the restoration of diplomatic relations as well as to cope with their recent breach. Thus South Africa and the Soviet Union, which had severed diplomatic relations in 1955, each opened an interests section in the other's capital (under the protection of Austria) in February 1991. In the receiving state's \*diplomatic list, an interests

section appears as part of the diplomatic mission of the protecting power. Although historically some American interests sections of this sort have been very large, notably the one under Swiss protection in Cuba (the only US interests section remaining in early 2011), it is a mistake to regard even these as embassies in all but name. Among their other characteristics, interests sections are always much smaller than the embassies of which they are rumps (usually only two or three diplomats and sometimes only one); it appears necessary for all of their members to receive \*agrément; and \*service attachés are barred. (2) The section of the embassy of a protecting power devoted to the interests of a third state. This is the older and today much less common pattern in which, for one reason or another, the protecting power has to rely entirely on its own staff for this work. The US interests section in the Swiss embassy in Tehran has no American diplomats in it and so is a good example of this variant; so is the 'British Interests Section' established in the Brazilian embassy in Belgrade during the Kosovo

## 202 **intergovernmental conference (IGC)**

War in 1999, which contained no British diplomatic or consular staff.

**intergovernmental conference (IGC).** In the European Union, a major negotiation between the member states with a view to amending its institutional and legal structure.

**intergovernmental organization.** A pedantic way of referring to an \*international organization. It is less common than 'international organization' but has the (limited) virtue of being in semantic harmony with the term \*'non-governmental organization'.

**interim agreement.** The modern term for what used to be called a *modus vivendi*. It is a temporary or provisional \*agreement designed ostensibly to be replaced later on by one which is possibly more detailed, probably more comprehensive, and certainly more permanent. Interim agreements tend to be popular because they can be presented both as the only way to advance to a final settlement and the only way to forestall one. *See also* framework treaty; heads of agreement; step-by-step diplomacy.

**interlocutor.** A party to a dialogue.

**intermediary.** *See* mediation.

**international.** That which pertains to the sphere of interstate activity rather than to the domestic sphere.

**international actor.** The ambit of this term is dependent on the content given to the word 'international'. If, as in the field within which \*diplomacy (sense 1) occurs, it is defined with reference to the interaction of \*sovereign states, international actors are primarily the states themselves and secondarily the \*international organizations which they have established. Intermittent actorhood is also exhibited by \*non-governmental organizations and groups as and when they have dealings with states or an impact on their behaviour. *See also* Ottawa process; multistakeholder diplomacy.

**international agreement.** *See* agreement.

**international civil servant.** A member of the \*secretariat of an \*international organization.

International civil servants are obliged to be professionally loyal to the organization rather than serve the interests of their countries of origin – or any other entity for that matter. The likelihood of this obligation being observed is thought to be enhanced if secretariat members are directly employed by the organization rather than temporarily seconded from national civil services. Such a practice was begun by the \*League of Nations, being strongly advocated by its first \*secretary-general, Sir Eric Drummond, who persuaded the League Council to endorse it. Since then this concept of a genuinely international civil service has been generally accepted by international organizations – but that is not to say that member states and secretariat members always live up to it. *See also* International Civil Service Commission.

**International Civil Service Commission (ICSC).** This body, established by the UN \*General Assembly in 1974, regulates and coordinates the conditions of service of the UN \*common system. The commission is composed of

15 members appointed by the General Assembly in their personal capacity. *See also* international civil service.

**international community.** The collectivity of \*states. The term is often thought to suggest a greater degree of warmth and harmony than the alternative term, \*‘international society’, and for that reason is judged by many scholars to be less appropriate. However, it is much favoured by states’ political leaders and hence is frequently used by diplomats.

**International Court of Justice (ICJ).** Although formally an organ of the \*United Nations, the ICJ is an independent judicial body. It sits (full-time) at The Hague (in the Netherlands) and is composed of 15 judges, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state. They are elected for nine-year terms by the UN \*General Assembly and \*Security Council, voting separately. The Court has jurisdiction to decide contentious cases and to give \*advisory opinions. In respect of the former, only states may be parties before the Court, which has the duty of judging

on the basis of \*international law (unless the parties request a decision \**ex aequo et bono*). Accordingly, the ICJ is in the nature of a civil and not a criminal court: it does not, on behalf of the whole \*international society, punish wrongdoing, but resolves argument as to the rectitude of a \*claim made by one state on another. A party which does not have a judge of its nationality on the ICJ is entitled to choose a person to sit in that capacity. The Court decides by majority vote and its judgment is final. Judges may issue \*separate or \*dissenting opinions. Cases are referred to the ICJ on the basis of agreement between the parties. Thus no state is obliged to go to the Court against its will. But states may agree in advance to accept the \*compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ either by \*treaty or by way of the \*optional clause procedure. Although a decision of the Court only has \*binding force as between the parties and in respect of that particular dispute, the judgments of the ICJ and its advisory opinions make an important contribution to the clarification and development of general international law. The ICJ is the only general

organ of \*judicial settlement available to international society. It has one predecessor, the \*Permanent Court of International Justice.

**international crime.** *See* international criminal law.

**international criminal law.** That part of \*international law which establishes crimes of international concern, for the breach of which individuals may be held directly responsible. Generally speaking, international law applies between \*states. To that extent, only states can make \*claims against each other; this is what is meant by references to a state as enjoying \*international personality and as a subject of international law. Correspondingly, individuals are objects of that law and so cannot assert rights against a state at the international level, nor be sued or prosecuted by a state for the breach of an international obligation. However, some \*war crimes are a well-recognized exception to this rule. And since the Second World War, crimes against humanity, \*aggression, and genocide have been added to the content of what has now become known as

international criminal law. But the prosecution of individuals charged with the breach of this law has, for a variety of reasons, always presented difficulties, or laid itself open to the charge of 'victor's justice'. For this reason, since the early 1990s the \*Security Council has established ad hoc international criminal tribunals in Rwanda and Yugoslavia and special courts in Sierra Leone, Lebanon, Cambodia, and East Timor. In 2003 the International Criminal Court opened its doors and the first two referrals were in 2004. *See also* Pella; universal jurisdiction; unsigned treaties.

**international customary law.** *See* customary international law.

**international friendship.** *See* friendly relations.

**international humanitarian law.** The term by which, during the last quarter of the twentieth century, the 'laws of war' became known. This law places limits on the force which may be used against combatants and civilians during \*war or \*armed conflict and enunciates rules regarding the treatment of

prisoners of war. Larger states generally provide their senior military staff with \*military manuals which set out and interpret the chief aspects of international humanitarian law. Laws of war date from the Middle Ages. They used to have a \*customary basis, but since the middle of the nineteenth century have increasingly been embodied in \*treaties, latterly in what are known as the Geneva or \*Red Cross Conventions. *See also* belligerency; human rights; insurgency; *ius ad bellum*; *ius in bello*; occupying power; R2P; universal jurisdiction.

**international institution.**

(1) A synonym for \*international organization. (2) A more or less standardized pattern of behaviour evolved to achieve certain generally accepted international goals. \*Diplomacy (sense 1), \*international law, and the \*balance of power (sense 3) are good examples of international institutions in this sense.

**internationalism.** The policy of maximizing cooperation with other states and support for the decisions of \*international organizations. Internationalist claims are

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nowadays fashionable, but where the \*national interest clearly points in the opposite direction internationalism will not prevail. However, certain \*middle powers, such as Canada and the Scandinavian states, can reasonably assert that more than most their foreign policies have a distinctive internationalist tinge.

**internationalization.** The idea that an area should not form part of a \*sovereign state but be given an international status by being permanently placed under the aegis of an organ of the \*United Nations, or under the joint administration of two or more states. Such schemes have been proposed for the city and environs of Trieste and for Jerusalem (both in 1947). However, although to uninformed outsiders it can seem a fair way of dealing with an area subject to hotly competing claims, it has much less appeal to the stronger claimant and its supporters. Largely for this sort of reason, neither of the previous schemes bore fruit. A version of this idea operated during the interwar period in respect of the former German city of Danzig (now

Gdansk), which was established as a free city under the \*guarantee of the \*League of Nations. However, it was not a happy experience and the city was reoccupied by Germany in 1939. A more successful instance was the city of Tangier, which between 1924 and 1956 was an international zone administered by France, Spain, and Britain. *See also* condominium; international protectorate.

**international law.** The body of rules and principles of action which are \*binding on \*sovereign states in their relations with each other. The last half century or so has also seen the extension of international law to include the rules relating to the activities of \*international organizations and to individuals and \*non-governmental organizations to the extent to which their activity comes within the ambit of international law (as, for example, in connection with \*international criminal law). However, international law remains primarily an expression of the rights and duties of states *inter se*. And overwhelmingly it is in the nature of civil rather than criminal law. International

law derives from two main sources: international custom (of the sort which creates \*customary international law) and \*treaties. Jurisprudentially, the former is the more fundamental; but quantitatively the latter is now dominant. As between its signatories (unless it is in breach of \**ius cogens*), a treaty supersedes any relevant customary law. A third source of international law is \*general principles of law. And it should be noted that the statute of the \*International Court of Justice makes reference to judicial precedents and the work of highly qualified writers as 'subsidiary means for the determination' of international law. Like all systems of law, the essential purpose of international law is to provide an accepted framework for behaviour, enabling states to know what they may do, what they must not do, and how they may lawfully seek to achieve certain goals. Provided, therefore (as is in fact the case), international law is generally observed, it supplies the element of predictability which is essential for the maintenance of \*international order. Without it, relations between states would necessarily be minimal

or chaotic. In this sense, international law is a crucial constituent of the \*international society. See also derogation; R2P.

**International Law Commission.** Established in 1947, the UN organ charged with the task of promoting the \*progressive development of \*international law and its \*codification. Its members – sitting in their individual capacity and not as representatives of their states – prepare draft articles on topics of general international concern. These are submitted to the \*General Assembly, which may (among other courses of action) decide to convene an international conference to consider a draft with a view to the conclusion of a \*treaty. The Vienna Conventions on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) and on \*Consular Relations (1963) emerged in this way.

**international law and municipal law.** The fact that a \*state is bound by a provision of \*international law by no means necessarily results in that law thereby being valid within the state and hence binding on domestic governmental organs and enforceable



by the municipal courts. The relationship between the two legal systems is governed, municipally, by the state's constitution. Given the variety of the relevant constitutional provisions which exist, generalization about them is hazardous. Broadly speaking, however, it may be said that \*customary international law is valid within states, provided it does not conflict with municipal law; but that \*treaties often require legislation for them to be brought into force within the state and almost invariably so if their operation would modify existing law or affect the private rights of the state's citizens. Inasmuch, therefore, as \*diplomatic law gives \*diplomats special privileges, it is extremely rare for it to become operative municipally without enabling legislation. *See also* Act of Anne.

The problem of the relationship between the two systems of law can be particularly acute in \*federal states, inasmuch as the state's treaty-making power is almost always the sole preserve of the central government, but the right to make any required enabling legislation may well lie with the territorial units composing the

federation. Germany and the United States are just two such states which often encounter this difficulty. It may result either in the state declining to become a party to a treaty, notwithstanding the wish of the federal government to do so; or in it becoming internationally bound (possibly through the development of customary international law or a European Union \*directive) but unable fully to implement the obligation. It should be noted, however, that if a state's municipal law prevents it from executing an international obligation, that is no defence, internationally, to a \*claim by the injured state or international organization – although in some quarters it may of course be seen as a mitigating factor.

**international legislation.**

A term sometimes used to refer to multilateral \*treaties which have been widely accepted. However, inasmuch as the term 'legislation' usually entails the enactment of generally applicable law by majority vote, its use at the international level can be misleading, for a majority of states cannot impose an obligation on those states who

do not consent to it. *See also* global governance.

**international minimum standards.** Legal standards below which a state is not entitled to treat citizens of other states, even if its own citizens are subject to such treatment. In principle, it is accepted that a state is entitled to seek redress if its citizens have been so treated, and if they have exhausted local remedies in their effort to obtain local satisfaction. But in practice it is an exceedingly difficult and sensitive area – as is indicated by the fact that the standards in question used to be spoken of as reflecting the ‘standard of civilization’. *See also* Calvo doctrine; diplomatic protection (sense 1).

**international non-governmental organization (INGO).** *See* non-governmental organization.

**international order.** (1) A state of affairs in which \*international relations (sense 2) are conducted within a normative framework supplied by \*international law. It presupposes agreement on the criterion for being an \*international

actor, which takes the form of \*sovereignty (sense 1), and a means for these notional entities to communicate with each other, which is supplied by \*diplomacy (sense 1). (2) A synonym occasionally used for international society or \*international system.

**international organization.** An association of \*states deriving its organizational character from its permanence, its quasi-governmental organs, and (generally speaking) its employment of \*international civil servants. Thus an international organization – sometimes known as an ‘intergovernmental organization’ – is likely to have an executive committee composed of a relatively small number of its member states, a general deliberative body in which all the members participate, and a \*secretariat headed by a \*secretary-general or director-general. It may be more or less universal in membership, have a regional focus, or even be composed of just two or three states. No less various is the subject matter of an international organization: it can be wide-ranging, or have a narrow specialist character, or anything in between. There are probably about 300

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such bodies – the \*United Nations, the European Union, the Organization of American States, the African Union, and NATO being among the best known.

An international organization is established by \*treaty, which defines and limits the organization's legal competence. This points to a fundamental difference between a state and an international organization: the latter possesses only such powers as are granted to it by its constituent document and cannot legally act beyond those powers, whereas a \*sovereign state possesses the totality of rights and duties recognized by \*international law and, subject to the provisions of that law, can attempt whatever it wishes.

International organizations reflect the need that has been felt for certain matters to be permanently handled on a \*multilateral basis. Thus they began to be established in the latter part of the nineteenth century when it was realized that the efficient conduct of postal and telegraphic communication across the world required something more than a myriad of bilateral arrangements. In the twentieth

century attempts were made to ensure the maintenance of world peace through general international organizations in the shape, first, of the \*League of Nations and then of the United Nations.

In political terms, international organizations are in a weak position, in that they depend on their member states for finance and, in respect of any external activity that they conduct, for personnel. Thus any particular proposed activity is dependent on a sufficient number of member states thinking that it is in their individual \*national interests. Nonetheless, in certain limited respects some organizations may be more than the sum of their members. For example, a resolution of the UN \*General Assembly may be generally seen as representing something more than the views of the states who voted for it; or the UN secretary-general may be seen not just as a paid official but also as the independent spokesman for the ideals which the UN espouses.

International organizations used often to be called \*international institutions but the term 'organization' is now widely preferred. It should be noted that scholars

frequently use 'International Organization' to refer to the study of such bodies. *See also* Annan; Hammarskjöld; specialized agencies.

**international person.** A notional entity which is spoken of as acting internationally as if it were a person, such as a \*sovereign state. *See also* international personality.

**international personality.** The status held by an entity which possesses rights and duties under \*international law. \*Sovereign states are the principal holders of international personality. But \*international organizations have also been granted international personality by their members; and to a limited extent individuals, too, have been accorded this status in connection with their responsibilities under \*international criminal law.

**international politics.** A less-common way of referring to \*international relations (all senses).

**international protectorate.** (1) Another term for a \*protected state (sense 1). (2) A non-official and in some

quarters a very unpopular term which has come into use fairly recently to refer to a territory under the temporary administration of an \*international organization as part of an agreement regarding its future or pending such an agreement.

East Timor (later Timor-Leste) between Indonesia's departure in 1999 and its assumption of \*sovereign statehood in 2002 is an instance of the first situation, the \*United Nations overseeing this process. The Serbian province of Kosovo provides an example of the second, the United Nations taking control of the territory in 1999 after Serbia had been forced to depart. The United Nations largely withdrew after Kosovo declared its \*independence (sense 1) in 2008 – an act which in early 2011 had been recognized by about 75 states (but had not by then led to UN membership). The term was not used of West New Guinea/West Irian when in 1962–3 it came under UN administration as part of an arrangement transferring it from the Netherlands to Indonesia. Nor was it used in the interwar period to refer to two analogous cases. The first concerned the German

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territory of the Saar, to which at the end of the First World War France had laid claim. It was placed for 15 years under a governing commission appointed by and responsible to the \*League of Nations, at the end of which time a \*plebiscite was to be held to determine the territory's future. (It returned to Germany.) The second concerned the Colombian district of Leticia, which in 1932 had been taken over by some freelance Peruvians who then received the backing of their state. The territory was administered by the League for a year and then, by agreement, returned to Colombia. Insofar as these instances were referred to in a general way, it would have been by the terms 'international administration' or \*'internationalization'. *See also* protectorate; recognition of a state; trusteeship.

**international regime.** The rules and procedures relating to a specific international activity, geographical area, or economic resource. *See also* Pardo.

**international relations.** (1) A \*state's dealings and contacts with other states and

with \*international organizations. (2) The general sphere of bilateral and multilateral interstate activity. (3) When the first letters are in capitals, the study of international relations (sense 2). (4) Any transaction in which an international border is crossed and which is judged to have some bearing on the interests of one or more states.

**international section.** *See* direct dial diplomacy.

**international society.** A term used to refer to the collectivity of \*sovereign states. Often used in writing about \*international relations (sense 2), it certainly has some advantages over the alternative terms, \*international community, \*international system, and \*states-system. For example, it hints at the associative character of international relations, yet does not invest them with the intimacy implied by the word community. Then, too, the general idea of society focuses attention on the fact that it is individuals who take decisions on behalf of states and do so on the basis of volition, whereas the idea of system carries more than a whiff of automaticity.

And, unlike system, the term 'society' directly suggests the ideas of admission and exclusivity, thus pointing to the fact that there is a very specific criterion – \*sovereignty (sense 1) – which must be met before a territorial entity is eligible for participation in international relations. *See also* international institution (sense 2); international order; Westphalia.

**international system.** The network of relationships which exists at the \*international level, including therefore the role in those relationships of \*international organizations, \*non-governmental organizations, and other \*non-state actors. Inasmuch as sovereign states play the leading role in these relationships, the term 'international system' is often used, particularly in American writing, to refer to the collectivity of \*states. However, the content and reverberations of the term \*'international society' better convey certain basic features of the collectivity of states than does the term 'international system'.

**International Telecommunication Union.** The ITU is an \*international organization

which was created in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union. It was a response to the invention of the electric \*telegraph and the need to facilitate the connection of the different national telegraphic systems subsequently established. It is now a UN \*specialized agency based in Geneva, Switzerland. *See also* telecommunication.

**international zone.** *See* internationalization.

**internuncio.** (1) A papal \*head of mission of the second class, who thus has the same rank as an \*envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. Use of this title was dropped by the \*Holy See in 1969. (2) Between the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century, however, the title was in more general use by temporal powers, the Austrians clinging to it for their \*resident at Constantinople – the 'Imperial Internuncio' – until the middle of the nineteenth. (The motive, it appears, was to avoid disputes over \*precedence with the \*Porte's long most favoured friend, the French ambassador.) The Polish representative in Constantinople also bore the title 'internuncio'.

**interpretative declaration.**

*See* reservation.

**interstate.** A synonym for \*international (but within \*federal states it may also have a domestic connotation).

**intervention.** Sometimes described as 'interference', action directed at a state from outside with the immediate intention either of influencing some aspect of its domestic policy or of changing its regime. Another desired outcome – especially in the latter case – may be to modify its foreign policy as well. The author of the intervention may be another state, an \*alliance, or an \*international organization. The act of intervention and the means involved always attract contention, on both political and legal grounds. But for some years there has been increasing support for the view that intervention is permitted in certain circumstances, provided the UN \*Security Council has authorized such action. (The view that this authorization is unnecessary appears to be very much a minority position.) The first circumstance – recently elaborated in the \*'R2P' doctrine – is

that in which intervention is deemed to be the only means of ending massive and sustained abuse of \*human rights. (The claim that intervention is justified to avert an anticipated humanitarian disaster is much more controversial.) The second is that where intervention (usually to achieve regime change) is deemed to be essential to \*self-defence, that is, where it is believed to be necessary to pre-empt imminent and devastating \*aggression. Both of these doctrines are open to gross abuse. There is also, thirdly, some support for the claim that intervention is justified where it is a counter-intervention in a civil war designed to restore the balance between the internal parties upset by an initial outside intervention. Intervention is distinguishable from \*annexation. *See also* Calvo Doctrine; diplomatic protection (sense 1); Estrada Doctrine; insurgency; sovereignty; sphere of influence.

**investigation.** *See* inquiry.

**isolationism.** The policy of partial or complete non-participation in international matters. The former is

particularly associated with the United States, which acted on this basis throughout the nineteenth century and for much of the first half of the twentieth. Attachment to a policy of isolationism was one reason for the American refusal to join the \*League of Nations and was only abandoned after it was brought into the Second World War by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor (Hawaii) in December 1941. *See also* neutrality; non-alignment; splendid isolation.

**Itamaraty.** The Brazilian \*foreign ministry, so called because its headquarters are located in the Itamaraty Palace in Brasilia.

***ius in bello.*** The laws which govern the conduct of \*war and \*armed conflict. *See also* international humanitarian law.

***ius ad bellum.*** The legal right to go to \*war. During the twentieth century this traditional right was much circumscribed, especially after the signing of the UN \*Charter in 1945. Thus in general terms, offensive war is now permissible in law only in response

to a breach of \**ius cogens* and many commentators would add that it is at least highly desirable that such a breach be certified as such by the \*Security Council. A state that is unlawfully attacked retains the right to defend itself, and other states retain the right to assist it. *See also* aggression; collective security; peace enforcement; self-defence.

***ius cogens.*** That part of \*international law which is peremptory in character. Accordingly, it is not permissible for two or more states, as among themselves, to modify such law. The idea that some part of international law is of this nature was referred to with great frequency during the second half of the twentieth century and can thus be said to have become orthodox. However, the identification of the relevant legal norms is a matter of some difficulty. It has been suggested that they include rules of a fundamental kind regarding the maintenance of \*peace, humanitarian issues, the territorial integrity and political \*independence of states, and the right of all states to enjoy certain common resources (such as those which lie on



the bed of the high seas). It is unclear, however, what practical benefits follow from the designation of such widely accepted ideas as ones of *ius cogens*; and some think that the concept might even be disadvantageous, in that it could facilitate the breach of onerous obligations, or be used to justify interference in matters of \*domestic jurisdiction. But it remains that, formally speaking, the concept of *ius cogens* has entered the language of international law

and diplomacy. Possibly it reflects the rhetorical popularity of the idea of an \*international community despite, or even because of, the fact that to many observers \*international relations (sense 2) fall some way short of that condition.

***ius gentium.*** The law of nations, later \*international law. Originally the common law of the Roman Empire, it was assumed to be of universal application.

# J

**Japanese secretary.** *See* oriental secretary.

**joint commission.** (1) A body consisting of representatives of two states designed to keep under review some issue which is a more or less permanent feature of their relationship, notably the boundary between them or issues related to it. Sometimes quite large in membership and provided with a co-chair by each side, the joint commission usually meets on a regular basis although the interval between meetings may be a year or even more. Good examples are provided by the Canada-United States International Joint Commission on boundary water questions, established under the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty; and the United States-Mexico Binational Commission, which had its origins in 1977 and, among things, discusses anti-narcotics cooperation and

migration. Developing countries frequently use joint commissions for the purposes of oversight of bilateral economic relations and their members may include representatives of private business and chambers of commerce. *See also* claims tribunal. (2) A bilateral \*review meeting. *See also* armistice commission.

**judgment.** The \*binding decision (or 'award') of an international judicial organization or of an arbitral tribunal on a dispute which has been submitted to it. *See also* advisory opinion; claims tribunal.

**judicial settlement.** The settlement of a dispute by a permanent international judicial body as distinct from resort to \*arbitration. Except to the extent to which two or more states have agreed in advance that a specified class of disputes shall be subject to a

particular court's \*compulsory jurisdiction, this device for \*peaceful settlement can only be used when the parties agree to it. The agreement by which this is done is called a \**compromis* or, alternatively, a special agreement. Judicial settlement is generally conducted on the basis of \*international law. But if they wish, states resorting to it may provide that the tribunal proceed \**ex aequo et bono*. See also International Court of Justice.

**jurisconsult.** An early term for a scholarly lawyer, including one who was expert in \*international law.

**justiciable dispute.** One which is considered by the parties to be capable of settlement by \*adjudication – that is, by \*arbitration or \*judicial settlement. In principle, any dispute can be settled on this basis. But if the core of the dispute is not about the application or interpretation of existing \*international law but reflects dissatisfaction with it, resort to adjudication will not provide a real settlement. Nor will it do so unless each of the parties is willing to apply an adverse \*judgment. Justiciable disputes are sometimes known as legal disputes. See also non-justiciable dispute.

# K

**Kaunitz, Count Wenzel Anton von (1711-94).**

Austrian diplomat and politician. After a career as a highly successful diplomat, Kaunitz served as chancellor and foreign minister under three Habsburg rulers from 1753 until his retirement in 1792. He is regarded as one of the ablest statesmen of the eighteenth century. He was also responsible for modernizing the \*Ballhausplatz and inspiring the foundation of the *Akademie der Orientalischen Sprachen* in 1753, from which developed Austria's training school for consuls and diplomats. *See also* Vienna, Diplomatic Academy of.

**Kautilya.** Also known as Chanakya and Vishnugupta, Kautilya is generally believed to have lived somewhere between approximately 300 BC and AD 300 and to have been the friend, adviser, and first minister of Chandragupta Maurya, whom he helped install as king

of Magadha in northern India. Kautilya is remembered today chiefly for his reputed authorship (there is controversy on this question) of a long Sanskrit text on the science of government which came to modern eyes only in 1904. Known as the *Arthashastra*, this is one of the earliest extant works of its kind and has long sections dealing with foreign policy and war. Kautilya's teaching on \*statecraft assumes that kings will always want to expand their territory and should thus regard any with whom they share a common border as a 'natural enemy'. Since his interest is the \*small state (including the 'weak king'), he places great emphasis on the use of the \*envoy, whose duties include 'sending information to his king, ensuring maintenance of the terms of a treaty, upholding his king's honour, acquiring allies, instigating dissension among the friends of the

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enemy, conveying secret agents and troops, suborning the kinsmen of the enemy to his own king's side, acquiring clandestinely gems and other valuable material for his own king, ascertaining secret information and showing valour in liberating hostages'. Envoys were also of great value in playing for time. Kautilya taught that an envoy should never be killed even if an outcast, although he condoned the imprisonment of one who had brought an unwelcome message. Although the list of duties prescribed for the envoy by Kautilya does not suggest that the average mission would be brief, it is clear that he was not speaking of an envoy who was properly permanently resident at a foreign court. Any lengthy stay was because he had been refused permission to leave, in which case he should use every resource at his disposal to subvert the local king. Although Kautilya felt that the giving of \*hostages (sense 1) was the least satisfactory way of guaranteeing a treaty, the fact that he devoted a whole chapter to the subject suggests, as has been pointed out, that this was a common practice in his time. (The first person to offer as a hostage is a treacherous

minister, the last oneself; in between, daughters rather than sons, brave sons rather than wise ones, and so on.) As for the ethics of his statecraft, these are so repellent that it must be said that the common description of Kautilya as the 'Indian \*Machiavelli' is a serious libel on the Florentine secretary. The *Arthashastra* is a work of great pedantry and replete with banalities and circular statements. Although of little if any enduring theoretical significance, it is nevertheless of great historical interest. In its defence it might also be added that the *Arthashastra* laid great – albeit calculating – emphasis on the welfare of the people: 'In the happiness of his subjects lies the king's happiness; in their welfare his welfare.' A modern translation, with the text helpfully rearranged and interpreted, was produced by the former Indian ambassador L. N. Rangarajan in 1992. In New Delhi the \*diplomatic quarter is named Chanakyapuri in honour of \*Kautilya. *See also* raison d'état.

**Kellogg Pact.** *See* Briand-Kellogg Pact.

**King's messenger.** *See* Queen's messenger.

**Kissinger, Henry (1923–).**

American scholar and presidential adviser. Born of German-Jewish parents who fled to America in 1938, Henry (formerly 'Heinz') Kissinger was a professor of International Relations at Harvard University until he was invited to be \*national security advisor by Richard Nixon after his victory in the US presidential election in November 1968. In August 1973 he also became \*secretary of state, a position he held until the Republicans surrendered the White House at the beginning of 1977.

A student and admirer of \*Metternich, Kissinger brought to the formulation of US foreign policy a strong belief in the idea of the \*balance of power (sense 3) at the point in America's fortunes when it seemed that it was becoming just another \*major power. During his early years as national security advisor, Kissinger was also famous for activities, often highly secret, as a \*special envoy, particularly in the negotiations which led to the ending of the Vietnam War (for which, together with Le Duc Tho, he won the \*Nobel Peace Prize in 1973) and the opening to the

People's Republic of China. It was this side of his activities which led, as he became a major international celebrity, to the popularization of the term \*linkage and – at least in this extreme form – the invention of \*shuttle diplomacy.

For students of Kissinger's views on diplomacy and his theory of international relations, probably the most important of his many writings are the first of his three volumes of memoirs, *The White House Years* (1979), and his doctoral thesis, subsequently published under the title *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812–22* (1957).

See also concession (sense 1); Huang Hua; step-by-step diplomacy; triangular diplomacy.

**kissing hands.** The British ceremony at which the head of state appoints an \*ambassador or \*high commissioner (other than one to the \*Queen's realms). Nowadays, hands are no longer kissed – but the terminology is retained.

**kowitz.** The manner in which a \*tributary ruler physically abased himself before

the emperor of China. The kowtow involved three separate kneelings, each followed by three successive prostrations of the body in which the nose came into intimate contact with the ground: in all, three kneelings and nine prostrations. This procedure was not popular with the foreign envoys who visited the court of the celestial empire prior to its humiliation in the Opium Wars of the mid-nineteenth century. *See also* audience.

**Kreisky, Bruno (1911-90).** Austrian diplomat and politician. On returning to Austria from exile in Sweden during the Second World War, Kreisky was sent back to serve at the Austrian \*legation in Stockholm. In 1951 he progressed to the Foreign Affairs Department of the \*chancellery in Vienna and remained there until elected to the National Assembly at the beginning of 1956. In 1959 he became not only chair of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ) but also foreign minister, a post he retained until 1966. In the following year he was elected leader of the SPÖ and in 1970 chancellor of Austria. He

held both positions until his retirement in 1983. Pursuing a policy of 'active \*neutrality' abroad, Kreisky was a highly regarded \*mediator and without doubt one of the most gifted statesmen of the second half of the twentieth century.

**Kremlin.** The ancient citadel in Moscow within which, among other buildings, the offices of the Russian government are located. It has thus become shorthand for the Russian, formerly Soviet, government.

**Kremlinology.** The study of the workings of the former Soviet Union from a distance. Kremlinologists were found chiefly among Western journalists, academics and diplomats during the \*Cold War. With little if any access to reliable information from inside the state, they looked for clues to possible changes in policy and shifts in the balance of power within the Communist Party elite by studying sources which in other circumstances would be regarded as highly suspect or relatively trivial: for example, official statements and newspapers, where

changes in phraseology or the emphasis on different subjects might be significant; and photographs and film footage of ceremonial occasions (especially the annual

May Day parade), where changes in the composition of those standing nearest to the leader might be equally so. *See also* China watcher; listening post.



# L

**laissez-passer.** (1) A letter of recommendation to the customs authorities asking that the luggage and effects of a \*diplomat or \*diplomatic courier be allowed to pass through without inspection; it is issued by the embassy of the country which it is proposed to enter. (2) A travel document issued by an \*international organization to its officials which may be treated by some states as the equivalent of a \*diplomatic passport. (3) In some states, a document issued to persons residing within its border who are not citizens. *See also* safe conduct.

**Larkin, Frederick A. (1887–1975).** Construction industry engineer and US \*State Department officer. From 1936 until his retirement in 1952 Larkin directed the purchase and sale of America's diplomatic real

estate as head of what latterly came to be known as the State Department's Office of Foreign Buildings Operations (FBO). It was Larkin who first proposed and then vigorously supported the plan to finance America's post-war building of new diplomatic and consular properties abroad from the vast reservoir of foreign credits accumulated by the United States during the Second World War. Following congressional approval in 1946, the result was an unprecedented surge in US diplomatic building and considerable architectural licence in its design. By the time he retired, Larkin, who had travelled the world making deals, could boast that the US \*Foreign Service had acquired 737 buildings abroad, purchased 92 additional sites, and had 36 new buildings already under construction. *See also* Inman standards.

**Lauterpacht, Sir Hersch.**  
*See Oppenheim's International Law.*

**law-making treaty.** One to which many states are parties and so has become widely applicable. However, it is an unfortunate term in that it implies, incorrectly, that a bilateral \*treaty or one with few parties does not, for those parties, constitute law.

**law of nations.** *See ius gentium.*

**laws of war.** *See international humanitarian law.*

**Law of Treaties, Vienna Convention on (1969).** This \*convention brought together and tidied up most of the rules of \*customary international law regarding \*treaties and extended a good number of them. It was the product of much preparatory work by the \*International Law Commission. It \*entered into force in 1980 and in January 2011 had 111 parties. Despite the significant shortfall in \*signatures and \*accessions, in large measure it is generally seen as expressive of customary law on the subject and to that extent is \*binding on all states.

**lead ministry.** The ministry with formal responsibility for a \*negotiation. In a negotiation where one ministry is allowed to 'take the lead', others are naturally involved; formal responsibility does not, therefore, imply exclusive influence. It is usually the \*line ministries (e.g. transport, agriculture) that are described as the lead ministries in their particular sectors within the European Union, although there is nothing to prevent a \*foreign ministry from being the lead ministry in a particular negotiation. *See also diplomatic channels.*

**league.** (1) An old term for an \*alliance. Two good examples are the anti-Venetian League of Cambrai, which saw the forces of Pope Julius II, Louis of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian rout the republic at Aguadello in 1509; and the anti-French League of Augsburg (1686). (2) An old term for a \*confederation, as in the cases of Switzerland and the Swabian League (created in 1488 and boasting regular meetings, tribunals, and a common force of infantry and horse). This is the meaning employed by \*Machiavelli in the section of

his *Discourses* where he considers the various methods which a republic might employ in order to expand. (3) An \*international organization, either universal in aspiration, as in the \*League of Nations, or regional in scope, as in the League of Arab States.

**League of Nations.** Provided for in the first part of the 1919 peace treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany – the Treaty of Versailles – the League of Nations was the first general \*international organization to be charged with the maintenance of \*peace. In this area it represented the breakthrough into the \*international society of the idea of \*collective security, suggesting that state practice on the fundamental issues of peace and \*war would in future proceed on a radically different basis from what had hitherto been orthodox. However, the League's \*Covenant also reflected the \*realism (sense 1) of its makers in that it did not try to embody a full-blown version of collective security. And the events leading to the Second World War showed that states did not feel able fully to honour even the

Covenant's limited expression of the idea. Thus so far as its primary purpose is concerned, the League is often said to have failed. But it did not fail in this all the time, nor in respect of all its other purposes. And at the level of ideas the League undoubtedly reflected something in the nature of a revolution which, in the second half of the twentieth century, was to be confirmed and extended – notably by the \*United Nations.

The League came into being in 1920 with 42 members. Subsequently, 20 other states were admitted; 17 departed (as was their right); and one (the Soviet Union) was deemed to have expelled itself (by invading Finland in 1939). All members were represented (with one vote each) in the League Assembly, which immediately insisted on meeting annually and gave rise to what later became known as \*multilateral (or parliamentary) diplomacy. The major victorious powers were permanent members of the League Council (except that the United States could not take its seat, as it failed to \*ratify the Treaty of Versailles) and they were later added to; there were also some

non-permanent (and, later, semi-permanent) council members. The League was based in Geneva, Switzerland, where a truly international \*secretariat was established for the first time. A striking building was eventually constructed there as the League's headquarters and meeting place, which was ready for occupation in the late 1930s just when the League was fast going downhill. (It is now the UN's European headquarters.) The League was formally wound up in 1946.

The League of Nations was responsible for the supervision of the \*mandates system, given certain protective tasks in respect of \*minorities, acted as the governing authority of two territories which were subject to temporary \*internationalization, engaged in much work of a 'technical' kind, sponsored a number of 'auxiliary' organizations (some of which were the forerunners of the UN's \*specialized agencies), and had a close relationship with the \*Permanent Court of International Justice. *See also* Briand-Kellogg Pact; Entezam; Estrada; international civil servant.

**ledger ambassador.** *See* *lieger*.

**legal.** *See* \*intelligence officer.

**legal adviser.** (1) The head of the office within a \*foreign ministry responsible for advice on \*international law. The equivalent UN officer is called the legal counsel. Since 1989 the legal advisers of many states have held informal meetings in the margins of meetings of the Sixth Committee (Legal) of the UN \*General Assembly in New York. (2) Any member of a legal adviser's office.

**legal dispute.** *See* justiciable dispute.

**legalization.** Confirmation that a public official's signature, \*seal (sense 1), or stamp is genuine. A document emanating from within one state – a university degree certificate, for example, or a statement made before a legal official, or a birth certificate – may not be accepted in another state without an assurance by the first state of its authenticity. Such an assurance may be provided (for a fee) by the attachment of a legalization certificate (also called an *apostille*) to the document by the legalization office of a \*foreign ministry.

**legalization office.** See legalization.

**legate.** (1) From the ancient world until the early modern period, any person sent by any other on diplomatic business. In his *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (1585), \*Gentili tells us: 'In Roman law the technical term for ambassadors is *legati* from *legare* "to send with a commission".' (2) A papal emissary. Entrenched in canon law, the term 'legate' was still being used by the \*Holy See in the twentieth century, long after it had fallen into disuse elsewhere. A papal legate *a latere* (literally, 'from the side of the pope') is usually a cardinal entrusted with a \*special mission. The *legate missus* is now described as a \*nuncio, while the *legate natus* has no \*diplomatic status. See also legation; right of legation.

**legate a latere.** See legate.

**legation.** A \*resident or \*non-resident diplomatic mission headed by a \*minister (sense 1) – that is, by a \*head of mission of the second \*diplomatic class. Ordinarily, the minister's full title is \*envoy extraordinary and minister

plenipotentiary. Legations used to be the usual type of diplomatic mission, \*embassies being exchanged only between \*major powers. However, since the Second World War they have gone dramatically out of fashion. The process seems to have begun during the war, when, with the agreement of the \*receiving state, virtually all legations in Washington were raised to embassies, partly because \*sending states wanted to emphasize the importance they attached to their relationship with the United States and partly because they wanted to keep up with the rest. Thereafter the emphasis on the \*equality of states which attended the process of decolonization ensured that it was only a short while before no receiving state was willing to accept what was in effect a second class diplomatic mission. The day of the legation had passed.

**legation quarter.** See diplomatic quarter.

**leonine agreement.** An \*agreement in which one party obtains 'the lion's share' of \*concessions; in other words, a one-sided agreement.

The term is inspired by one of Aesop's fables. *See also* unequal treaty.

**letter of introduction.**

(1) An informal type of \*credentials used by a \*high commissioner when the head of both the \*sending and the \*receiving state is the British monarch. It consists of a letter from the \*head of government of the sending state to their counterpart in the receiving state, thereby overcoming the problem of a self-addressed communication by the monarch. The letter of introduction was first used in the 1950s to standardize what had hitherto been a variable procedure. It may also provide the opportunity of an early meeting with the prime minister. *See also* letters of commission; letters of recall; presentation of credentials.

(2) The term used by Britain for the credentials given to its \*permanent representatives to \*international organizations.

**letter of protection.** (1) A document testifying that the bearer enjoys the diplomatic and consular protection of the issuing authority, normally a foreign state. Letters of this kind have played a significant

role in modern history and, not surprisingly, have proved controversial. The *berât* of the Ottoman Empire, which was commonly sold to a subject of the sultan by an embassy in Constantinople, is a notable example. Originally deriving from the \*exequatur issued by the Ottoman authorities through the embassies in the city and intended for the protection of \*consuls and \*dragomans, these documents came to be the object of serious abuse in the eighteenth century. Among others who had not the remotest connection with diplomatic or consular work, non-Muslim merchants, such as Armenians and Greeks, were especially attracted by the *berât* because it exempted them from Ottoman taxes, the discriminatory practices of the sultan's courts, and the non-Muslim dress code which advertised their minority status in a crowd and thus sometimes put their safety at risk. For their part, the ambassadors saw the *berâts* as an important source of income, selling them for substantial sums and expecting presents from their *berâtli* (holders of *berâts*) when newly arrived in the city. In the eighteenth

## 230 letter of request

century Constantinople and cities such as Aleppo were awash with holders of *berāts*, the market prices of which were an accurate barometer of the degree of respect in which the Sublime \*Porte held the issuing embassy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Russian *berāts* were the most expensive. The Ottoman government hated the system, as did some ambassadors, and it was finally abolished in the early nineteenth century.

Another notable letter of protection was the *schutzbrief* (also known as the *schutzpass*), over 50,000 of which were famously issued to Jews by Carl Lutz, Swiss consul in Budapest during the last years of the Second World War. They provided a guarantee that bearers were under the protection of Switzerland until they were able to leave Hungary. Diplomats of many other nationalities resident in Nazi-occupied Europe also issued, without authority from home, thousands of \*visas to Jews threatened with the death camps and did so at considerable risk to their careers and in some cases their lives. *See also* protecting power; safe-conduct.

(2) A letter that confirmed that all of the lands and possessions of an envoy were under the special protection of his monarch while he was absent on diplomatic business. Issued to envoys prior to their departure, these were no doubt designed to reduce resistance to this kind of employment. Such letters were a particular feature of the medieval period.

**letter of request.** *See* rogatory letter.

**letter rogatory.** *See* rogatory letter.

**letters of commission.** The \*Commonwealth version of \*letters of credence (hence the plural, although 'letter of commission' is also encountered). The term came into use in 1950 to accommodate the innovation of the entry of a \*republic – India – into the Commonwealth. The exact phraseology which was adopted (at India's suggestion), reflected the fact that the \*head of mission sent by one Commonwealth state to another was (and is) called a \*high commissioner; and the thought that the more usual term, 'letters of credence',

was a feature of 'foreign' relationships and therefore inappropriate for the \*special relationship which was then deemed to exist between Commonwealth members. Intra-Commonwealth relations might latterly have changed, but there appears to be no inclination to alter the terminology even though, in informal contexts, letters of commission may be referred to as 'credentials'. *See also* letter of introduction.

**letters of credence.** The \*credentials with which a newly appointed \*ambassador (as distinct from a \*high commissioner) is furnished. They take the form of a letter (although the plural is generally used) in which (to use typical wording) the sending \*head of state's counterpart in the \*receiving state is asked to 'give entire credence to all that [the ambassador] shall have occasion to communicate to you in my name'. They are a specific (and often rather colourful) instance of the general rule that any \*agent (senses 1 and 2) needs to carry documents of authentication. It should be noted, however, that since 2005 the credentials of heads

of mission in Canada have been addressed to the governor-general directly (rather than the head of state, Queen Elizabeth II) and Canada's \*governors-general also sign the credentials of Canadian heads of mission. And in some other monarchical states the letters may be countersigned by the prime minister or foreign minister.

In the days when \*ministers (sense 1) were appointed as \*heads of mission, they too carried letters of credence of the type given to ambassadors, announcing the minister as the representative of the sending state's head of state. But a \*chargé d'affaires *en titre* (another virtually extinct breed of head of mission) was accredited not to the head of state but to the receiving state's \*foreign minister. Accordingly, his credentials were furnished by the sending state's foreign minister for presentation to his counterpart in the receiving state.

Traditionally, a head of mission could not assume his full functions until he had \*presented his credentials. This could (and still can) sometimes result in a fairly lengthy period in limbo for the head of mission designate,



while the convenience of the receiving state's head of state was awaited. Taking advantage of an ambiguity in the \*Regulation of Vienna (1815), some states therefore adopted the practice of treating the head of mission as fully \**en poste* as from the date on which (as was customary) he notified the receiving state's foreign ministry of his arrival and furnished the ministry with a \*working copy of his letters of credence. This has now been accepted as legitimate, and appears to be quite widely followed. However, each receiving state must adopt a uniform practice in the matter.

It is not known whether the Democratic Republic of the Congo had, by 1965, adopted the practice of allowing an ambassador to act as such before presenting letters of credence. (Its attitude to such matters was said to have been 'flexible'.) But in that year the country's president asked the newly arrived Canadian ambassador to visit him urgently in advance of the credentials ceremony. He had a small favour to ask: the transmission by diplomatic bag of US\$400 to his son, who was studying in Ottawa and had run short of

cash. The ambassador readily agreed. A few hours later news arrived at the embassy that a new, and earlier, date had been fixed for the presentation of the ambassador's letters of credence.

*See also* letters of commission; letter of introduction; representative character.

**letters of recall.** The formal letter (although the plural is generally used – in French, *lettres de rappel*) sent by the \*sending state's \*head of state to that of the \*receiving state announcing that a \*head of mission is being \*recalled (sense 2). Usually that letter is presented to the head of state by the incoming head of mission, together with \*letters of credence. It should be noted, however, that the departure of a \*high commissioner from one of the \*Queen's realms to another (who, on appointment, is furnished not with letters of credence but with a \*letter of introduction) is not marked by the issue of the equivalent of letters of recall. *See also* recredential.

**lettre de cabinet.** Compared to the \**lettre de chancellerie*, a relatively familiar and informal

style of communication and thus the most common form of communication between \*monarchs regarding themselves as equals (*'Monsieur mon frère'*, or *'cousin'*, or *'ma soeur'*, etc.). It is also written on smaller paper and by no means always countersigned by a government \*minister (sense 3). It could serve many purposes, including provision of the \*credentials of a \*diplomatic agent, \*recall of the agent, the expression of condolences on a death, and so on.

**lettre de chancellerie.** The most ceremonious form in which a communication from a \*monarch could be presented, resplendent with the titles of the sending sovereign and other regal flourishes. Normally countersigned by the \*foreign minister (sense 1), the *lettre de chancellerie* could serve a variety of purposes, including provision of the \*credentials of a \*diplomatic agent, \*recall of the agent, and so on. Never common, it tended to be used when there was a discrepancy in rank between sender and receiver and typically when the monarch was communicating with the president of a republic. *See also lettre de cabinet.*

**lettre de part.** *See* diplomatic courier.

**lettres de rappel.** *See* letters of recall.

**lettre de récréance.** *See* recredencial.

**levee.** (1) Originally a seventeenth century term meaning a morning assembly or reception of visitors (including diplomatic envoys) held by a prince on rising from his bed (from the French *'se lever'*, to rise or get up). (2) *Levee*, or *levée*, subsequently came to mean a reception of visitors by \*heads of state or their representative – often, in the case of a monarchy, a lesser member of the royal family.

**liaison office.** *See* representative office.

**lieger.** Late Middle Ages usage for the head of a \*resident mission, as in the term *'lieger ambassador'*. Sometimes spelled *'ledger'* or *'ligier'* (e.g. by \*Hotman), it derives from *'ledger'* meaning a book that lies permanently in some place. *Lieger* ambassadors came to be referred to more commonly as *'ambassadors in ordinary'*.

**line ministry.** Alternatively 'line department', any ministry other than the \*foreign ministry.

**linkage.** So called by Henry \*Kissinger, the simultaneous negotiation of two or more unrelated issues, with agreement on one being made conditional on agreement on the other. This approach is offensive to those who believe that all issues should be treated 'on their merits'. A classic example is the negotiations in the 1980s which linked the South African presence in Namibia to the Cuban presence in Angola. South Africa eventually withdrew from Namibia not because it acknowledged a legal obligation to do so but because – among other reasons – it was offered the Cuban withdrawal from Angola in exchange. *See also* Homans's theorem; package deal.

**listening device.** One used by a \*receiving state, contrary to international law, to overhear conversation within a diplomatic mission or to intercept its messages. Also known as a 'bug', such devices have sometimes (especially during the \*Cold War) been

implanted in \*diplomatic premises during the course of their construction. *See also* freedom of communication; SCIF.

**listening post.** A diplomatic or consular mission which gives particular emphasis to, and is of unusual importance for, gathering information. The missions of some states at the United Nations in New York are sometimes described in this way, although it is more usual to come across the term in connection with missions located adjacently to territories into which access is difficult if not impossible. Such was the case with the US legation in Riga, Latvia, in regard to American information-gathering on the Soviet Union in the 1920s and early 1930s and also with the US \*consulate-general in Hong Kong in regard to the People's Republic of China before the Sino-American \*rapprochement of the early 1970s. *See also* China watcher; Henderson; Kremlinology.

**lobbying.** Applying pressure on those with legislative or executive authority to obtain a decision favourable to one's cause. Deriving from the

habit of those petitioners who sought to catch British legislators outside the chamber of the House of Commons, that is to say in the lobby. Lobbying is usually a major preoccupation of diplomatic missions.

**local diplomatic rank.** *See* local rank.

**localitis.** The adoption by diplomats of the point of view of the government of the \*receiving state, traditionally assumed to be the result of having been posted there for too long. Sometimes known as 'going native', this is the chief reason why diplomats now tend, at some cost in the waste of acquired expertise, to be rotated between different regions and not spend longer than three or four years at the same \*post. Another reason for short terms of duty in some posts is 'anti-localitis', the opposite of localitis. This is the adoption by diplomats of an attitude of indiscriminating hostility to the interests and policies of the host state, caused by unfriendly treatment or harsh or primitive conditions of life in the state concerned. *See also* hardship post.

**locally engaged staff.**

Normally, members of the staff of a diplomatic mission or consular post who are nationals of or permanently resident in the \*receiving state (in US parlance, 'Foreign Service Nationals'). However, this category may also include those employed by a mission who are spouses of members of the \*diplomatic staff or, for example, spouses of businessmen or women from the sending state who are doing a limited tour of duty in the country concerned. Although, with the consent of the receiving state, its citizens may be employed as \*diplomatic agents, this is rare. Hence, the vast majority of locally engaged staff are to be found among the ranks of the \*administrative and technical and the \*service staff, and among the ranks of any private servants. *See also* dragoman; honorary consular officer; proxenos; Wicquefort.

**local power.** A US State Department term for the \*receiving state in the context of an agreement – formal or tacit – in which an embassy in that state is appointed the \*protecting power for a third state (the protected state).

**local rank.** A rank given to a diplomatic or consular agent that is higher than the officer's substantive \*diplomatic rank and therefore carries no increase in salary. Other than for personal reasons, it is normally awarded to give the individual concerned more status in the \*receiving state and thus perhaps greater access to circles of influence. In this sense the term is a contraction of the term 'local diplomatic rank'.

**Locarno, spirit of.** An atmosphere of reconciliation and \*détente. It derives from the Treaties of Locarno, which comprised a whole series of interlocking treaties \*initialled in the Swiss town of Locarno in 1925 (and \*signed in London shortly afterwards). The treaties led to Germany's post-First World War restoration to the comity of nations as a great and respected power and were hailed as 'the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace'. In

1953, when his prime ministerial years were coming to an end, Winston Churchill unsuccessfully sought high-level East-West talks in the hope of regenerating the spirit of Locarno.

**logothete of the drome.** In the Byzantine Empire after the mid-eighth century, the official with greatest responsibility for imperial diplomacy. The original duty of the logothete of the drome was to oversee the security and efficiency of the postal routes. However, this duly gave him supervision of the office for barbarian affairs and the corps of interpreters and thus general responsibility for the despatch of Byzantine ambassadors and the reception of foreign ambassadors in Constantinople. He was usually a man of great influence and an adviser to the emperor on foreign policy. *See also* Byzantine diplomacy.

**London Gazette.** *See* gazette.

# M

**Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469–1527).** Florentine diplomat, civil servant, playwright, and political and military theorist. Machiavelli is now best known for his short book *The Prince*, which analysed the political world as it was rather than as it ought to be. It thus scandalized the Church and his name became a byword for cunning, deceit, and ruthlessness. His most important work, however, is to be found in the *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy*, where he uses the Roman historian as a foil to advance his own political theory. Machiavelli's diplomatic \*despatches to the Florentine *signoria* from other Italian city states and from France and Germany, together with the \*instructions with which he was supplied, are to be found in two of the four volumes of his works translated into English in the late nineteenth century under the

title *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli*, vols III and IV ('The Missions'). More interested in military than diplomatic technique, Machiavelli's only explicit reflection on the last (and that entirely conventional) is to be found in his letter of 1522 which was subsequently titled 'Advice to Raffaelo Girolami when he went as Ambassador to the Emperor'. Nevertheless, Machiavelli is important for students of diplomacy because not only was he the first \*realist (sense 1) but, as Meinecke points out, 'the first person to discover the real nature of \*raison d'état'. See also Guicciardini; Kautilya.

**major power.** A convenient term now sometimes used to describe the most powerful states in the contemporary world. It does not carry the historical baggage of the term \*'great power', while its

vagueness permits it to embrace the one remaining \*superpower – the United States – and its nearest rivals, together with powerful states which do not have permanent seats on the UN \*Security Council as well as those that do. If ‘superpower’ is regarded as a synonym for ‘great power’, the category of ‘major power’ covers both the great powers and the upper \*middle powers. *See also* permanent members.

**Malmesbury, First Earl of.**

*See* Harris, Sir James.

**mandate.** (1) Generally, an authorization to act in specified ways, as in the case of the \*Geneva mandate. (2) A territory placed under the \*mandates system.

**mandates system.** After the First World War the defeated states were stripped of their \*colonies and imperial territories. But, in a departure from previous practice, the victorious powers did not simply \*annex them. Instead, their well-being was declared to be ‘a sacred trust of civilization’ and placed in the hands of certain ‘advanced’ (and victorious) states. These states governed on the basis of a mandate formally granted by

the Council of the \*League of Nations, but in the drafting of which they (the so-called mandatory powers) had had a large hand.

The mandatories were obliged to report annually to the League, which established the Permanent Mandates Commission to examine the reports on its behalf and advise it on the execution of the mandates. The commission was composed of independent experts, with nationals of non-mandatories in the majority. It was not, however, a very intrusive form of international supervision and one well-placed observer (Salvador de Madariaga, a former member of the League’s secretariat) said of the system that ‘the old hag of colonialism puts on a fig leaf and calls herself mandate’.

By the time the League was wound up in 1946 a few mandates had become \*sovereign states. Those that remained were transferred to the UN \*trusteeship system, other than South West Africa, as South Africa (the mandatory power) would not agree to this.

**mandatory power.** *See* mandates system.

**manual of military law.** *See* military manual.

**marshal of the diplomatic corps.** The British official who oversees ceremonial occasions which involve both the state and members of the London \*diplomatic corps. Thus, for example, the marshal organizes and is in attendance at the \*presentation of letters of credence. Usually a retired armed services officer, he is a member of that part of the Royal Household which is called the Lord Chamberlain's office. However, it should be noted that the day-to-day functions of the marshal are performed by the \*Protocol Department of the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office under the supervision of a director (formerly assistant under-secretary), who also has the title 'vice-marshal of the diplomatic corps'.

**Massaquoi, Momolu (1870-1938).** Liberian politician and diplomat. Momolu Massaquoi was a highly born member of the Vai tribe who by the early 1920s had become a popular politician with presidential ambitions. As is sometimes the way, this led the incumbent \*head of state to decide on the advisability of sending him to an important but remote post abroad, with the result

that Massaquoi appears to have been the first indigenous African diplomat to be resident in Europe. In 1922 he was sent to Hamburg in Germany as diplomatic \*representative (according to the *\*Almanach de Gotha*) and \*consul-general. He remained at this post until 1929, eventually becoming \*dean of the Hamburg \*consular corps and attracting many visitors, including Africans from many different parts of the continent seeking his advice and assistance.

**master of ceremonies.** See protocol.

**mediation.** (1) The active search for a negotiated settlement to an international or intrastate conflict by an impartial \*third party. The search is 'active' in the sense that the work of the intermediary may go so far as to involve drawing up the \*agenda, calling and chairing negotiating sessions, proposing solutions, and employing threats and promises towards the rivals. (This is why mediators are sometimes described as 'active intermediaries' or 'full partners'.) It is a matter of controversy whether the mediator need be impartial



before the start of negotiations but there is still general agreement on its necessity once they have commenced. (To suggest that partisanship for one side in a conflict is a necessary or at least advantageous attribute of a mediator – as some do – is to commit a category error. A so-called mediator who adopts a partisan attitude succeeds merely in rendering the negotiation an exercise in ordinary \*multilateral diplomacy.) Not to be confused with \*conciliation or \*good offices, this strict concept of mediation is the older – and still a very common – usage. (2) On a more recent and looser usage, any diplomatic activity by an intermediary, of whatever quality or degree, which is designed to promote a negotiated settlement to a conflict. *See also* venue.

**medium power.** *See* middle power.

**megaphone diplomacy.** A term applied to the style of public exchanges in the early 1980s between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and the United Kingdom on the other. A notable instance of this was

President Reagan's speech before the British House of Commons in June 1982 which referred to the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire'. *See also* propaganda; public diplomacy.

**MEMCON.** A US State Department acronym for a memorandum recording the important points which came up in a conversation with a foreign official or other contact.

**mémoire.** *See* aide-mémoire.

**memorandum.** *See* aide-mémoire.

**memorandum of understanding (MOU).** An international \*instrument to which resort is had where a written agreement is needed but where it is more convenient to avoid the formalities of a \*treaty and where the establishment of legally \*binding obligations are deemed unnecessary. Consequentially, an MOU usually eschews treaty language. One may be used where it is expected that the agreement's details will need frequent change, or where the subject matter is confidential (e.g. defence). It may also be used to supplement a treaty.

Confusingly, some treaties are called memoranda of understanding; and some MOUs may be given other names, such as 'arrangement' or 'diplomatic assurance'. An MOU can take the form either of a single document or of an exchange of \*notes (sense 2) or of letters. Intra-\*Commonwealth agreements often take the form of MOUs.

**memorial.** An early term for a \*memorandum.

**Mendoza, Don Bernadino de.** *See* Gentili.

**Menon, K. P. S. (1898–1982).**

Indian civil servant and diplomat. K. P. S. Menon joined the Indian Civil Service in 1921 and was one of India's most senior diplomats in the years immediately following independence in 1947. However, he served in a 'diplomatic' capacity long before this. He was \*agent (sense 3) for India in Ceylon (1929–33), where his demanding task was to look after the interests of an important element of the Indian \*diaspora: the large body of Indian immigrants, especially the indentured plantation labourers hired from the near-starving mil-

lions of the Madras Presidency. In 1943 he was given another 'semi-diplomatic' appointment when he was sent as \*agent-general (sense 2) to the Chinese government – first at Chungking and later at Nanking; his title caused some confusion in the \*diplomatic corps (sense 1), despite the fact that he was given the \*local rank of \*minister (sense 2). With the formation of the Indian Foreign Service in September 1946, in preparation for independence, it was agreed that India and China would upgrade their missions to embassies (at the time China had a 'commissioner' in Delhi) and in January 1947 it was announced that Menon had become India's first ambassador to China. A man of legendary generosity and charm, he was popular in China and remained there until 1948. He was then appointed foreign secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in Delhi (a post at that time subordinate to a secretary-general) and served in that position until May 1952 when he became head of the ministry himself. His tenure of that post was however brief, for less than

two months later his appointment as ambassador to the Soviet Union was announced. K. P. S. Menon appears to have been as popular in the USSR as he had been previously in China, and he remained in Moscow until 1961. In his retirement he was chairman of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Association and acquired the reputation for being one of Moscow's most ardent supporters – although he appears to have pulled no punches in his despatches from Budapest (to which he had been \*side accredited) during the Hungarian uprising in 1956. In the late 1970s he was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize. He was also a gifted writer and wrote numerous books which drew on his diplomatic experiences, among them *The Flying Troika: Extracts from a Diary by K. P. S. Menon, India's Ambassador to Russia, 1952–61* (1963), *China Past and Present* (1969), *Russia Revisited* (1971), *Many Worlds: An autobiography* (1971), and *Memories and Musings* (1979). K. P. S. Menon was the patriarch of one of India's most famous \*diplomatic families, one son becoming an ambassador and for a time foreign secretary, a grandson likewise, while

a son-in-law – the father of the latter – was also a diplomat who reached the rank of ambassador. It is important to add, however, that he was no relation to Nehru's close political friend, the brilliant but acerbic Krishna Menon, whose leftist attitudes alarmed the United States and its allies during the first decades of the \*Cold War. In 2009 the K. P. S. Menon Chair for Diplomatic Studies was established at the Mahatma Gandhi University located in his birthplace, Kottayam, in Kerala state.

**Menon, Krishna.** *See* Menon, K. P. S.

**Metternich, Prince Klemens von (1773–1859).**

Diplomat and statesman of the Austrian Empire. Metternich's ambassadorships included Paris, where he obtained a close view of Napoleon. In 1809 he was appointed foreign minister and in 1821 chancellor and held both posts until driven into exile in 1848. Deeply conservative in his views, Metternich presided over the Congress of \*Vienna in 1815 and was without doubt one of the great architects of the restoration of the \*international order which had been

mangled so effectively in the French revolutionary wars. *See also* Kissinger; Talleyrand.

**MFA.** *See* foreign ministry.

**micro-mission.** A term sometimes used to describe a very small mission or office established by the \*sending state in the \*receiving state, consisting of perhaps just one or two diplomatic service personnel and a few \*locally engaged staff. It may be a resident diplomatic mission with an ambassadorial head, a \*satellite office, or a \*consular post. *See also* American presence post.

**micro-state.** Often understood to mean a state with less than one million inhabitants. A term with a roughly similar meaning is 'mini-state'.

**Middle East Centre for Arab Studies (MECAS).** MECAS was a school established in Jerusalem in 1944 by the British Army, although chiefly with \*Foreign Office funding and due to backing of the idea by Richard \*Casey. Its purpose was to train officers in Arabic and provide 'background studies' in the history and culture of the Middle East. Ironically enough,

its first principal instructor in Arabic was Abba \*Eban. In 1947, as violence in Jerusalem intensified, the centre moved to the village of Shemlan near Beirut, Lebanon, and shortly afterwards a Foreign Office man was appointed director. Soldiers continued to be prominent among MECAS students (some becoming \*service attachés in Arab capitals) but gradually they were overtaken by British and \*Commonwealth diplomats, a cohort which included a few \*intelligence officers. However, as the centre's reputation (and its need for money) grew, it began to recruit students from the oil industry, banking, and so on – and also from friendly foreign diplomatic services, despite an acute consciousness that by doing so it was strengthening Britain's competitors for markets in the Middle East. The \**Gaimushō*, for example, sent its first diplomat to study at MECAS in 1961 and many more Japanese officers followed; diplomats from at least nine other foreign services also attended its courses. Unfortunately, the centre also gained a reputation in the Arab world for being a 'school for spies', which was reinforced when the notorious

double agent, George Blake, was arrested while studying there. In Israel its reputation was rather different: it was the place where British diplomats were indoctrinated in anti-Zionism. Shemlan was a Maronite outpost on the border of Druze territory and it was under threat – and briefly evacuated – whenever the political temperature in the region shot up. In 1978, in the midst of the civil war in Lebanon, MECAS was finally closed altogether. During its 34-year life it had graduated about 1100 language students (and many more on its short background courses) and these – as its historian, Sir James Craig, remarked in 1998 – ‘formed the backbone of British diplomacy in the Middle East and North Africa during the past 40 years’.

**middle power.** Sometimes known as a ‘medium power’, a state which is regarded as being in the second rank after the \*major powers but has sufficient weight within its own region to be considered a ‘regional great power’. A good example is South Africa in southern Africa. The status of middle power was implicitly recognized by the creation

of semi-permanent seats on the Council of the \*League of Nations in 1926, although the subsequent efforts of Canada and Australia (sometimes described as ‘the original middle powers’) to have priority given to this class of states in elections to non-permanent seats on the UN \*Security Council did not prove successful. There is an interesting theory that middle powers are predisposed to \*internationalism since they have insufficient power to dispose them to ‘imperialist’ policies but enough to make them good soldiers on behalf of the UN.

**MIFT.** ‘My immediately following telegram’.

**military adviser.** *See* military attaché.

**military attaché.** Usually an army officer attached to a diplomatic mission, although an individual listed as ‘naval and military attaché’, for example, could be a naval officer assigned the task of representing the army as well. A military attaché is occasionally known as an ‘army attaché’ in the US Foreign Service and in at least

one other diplomatic service as an 'army adviser'. As between member states of the \*Commonwealth, the equivalent individual is designated as a 'military adviser'. *See also* service attaché.

**military consul.** An army officer appointed as a \*consular officer. Military consuls were introduced into the remote and often lawless Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire by Britain in 1878, following promises made by the sultan to extend better treatment to his Christian subjects who lived there. Their official tasks were to provide advice to provincial governors and, by observing developments, to maintain pressure on the sultan to keep his word. At the same time, they were charged with spying out the wild and mountainous areas bordering Russia – which also employed military consuls – and keeping an eye on Russian military activities. The \*Foreign Office had difficulty in handling the military consuls and it was not long before the experiment was abandoned. Nevertheless, while they remained, they were important players in the \*great game. *See also* political consul.

**military manual.** The volume containing a state's instructions to its senior military personnel on the conduct of \*war or \*armed conflict in accordance with \*international humanitarian law. For example, the 1914 edition of the *Manual of Military Law* of the British War Office described in detail what commanders could and could not do in negotiating the terms of a \*capitulation (sense 2).

**military observer.** A member of a \*military observer group.

**military observer group.** A group of military officers charged with monitoring a \*ceasefire or an \*armistice. They are usually from the army and of middling rank and seconded on an individual basis. Used by the United Nations in relation to a number of disputes, the almost invariable practice is for the officers to be unarmed. *See also* chief military observer; observer mission; peacekeeping; special representative.

**millet.** In the Ottoman Empire, a group – for example, the Armenians – granted extensive self-government under a religious leader in return for

support of the sultan. Individual trading communities resident in the empire (the Venetians, Dutch, French, English, and so on) also tended to be thought of as *millets* and their respective ambassadors as their 'leaders'. It was for this reason, not because of the \*customary international law of diplomacy, that ambassadors as well as the other members of their 'nations' were given certain privileges under what were known as \*capitulations (sense 1). *See also* \*baillo.

**minder.** A colloquial expression for a person employed in certain countries to subject the movements of diplomatic and consular agents or the members of visiting foreign delegations to 'visual surveillance' – sometimes in the form of 'guides'. Journalists, among others, are often subjected to a more intrusive form of the same treatment.

**mini-state.** *See* micro-state.

**minister.** (1) The abbreviated title of the head of a \*legation. The full title is \*envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. (2) In \*diplomatic ranks, that which lies below \*ambassador (sense 1)

and above \*counsellor or first counsellor (or, where it is used, above \*minister-counsellor). In the Italian diplomatic service, among others, the term 'minister plenipotentiary' is used. (3) A member of a government. A minister in this sense is therefore a politician and not an \*official. *See also* foreign minister (sense 1); public minister.

**minister-counsellor.** In the \*diplomatic ranks (sense 1) of some states, a position which lies beneath that of \*minister (sense 2) and above that of \*counsellor.

**minister-in-attendance.** A \*minister (sense 3) accompanying a \*head of state on a \*state visit.

**minister plenipotentiary.** *See* minister (sense 2).

**minister resident.** A term for \*heads of mission of the third \*diplomatic class agreed by the powers at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. In direct line of descent from the \*resident, the minister resident was still noted in the early editions of *Satow's Guide* (now \**Satow's Diplomatic Practice*) but had disappeared

by the time of the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961). *See also* Regulation of Vienna (1815).

**minister of state.** In Britain (and in some other countries) a middle-ranking government minister. It is usual for a number of such ministers to have responsibilities within the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

**ministry of foreign affairs (MFA).** *See* foreign ministry.

**minorities treaties.** The term given to a number of special \*treaties, special chapters inserted in treaties, and \*declarations (sense 3) made shortly after the ending of the First World War, in which certain states undertook obligations in respect of their nationals belonging to racial, religious, and linguistic minorities, and which conferred on the \*League of Nations the right to engage in some protective measures in respect of the implementation of those obligations. The League set up a system of committees to examine petitions alleging breaches of the treaties and gave publicity to those complaints which were deemed to

be justified. The obligations had been more or less exacted from the states concerned and with the passage of time were increasingly resented. For their part, the minorities often complained about the insufficiency of the protection. In the 1920s it is likely that the system helped to protect minorities against some graver forms of injustice but with the decline of the League in the 1930s the system became increasingly irrelevant.

When the \*United Nations was established, no attempt was made to revive the system for the protection of minorities, this being virtually the only aspect of the League's work which found no reflection in the structure of the UN. In part this was because the Second World War did not result in the creation of new states, from which such undertakings could be demanded; in part because of the general unpopularity of restrictions being placed upon \*domestic jurisdiction. Moreover, on this last matter, the new states which later emerged from the breakdown of colonialism were particularly sensitive. Nonetheless, the UN's increasing emphasis on the protection of \*human rights has



helped to provide a little protection for some minorities. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has established the post of high commissioner on national minorities to identify and promote the resolution of ethnic tension which might endanger peace and stability.

**minute.** In British Diplomatic Service usage, any kind of written communication between officers within the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office or between officers within the same mission. What in a business corporation or other kind of organization is normally now called a 'memo' (internal memorandum), the minute may be either formal or informal and was used even to designate something as small as a one-line observation on an incoming \*telegram.

**minutes.** *See* agreed minute/s.

**MIPT.** 'My immediately preceding telegram'.

***mise en demeure [de faire quelque chose].*** A formal demand made of a government to do something, usually to agree to a proposal without conditions or make a plain

statement of its intentions. Harold \*Nicolson, who includes the term in the glossary of his book, *Diplomacy*, says that the tone of such a demand is 'curt'.

**mission.** (1) Sometimes 'over-seas mission', a generic term usually restricted to resident \*diplomatic missions and \*consular posts but including those of a less conventional nature as well, such as \*interests sections and \*representative offices. *See also* co-location; permanent mission; special mission. (2) In American usage, the term is also employed to signify the complete roster of personnel – military as well as civilian – supervised by the US \*chief of mission accredited to a particular state.

**mixed embassy.** A \*special mission composed of envoys of equal status who represent different political factions in the sending state. The term was employed by Harold \*Nicolson to describe the characteristic diplomatic method of Ancient Greece, which he regarded as disastrous. A modern institution with a certain resemblance to the mixed embassy is the bipartisan delegation of an

elected assembly sent on a foreign \*goodwill or 'fact-finding' visit – either on its own initiative or at the instigation of the executive branch. It is known in the United States and elsewhere (Indonesia, for example) as a 'congressional delegation' and in other countries as a 'parliamentary delegation' or something similar. *See also* special mission.

**modern diplomacy.** Among its most common usages, 'modern diplomacy' may mean the diplomacy of: (1) the present day, (2) the period since 1945, (3) the period since 1918 – that is, one of the uses of \*new diplomacy, (4) the long era from about the middle of the fifteenth century – when \*resident missions began to appear – to 1945, or (5) more usually among scholars of diplomatic studies, the whole period from the mid-fifteenth century to the present, that is, since the advent of the resident mission.

It will be seen, therefore, that this is a treacherous term, used in a variety of ways and usually without any specific indication of the period to which reference is being made. The sense in which it is

employed in this dictionary is explained in the 'Notes'.

**modification.** *See* derogation.

**modus vivendi.** A temporary or provisional agreement, this is an older term for what is now more usually styled an \*interim agreement.

**monarchy.** That system of government in which supreme authority is vested by the state's constitution in a single and usually hereditary figure, such as a king or queen. Once the common form of government, monarchies are now relatively rare; and the authority vested in the monarch is almost invariably of a formal kind only. *See also* Commonwealth; congress; court mourning; governor-general; head of state; personal union; presentation of credentials; representative character; right of legation; throne room; viceroy.

**monitors.** *See* election monitoring; observer mission.

**Monroe Doctrine.** The American doctrine of opposition to European encroachment in the Western Hemisphere. This had its origins in US

## 250 **Montevideo Convention**

President James Monroe's annual address to Congress in 1823. It eventually came to signify the alleged right of the United States to intervene with force in the Americas – and especially in Central America and the Caribbean – in order to make or unmake governments in the interests of hemispheric stability and national security. The right to military \*intervention was not disavowed until President Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted his 'good neighbour' policy towards other members of the Pan-American Union in 1933. A twentieth-century variation on the Monroe Doctrine was the Brezhnev Doctrine. Often referred to in the West as a doctrine of 'limited sovereignty', it was announced by the Soviet Union to justify its 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, which had tried to follow a more independent line than Moscow would tolerate. *See also* Diplomatic Officers, Havana Convention on; sphere of influence.

**Montevideo Convention (1933).** A \*treaty signed by the United States and certain Latin American states. It was preceded and has been followed by other such attempts

to define its stated subject matter, none of which has ever commanded general assent. Partly this is because some such alleged rights and duties are virtually self-evident, and partly – and more importantly – because of the difficulty of getting wide agreement on what rights and duties are basic.

The \*convention is, however, often quoted for its statement that for a territorial entity to be an \*international person it needs a permanent population, a defined territory, a government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other states. This last requirement is another way of referring to \*sovereignty (sense 1).

**MOU.** \*Memorandum of understanding.

**multilateral diplomacy.** Diplomacy conducted via conferences attended by three or more states, as distinct from \*bilateral diplomacy (both senses). Multilateral conferences vary enormously in size, level of attendance, longevity, and extent of bureaucratization – from small ad hoc conferences to huge ones with a wide-ranging agenda, such

as the annual sessions of the UN \*General Assembly. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy; open diplomacy; parliamentary diplomacy; regional diplomacy.

**multiple accreditation.**

(1) The accrediting of a \*diplomat (sense 1) to two or more states or international organizations. In the usual case, ambassadors are resident in the \*capital of one of the states to which they are accredited, while the other(s) are in the same region. If the capital is host to an international organization, they may well be accredited to this as well. Expressly sanctioned by the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961), multiple accreditation of this kind has always been popular with \*smaller states because of the cost-savings which it permits but in recent years has been resorted to by larger states as well. (2) The accrediting of the same person by two or more states as \*head of mission to another state. This offers economies to small states, but because of the great confidence and unanimity of outlook which must obtain between states before they can embark on this course,

it is rare. *See also* co-location; European External Action Service.

**multistakeholder diplomacy.**

\*Multilateral diplomacy in which participation is granted to \*non-state actors who have successfully established their right to be treated as \*stakeholders. Designed to garner broad-based support for any decisions taken, a good example is the conference hosted by the South African government at Kimberley in 2000 to discuss ways to stop the trade in 'conflict diamonds'. This was attended not only by \*delegations from the major diamond-producing states of southern Africa but also from the international diamond industry and \*non-governmental organizations, among them Global Witness and Partnership Africa Canada. The recommendations of the conference found support in the UN \*General Assembly and before long led to the establishment of an international certification scheme for rough diamonds. *See also* consultative status; multi-track diplomacy; observer mission; observer status; Ottawa process; track two diplomacy.

**multi-track diplomacy.** (1)

One negotiation – perhaps a \*mediation – pursued along several different tracks. Characteristically this includes the efforts of private individuals, churches and other \*non-governmental organizations, banks and multinational corporations. It might be said that the agreement which ended the war in Kosovo in 1999 was a product of multi-track diplomacy, not least because of the key role believed to have been played in securing it by a Swedish-born financier and investment banker whose company was based in London.

(2) A term used to describe the whole range of different types of \*track two diplomacy, which are usually distinguished by

the criterion of agency – what sort of individuals or groups are leading it.

**Munich agreement.** The agreement between Britain, France, Germany, and Italy in September 1938 which approved Germany's plan to \*annex certain areas of Czechoslovakia. It led to 'Munich' (the city in which the agreement was signed) becoming almost a synonym for \*appeasement.

**municipal law.** That system of law which operates within a \*state. It is sometimes spoken of as domestic law. *See also* international law and municipal law.

# N

**9/11.** See Inman standards.

**name of a state.** The formal name and titles of a state. In the normal way it is entirely up to each \*state to determine its own name and titles and international \*comity suggests that other states respect that choice. However, problems sometimes arise when the chosen name is in a form which another state finds repugnant because, for example, it appears to conflict with that state's own constitutional or political claims, or conflicts with its view of the legitimacy of a specific situation. The areas in which problems may express themselves include the \*accreditation of \*heads of mission, the making of \*treaties, and the name whereby a state is known in an \*international organization. If, for example, a state's purported \*annexation of a territory is not

recognized by another state, the second state will not be able to include the name of the territory in the titles of the first state when accrediting a new head of mission; and the \*receiving state may refuse to accept the new head without the inclusion in his \*letters of credence of that name. It may therefore be necessary for the \*sending state to make do, \*ad interim, with the despatch of a \*chargé d'affaires *en titre*, whose \*credentials, being addressed to the \*foreign minister and not the \*head of state, do not need to recite the state's full titles. This situation arose with regard to Italy after its claim, in 1936, to have annexed Abyssinia. In a rather different sphere, the claim of the former Yugoslav province of Macedonia, after it had become sovereign in 1991, to be called simply 'Macedonia', gave great offence to Greece on both historical and political

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grounds. The issue held up the state's membership of the UN and when it was admitted in 1993 it was under the name: The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It also delayed the conclusion of a \*status of forces agreement in respect of the UN's preventive deployment operation in Macedonia.

A state's \*diplomatic mission, \*permanent mission, or \*delegation will in the normal way bear the state's official name, as in 'Embassy of France'. But occasionally another, easily recognizable, name may be used. Thus at the 1907 \*Hague Conference, which was attended by many Latin American states (at that time an unusual event), the United States decided that its name (in French, the \*diplomatic language (sense 1) of the day) did not begin with 'États-Unis' but with 'Amérique', so giving it a higher place at the conference table than such states as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. During the early 1960s Britain – which is formally, in shortened form, the 'United Kingdom' – decided, first in respect of its \*Commonwealth posts and later in respect of its embassies and consulates, that 'Britain' and 'British' would be substituted for the use of

the United Kingdom as both a noun and an adjective (other than in formal legal documents where the full title was required), notwithstanding the fact that strictly speaking Northern Ireland is not part of Britain. But an exception was made in respect of \*permanent missions to international organizations and delegations to conferences, so as not to lose the advantage in such contexts of the British representative sitting next to the representative of the United States (or, sometimes, almost next to Tanzania, having since inconveniently called itself the 'United Republic of Tanzania'). Thus, while a capital city may have a 'British embassy' or a 'British high commission', Britain's permanent mission to the UN is that of the 'United Kingdom'.

*See also* alphabetical seating; colony; representative (sense 1).

**Nansen passport.** An identity document issued to refugees. It is named after the Norwegian explorer, scientist, and diplomat, Fridtjof Nansen, who invented it after the First World War, which had left hundreds of thousands of displaced persons stateless.

**nation.** (1) An aggregation of people who, as the result of having certain important phenomena in common – such as descent, language, history, culture, or simply feeling – assert that collectively they constitute a national unit. *See also* self-determination. (2) A popular synonym for \*sovereign state (sometimes extended to ‘nation state’).

**national.** (1) The adjectival form of \*nation (sense 1). (2) A subject or citizen of a particular \*state.

**national day.** The annual occasion when a \*head of mission holds a reception to celebrate a date of great national significance. This is usually independence day, the birthday of a monarch, or the anniversary of the revolution which brought the government to power. Ireland celebrates St Patrick’s Day. To these occasions it is normal to invite members of the \*receiving state’s government and other local dignitaries, other heads of mission, and the local \*expatriate community.

National day celebrations can present problems for heads of missions. Invitations to opposition leaders in some

countries can lead to threats to boycott the occasion by the receiving state, while the need to employ a selective guest list where the entire expatriate community is too large to accommodate at the function can generate ferocious ill will on the part of those left out – and little goodwill on the part of those included, since they expect to be there as of right. As for the national day parties of other ambassadors, attendance at these has become more and more exhausting as the number of states has increased.

**national interest.** That which is deemed by a particular state to be a vital or desirable goal in its \*international relations (sense 1). *See also* vital interest.

**nationalism.** (1) The doctrine that \*nations (sense 1) should constitute \*sovereign states. (2) Chauvinistic attitudes and behaviour on the part of \*nations (sense 2). (3) Pride in one’s \*nation (sense 1), more particularly in its non-political achievements and in what are deemed to be its distinctive characteristics. Also called cultural nationalism.



**nationality.** (1) The \*national (sense 1) collectivity to which a person claims to belong. (2) The state of which a person is a citizen or subject.

**national judge.** A judge appointed by a party to a contentious case at the \*International Court of Justice when the bench of the court does not include a judge of that state's \*nationality (sense 2). Thus, when neither party has a judge of its nationality on the bench, each may appoint a national judge. Such a judge does not necessarily have to be (but in fact generally is) of the same nationality as the appointing party. This arrangement is a concession to the fact that, although all judges on the court sit as independent individuals and not as the representatives of their states, in practice the judges tend to espouse the \*claims presented by their own states – and national judges do so almost invariably.

**national security advisor.** In the United States, a White House officer who is the president's personal assistant on national security affairs. The holder of this position has easy access to the president

and a sizeable staff, although it does not carry a cabinet seat. *See also* Kissinger.

**national self-determination.** *See* self-determination.

**naval adviser.** *See* naval attaché.

**naval attaché.** Usually a naval officer attached to a diplomatic mission, although an individual listed as 'naval and military attaché', for example, could be an army officer assigned the task of representing the navy as well. As between members of the \*Commonwealth, the equivalent individual is designated as a 'naval adviser'. *See also* service attaché.

**naval demonstration.** *See* gunboat diplomacy.

**necessity.** The doctrine that a breach of \*international law is justified if it is imperative to ensure self-preservation, defend a \*vital interest, or prevent a humanitarian catastrophe. States are reluctant to endorse the doctrine in general terms, but are not averse to invoking it in particular cases. *See also* intervention.

**negotiating history.** In the context of the \*United Nations, this means the record of the proceedings in informal meetings called to discuss the wording of successive draft \*resolutions or agreed statements preceding their formal submission and adoption. This term of art received some publicity in the controversy over whether the UN Security Council Resolution 1441 of 8 November 2002 on Iraq gave or implied authority in \*international law for the use of force without the need for a further decision by the Council. Those arguing that it did so rested their claim in part on the negotiating history of UNSCR 1441: there had been no objection, they maintained, to deletion from *early drafts* of the resolution of any explicit reference to such a need, which arguably implied acceptance by all the Council's members who had taken part in the informal negotiations of the corollary that no further decision would be required. 'Negotiating history' is sometimes controversial history because, while each delegation keeps its own record of the discussions at informal meetings, official \*agreed minutes of such meetings are rarely if

ever produced; and such informal preliminary discussions are generally regarded as confidential and 'off the record'. As a result, there is controversy among international lawyers over whether the negotiating history of a resolution may legitimately be taken into account in interpreting it.

**negotiation.** (1) Discussion, or 'talks', between the representatives of two or more states designed to produce an \*agreement on a point which is either of shared concern or at issue between them. The characteristic method of achieving success in a negotiation is for the parties to exchange \*concessions (sense 1). On this narrow, traditional conception, negotiation proceeds through three stages: \*pre-negotiations, the \*formula stage, and the details stage (where the skeletal formula is fleshed out). The last two stages are sometimes known as 'negotiations proper' or 'around-the-table' negotiations. *See also* backchannel; bargaining; consensus decision-making; discussions; endgame; full powers; Homans's theorem; interim agreement; linkage; mediation; negotiating history; open diplomacy; playing it

long; precondition; proximity talks; ratification; ripe moment; secret diplomacy; step-by-step diplomacy; stopping the clock; tabled offer; unanimity rule; weighted voting. (2) Communication by any means designed to achieve the purpose indicated in this entry's sense 1.

**neutral.** A state which has declared its \*neutrality.

**neutralism.** A term used in the early post-1945 period to describe \*non-alignment.

**neutrality.** A legal status assumed unilaterally by a state during a time of \*war, indicative of its intention of remaining at \*peace. The status involves rights and duties on the part of both the neutral state and the \*belligerents (sense 1). The neutral must not, by acts of either commission or omission, assist any belligerent and must allow the belligerents to treat the commerce of its \*nationals (sense 2) in accordance with the \*laws of war. For their part the belligerents must not infringe the neutrality of the neutral state and must allow it to act towards their nationals in accordance with the

laws of war. The practice of neutrality has often been far less clear-cut than the rules of neutrality would suggest, for political and/or military reasons. Politically, a neutral may wish to display benevolent neutrality towards one side; and the proximity of a powerful belligerent may also incline a neutral away from a strictly neutral path, so as to stave off the danger of its neutrality being violated. In general, that is perhaps least likely to occur in wars which are limited in both scope and aim. However, the first half of the twentieth century was marked by total war and in its second half the UN \*Charter posed a potential question about the relevance of the concept of neutrality – one made pertinent by the \*Security Council's post-\*Cold War \*peace enforcement activity. Accordingly, neutrality is now much less heard about than it used to be – although circumstances continue to arise in which states are anxious to keep out of the \*armed conflicts of others, as in the case of Iran and Jordan in the Gulf War in early 1991. Neutrality must be distinguished from \*neutrality and \*non-alignment.

See also permanent neutrality; perpetual neutrality.

**neutralization.** A formal collective act by which a lesser state gives an undertaking, \*guaranteed by a group of greater powers, that it will not involve itself in \*war (except in \*self-defence) and will take great care not to give political offence in any quarter. In the past neutralization has been used in an attempt to protect \*small states against powerful neighbours and, more particularly, to maintain the \*independence (sense 1) of \*buffer states. During the \*Cold War Austria (1955) and Laos (1962) were neutralized but, for the reasons given in the entry on buffer states, the device has since the middle of the twentieth century lost most of its relevance. See also neutrality; non-alignment; permanent neutrality.

**neutral state.** One which in respect of a particular \*war assumes the status of \*neutrality.

**new diplomacy.** The latest fashion in diplomatic method: \*resident missions in the late fifteenth century, parliamentary-style debate between the

official representatives of states after the First World War, and perhaps \*public diplomacy today.

**newsletter.** In the early modern period, a handwritten but unsigned circular employed by governments to keep their foreign missions abreast of developments at home and elsewhere. In Italy they were known as *foglietti* and in France as *gazettes à la main*. Newsletters containing important information were also produced by private enterprise, a notable example being that produced by the Fugger family of Augsburg, the great mining, commercial, and banking dynasty usually described as the financiers of the Habsburgs. See also gazette.

**news management.** The manipulation by government departments (including \*foreign ministries) of independent media organizations to support a particular line of policy. This is normally achieved by the selective briefing of journalists, which is advisable in authoritarian states (where independent reporters are few but can be worrying) and indispensable

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in liberal-democracies (where they are the 'fourth estate'); it may also involve the 'leaking' of official documents. \*International organizations also engage in news management, although they are reputed to be less good at it.

**niche diplomacy.** The concentration of the limited diplomatic and other resources of certain \*small and \*middle powers on a specific issue area. This 'niche' is one which is of particular value to the state concerned or believed to be one to which it is able to make a special contribution. For example, Malta specialized in the Law of the Sea and Norway plumped for international \*mediation, while Canada has made a special effort in \*peacekeeping as well as in several other niches. The term 'niche diplomacy' is attributable to Gareth Evans, Australian foreign minister (1988–96). Despite its name, it is more a bias in \*foreign policy than a type of \*diplomacy (sense 1). *See also* Nobel Peace Prize; Ottawa process; Pardo.

**niche functions.** A way of referring to the limited tasks often performed by a \*satellite

office of a diplomatic mission, as when its responsibilities concern, for example, only commercial matters or the administration of an aid programme. *See also* non-resident mission.

**Nicolson, Harold (1886–1968).** British diplomat, politician, journalist, broadcaster, and author. Born into a \*diplomatic family (an uncle was an ambassador and his father the \*permanent under-secretary at the \*Foreign Office during the First World War), Nicolson's diplomatic career started in 1909 and ended with his resignation 20 years later at the rank of \*counsellor. Its high points were his membership of the British delegation to the Paris peace conference in 1919 and his work as secretary to the British foreign secretary, Lord Curzon, at the Lausanne conference in 1922–3. After his resignation he devoted himself to writing and politics (from 1935 to 1945 he was National Labour MP for West Leicester). For students of diplomacy, his most important books are the 'Studies in Modern Diplomacy' trilogy, which included a biography of his father, Sir Arthur

Nicolson; an examination of the Paris peace conference; and an account of Curzon as foreign secretary. He also published a valuable study of the Congress of Vienna (1815). Ironically enough, it was in 1939, the year of the outbreak of the Second World War, that he published the first of his two general works on diplomacy, which was entitled simply *Diplomacy* (subsequently revised in 1950 and 1963) and had been foreshadowed by the 'Terminal Essay' in *Curzon: The last phase*. The second, called *The Evolution of Diplomatic Method*, appeared in 1954. Much of Nicolson's writing on diplomacy turns on the distinction between the \*old and the \*new diplomacy. On the former, which he strongly prefers, he is persuasive if hardly original; on the latter, while often acute, his sureness of touch is not so obvious. Nevertheless, he is always a pleasure to read and his *Diaries* are justly famous.

**Nobel Peace Prize.** A prestigious prize awarded annually by a five-member committee appointed by the Norwegian parliament from funds left in his will by Alfred Bernhard Nobel (1833–96), the Swedish

industrialist who invented dynamite and became one of the wealthiest men in Europe. In his will, Nobel stated that prizes should be given to those who, during the preceding year, 'shall have conferred the greatest benefit on mankind' and that one part be given to the person who 'shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies, and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses'. Statesmen, \*international organizations, and \*non-governmental organizations have thus been strong contenders – and very prominent among the winners. The first (in 1901, with one other) was Henri Dunant, founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross. In 2002 the prize was awarded to former US president Jimmy Carter.

**non-alignment.** The policy of refusing to join the military \*alliance system of either the Soviet Union or the United States during the \*Cold War.

**non-diplomatic agent.** An \*agent (sense 3) who enjoys neither \*diplomatic status nor

\*consular status. In the case of such agents who are posted at a \*capital city, their lack of diplomatic or consular status may be because their work is either insufficiently interstate in character (a tourist information officer, perhaps) or because it involves business activity. In the case of those outside the capital, diplomatic status is ordinarily unavailable and while consular status might be appropriate (for a trade promotion officer, perhaps), it requires the existence of a \*consular post in the city in question. If neither status is available or appropriate, it may be that the \*receiving state will, by special arrangement or as a matter of courtesy, afford such agents certain limited privileges and immunities.

A state or territory which lacks \*sovereignty (sense 1) may also, by agreement, appoint non-diplomatic agents to a foreign capital city or to a city which is not the capital. For example, while still a \*mandate (sense 2) of Britain, Iraq maintained such an agent – albeit called rather confusingly a ‘diplomatic agent’ – in London, while Palestine (in the shape of the Palestinian Authority), has appointed a

number of \*‘general delegations’, each led by a \*delegate-general (although the latter are often called ‘ambassadors’ by the authority). *See also* agent-general.

### **non-diplomatic relations.**

Relations and contacts (of a non-military kind) which occur between states in the absence of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). They may occur through a \*protecting power or an \*interests section (sense 1), through \*consular posts, or through ad hoc diplomatic encounters.

### **non-governmental organization (NGO).**

A private, non-profit-making body which operates across frontiers. (Strictly speaking, such NGOs should be called ‘*international* non-governmental organizations (INGOs)’ in order to distinguish them from the many NGOs which operate exclusively or largely in their national sphere; but everyday usage eschews this pedantic term.) Such bodies, especially when granted \*observer status, are often active in \*international organizations and major conferences – \*multi-stakeholder diplomacy – and play an important part in

many areas of UN activity. For example, the NGO Working Group on the Security Council meets nearly every week with Council members and Council delegates discuss policy questions with NGOs in a variety of settings, including Arria formula briefings. Very roughly speaking, NGOs are to the international society what pressure groups are to the state; hence the vogue for using the term 'civil society' (in its Hegelian sense) to refer to the sphere of free association in which they operate. A good example of an NGO is the International Committee of the Red Cross. *See also* consultative status; Ottawa process.

**non-intervention.** The doctrine that intervention (in another state's domestic affairs) is improper. *See also* Panch Schila.

**non-justiciable dispute.** A dispute which is not considered by the parties to be capable of settlement by adjudication or arbitration. Such a view is not a reflection of the technical unsuitability of some disputes for adjudication as, formally speaking, any dispute can be settled by

this means. But if the heart of the dispute is not about the application or interpretation of existing international law, but is indicative of dissatisfaction with that law, adjudication will not provide a genuine settlement. It may therefore be more profitable to proceed by way of bilateral negotiation, or by involving a third party – as in the use of mediation, conciliation, good offices, or inquiry. Non-justiciable disputes are sometimes called political disputes. *See also* justiciable dispute.

**non liquet.** The statement by an adjudicatory body that it is unable to decide a case because of the absence of relevant legal rules. It is thought to be a highly unlikely situation, because if the claimant state's case is ill-founded, the court or tribunal would find in favour of the respondent. *See also* justiciable dispute; non-justiciable dispute.

**non-paper.** A near descendant of the *bout de papier* of traditional bilateral diplomacy, this term is used, particularly in the United Nations system and such bodies as the European Union, to describe



an authoritative but unofficial document circulated either by a member or by one of the organs of the organization. It is usually focused on a controversial question where the author either has not formulated an official position, or has but does not yet wish to imply commitment to it. The purpose of the non-paper is to test the reaction of the other members and hopefully to generate movement in \*negotiations on the subject. Being unofficial, it can easily be abandoned if it should arouse strong opposition. Variations on the non-paper include the 'non-plan' and the 'non-map'. A non-map showing a suggested redrawing of the boundary between the Turkish and Greek zones of Cyprus was produced by the UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the early 1990s. *See also* flying a kite.

**non-party.** *See* third party.

**non-resident mission.** A diplomatic mission, the head and members of which are accredited to the \*receiving state but are ordinarily resident in a neighbouring state from which periodic visits are made without too much

difficulty. Where this is not so (they may even be based in their home state) or because of a constant need for the performance of \*niche functions, it is possible that one or more of its junior members may be permanently based at an outpost in the receiving state. Such a \*satellite office, as it is sometimes known, is unlikely to be regarded as a diplomatic mission in its own right. Therefore, at its local address it may be called something like 'The Office of the Ruritanian Embassy', with the address of the embassy being that of its non-resident head; and the outpost's head may be called 'the officer in charge', who will be responsible to the non-resident head of mission. Such an arrangement seems to be becoming more common. It must be distinguished from the one (which appears to be less common) where the \*sending state does not have a resident head of mission but maintains an 'embassy' headed by a resident \*chargé d'affaires *ad interim*. *See also* multiple accreditation; resident mission.

**non-self-governing territory.** A \*dependent territory, that is, one which does not

enjoy \*sovereignty (sense 1).  
*See also* colony.

**non-state actor.** An entity or group which seeks to have an impact on the internationally related decisions or policy of one or more states or other entities. Such an actor may be an \*international organization, a \*non-governmental organization, a multinational corporation, armed elements seeking to free their territory from external rule, or a \*terrorist group. A non-state actor may also be an individual. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy.

**non-verbal communication.** *See* signalling.

**normalization.** (1) The restoration of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). (2) The restoration of diplomatic relations, plus a growth in trade, cultural exchanges, tourism, and other such indications of a close relationship. This term has become an issue in Arab-Israeli negotiations – Arabs favouring the former definition, Israelis the latter.

**note.** (1) A strictly formal, third person, no-frills communication which is sometimes known as a note verbale. This

was for long the customary mode of written communication between an embassy and a foreign ministry, although the use of regular letters and e-mails is growing. A note is generally rubber-stamped at the bottom and initialled by the person authorizing its issue. Notes are generally numbered in sequence, starting again each year. (2) A note as in sense (1), except that it is couched in the first person singular (and hence is called a first person note). British requests for \*agrément are so sought (by the incumbent \*head of mission in the state concerned). (3) A strictly formal communication from one state to another setting out the proposed terms of an \*agreement or understanding between them. With a confirmatory reply an exchange of notes is thereby constituted, so establishing a \*treaty or a \*memorandum of understanding.

**note verbale.** *See* note.

**notification of completion procedures.** The terms of a bilateral \*treaty may provide for it to \*enter into force at a certain point after both parties have notified

one another that they have completed the requisite legal or administrative procedures. This is an alternative to \*ratification.

**not participating in the vote.** *See* abstention.

***nul et non avenu.*** Literally, null and void; traditionally the phrase used in refusing to accept an offensive message and returning it to the sender.

**nunciate.** *See* nunciature.

**nunciature.** A \*diplomatic mission of the \*Holy See. *See also* nuncio (sense 2).

**nuncio.** (1) In Europe in the Middle Ages, a messenger or 'living letter'. (2) Since the sixteenth century, a resident representative of the \*Holy See with the same rank as

an \*ambassador. Accredited to the civil authorities, the nuncio – unlike the \*apostolic delegate – has a political ('external') as well as religious ('internal') commission from the pope. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 it was agreed that the papal nuncio would always be the \*dean of the \*diplomatic corps. However, a dispute subsequently arose as to whether the regulation agreed at Vienna meant that any nuncio, wherever he was accredited, would head the local order of diplomatic \*precedence, or whether he would only enjoy this in capitals where a nuncio was to be found in 1815. Today, only in Roman Catholic countries is it common for the nuncio to automatically be dean of the diplomatic corps. *See also* internuncio; nunciature; pronuncio; Regulation of Vienna.

# O

**obedience, embassy of.** *See* embassy of obedience.

**object of international law.** A real or notional person who, lacking \*international personality, does not possess rights and duties under \*international law. Although individuals are generally in this position, \*international criminal law offers a significant exception to it.

**objection.** A party's statement of dissent from a \*reservation to a \*treaty. Under Article 20 of the Vienna Convention on the \*Law of Treaties (1969), an objection does not preclude the \*entry into force of the treaty as between objecting and reserving states unless the former 'definitely' makes clear its intention that this should be so.

**observer mission.** A mission with this function. In addition to \*military observer groups

and \*permanent observer missions, such a mission may be established in relation to an individual event or proceeding of a domestic kind. Thus, since the late 1980s, the United Nations and other \*international organizations have created numerous missions to engage in \*election monitoring as well as \*election assistance. Controversial trials are among other events which attract observer missions. All such missions can only operate with the consent of the \*host state (sense 2).

**observer status.** The status granted by an \*international organization or conference to another international organization, \*non-governmental organization, or state which is not a member of or participant in the organization or conference in question. Representatives of such bodies have no entitlement to take

part in any vote or – in contrast to one enjoying \*consultative status (sense 1) – to participate in formal discussions, although they may be invited to do so. (However, an entity with observer status may be given what are in effect consultative rights, as in the case of the \*Holy See at the United Nations, whose permanent observer rights were significantly strengthened in July 2004. Permanent observer status is available to non-member states which are members of one or more specialized UN agencies.) Official observers are normally granted automatic access to \*plenary sessions and may also be admitted to closed sessions of special interest to them; they are also usually provided with all non-confidential documents. The observing entity may try to use its position to influence informally some of the proceedings or, more generally, the attitude of the member or participating states towards it. In addition to the Holy See and Palestine, almost 80 non-governmental organizations and international organizations had observer status with the UN \*General Assembly in January 2011. *See also* permanent observer mission.

**occupying power.** A state which has taken control of foreign territory. \*International law confers certain rights and places certain duties on the occupying power, but the enforcement of the duties is in the nature of the case often a difficult matter.

**office of the deputy high commissioner.** In a few \*Commonwealth states, an office established outside the capital city by a \*high commission to engage in \*consular functions. Its head is designated a \*deputy high commissioner (sense 2).

**Office of eDiplomacy.** The office within the US \*State Department with responsibility both for developing innovative methods in \*e-diplomacy and supporting its users. It was founded in 2003.

**Office of Inspector General.** The office of the US \*State Department and Broadcasting Board of Governors which inspects and reports on the work of US diplomatic and consular missions and international broadcasting installations. It also makes recommendations as to how their performance might be

improved. The OIG conducts over 40 inspections each year. It has a confidential 'hotline' for whistle-blowers and in 2008 opened its first permanent office abroad, in the Middle East. The OIG's reports – which can be quite hard-hitting – are published on the Internet. Although inevitably in parts \*redacted, these commentaries provide exceptional insights into the work of US diplomatic missions. *See also* WikiLeaks.

**officer.** A common term used within \*diplomatic services today for any of their members.

**officer-in-charge.** The sort of title given to the head of a \*satellite office of a \*non-resident mission. As such an office is not, formally speaking, a \*diplomatic mission of the \*sending state in the \*receiving state but an outpost of the sending state's non-resident mission to that state, its head cannot be given one of the titles by which \*heads of diplomatic missions are known.

**official.** A member of a state's civil or diplomatic service or of an international organization's \*secretariat. An

official is therefore to be distinguished from a \*minister (sense 3). *See also* international civil service.

**official-informal.** A US State Department term for a letter (later \*telegram) employed in \*State Department-embassy communications which, formally speaking, was mid-way between a regular \*dispatch or \*cable and a \*private letter. As it did not bear the signature of either the \*secretary of state or the \*chief of mission, it could be franker, provide more background, and go off more quickly. However, it was always likely to be more widely distributed than a private letter and could not be highly \*classified. As a result, it could not – unlike the private letter – be completely unrestrained, nor – unlike the regular cable – could it be used for many matters of moment. Indeed, the State Department website stresses that it 'may NOT be used for making action requests or for official reporting'. At one time it was thought that secure telephones and especially e-mail had rendered the 'O-I' obsolete but it is alive and well – in e-mail. *See also* e-diplomacy; unofficial letter.

**official level.** (1) Inter-state relations conducted by \*officials rather than by \*ministers (sense 3). (2) The restriction of inter-state relations to those deemed essential – in contrast to ‘normal’ relations. Such a restriction may be adopted by a diplomatic mission in a capital which has undergone a coup, pending a decision by the \*sending state whether to \*recognize the new government (or, if the recognition of governments is not practised, to resume normal business with it), or to downgrade or break off \*diplomatic relations (sense 1).

**official passport.** *See* special passport.

**official record.** *See* agreed minute/s.

**official spokesman/woman.** The official with the duty of making statements to the media on behalf of a government as a whole, individual ministry, or \*delegation; in French *le porte-parole*. The politically correct version, ‘spokesperson’, is less often used.

**official visit.** A visit by one \*head of government to another. Another term for a visit

of this kind is ‘working visit’ (although not in American usage, where the working visit is less grand than the official one); it might also (and sometimes is) be called a ‘bilateral summit’. Especially if the visitor is not also \*head of state, such visits may have little ceremonial attached to them. *See also* state visit; stop-over visit.

**OGDs.** Foreign ministry-speak for ‘other government departments’.

**old diplomacy.** The essentially European \*diplomatic system (sense 2) which prevailed until the First World War. Old diplomacy – sometimes known as ‘traditional diplomacy’ – relied heavily on secret negotiations by professional diplomats based chiefly in resident \*embassies. Invented in Renaissance Italy, it was refined by \*Richelieu, theorized by \*Callières and provided with its manual by \*Satow. While admitting its defects, Harold \*Nicolson was among the more prominent of its defenders in the twentieth century. While there are numerous \*new diplomacies, there appears to be only one old diplomacy. *See also*

Cambon; Canning; Kaunitz; Metternich.

**open briefing.** *See* Security Council.

**open diplomacy.** The democratic doctrine that both in the making of \*foreign policy and the \*negotiation and \*ratification of agreements in its pursuit, the public – universally peace-loving – should be as fully involved as possible. Although the doctrine has been traced to Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the slogan itself is associated especially with the name of the US president, Woodrow \*Wilson, who led the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the First World War. It is to be found in the first of the famous Fourteen Points which he presented to Congress on 8 January 1918 as a \*propaganda counter-offensive to the recent Bolshevik revelation of the secret treaties negotiated during the conflict. Here, Wilson stated his belief that the programme for world peace must include '[o]pen covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall

proceed always frankly and in the public view'.

There is no doubt that Wilson, formerly an academician, was temperamentally as well as morally uncomfortable with the \*old diplomacy and that he may be regarded as the prophet of 'open diplomacy'. It is worth noting, however, that he was not so naive as to believe that all negotiations could be successfully conducted under comprehensive and intimate public scrutiny (nor did he try to do this in Paris). Although the statement that covenants should be 'openly arrived at' fostered this interpretation, it was an exaggeration for propaganda purposes which was soon corrected, albeit neither quickly nor publicly.

**open meeting.** *See* Security Council.

**operative.** *See* entry into force.

**opinio iuris.** *See* customary international law.

**Oppenheim's International Law.** A classic twentieth-century English-language work which is described by its current editors as a 'practitioner's



book'. Lassa Oppenheim (1858–1919) was of German origin but came to Britain towards the end of the century and was appointed professor at Cambridge in 1908. He wrote the Introduction to the first edition of *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (now *\*Satow's Diplomatic Practice*). '*Oppenheim*', as his own work became known, first appeared in 1905–6 and over the next 50 years, latterly revised by other hands, went through a number of editions – eight for Volume I on 'Peace' and seven for Volume II on 'War'. Sir Hersch Lauterpacht (1897–1960), the distinguished international lawyer and judge of the *\*International Court of Justice*, prepared the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth editions and was working on the ninth when he died. After an interval of almost 40 years since its last revision, Volume I appeared in a ninth edition in 1992, edited by Judge Sir Robert Jennings and Sir Arthur Watts.

**optional clause.** The name given to Article 36(2) of the Statute of the *\*International Court of Justice*, under which any party to the statute may, in relation to any other state

accepting the same obligation, become subject to the *\*compulsory jurisdiction* of the court. States are not on the whole very keen to do this. And such acceptances of the optional clause as have been made tend to be for a specific period of time and to have reservations attached to them – which are sometimes far reaching. Thus the network of compulsory jurisdiction which exists is not extensive.

**orator.** (1) A professional speech-maker or teacher of speech-making. Orators were often employed on diplomatic missions in ancient Greece and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were still employed by *\*envoys* solely for the purpose of making an oration. *\*Wicquefort* says of the *\*embassy of obedience* that 'an orator, hired for that purpose, pronounces the harangue in the presence of the pope, and of the college of cardinals'. (2) In echo of this ancient usage, 'orator' was also a term commonly employed in this later period as a synonym for the envoy himself, reflecting as it did the importance

attached at this period to the oration delivered by a special ambassador – usually in classical Latin – at his reception.

**order of precedence.** *See* precedence.

**ordinaries.** A diplomat's salary, as opposed to his \*extraordinaries; in French, *appointements*. Now historical.

**ordre international public.** Principles of international public policy; to all intents and purposes, a synonym for \**ius cogens*.

**oriental attaché.** *See* dragoman.

**oriental counsellor.** *See* oriental secretary.

**oriental secretary.** A diplomat proficient in local languages who held the rank of \*secretary or \*counsellor at British diplomatic and consular missions in the Near East (including Persia) in the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth. At Peking the analogous term was 'Chinese secretary' and at Tokyo 'Japanese secretary'. An oriental secretary might have the \*local rank of

\*counsellor. The oriental secretary was a product of the strong nineteenth century reaction against Britain's long-standing dependence on the \*dragomans of the Ottoman Empire, who had come to be widely distrusted for the most confidential work. Ronald Storrs, who was oriental secretary to the British \*agent and consul-general at Cairo from 1909 to 1914, said that he was 'the eyes, ears, interpretation and Intelligence (in the military sense) of his Chief, and might become much more'. Nevertheless, where an oriental secretary was posted at a major embassy, as, for example, in Constantinople, he was always subordinate to the \*secretary of embassy. A similar post was employed by other diplomatic services: for example, that of the United States and France, the latter having a *secrétaire d'Orient* in the Near East and a *secrétaire d'Extrême-Orient* in the Far East.

**Ottawa process.** The means by which the \*Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines [APM] and on their Destruction (1997) – the 'Mine

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Ban Treaty' or 'Ottawa Convention' – was agreed. The Ottawa process created a core group of like-minded states to drive forward these negotiations for an APM ban, permitted supportive \*non-governmental organizations an unusual degree of influence in the proceedings in order to maximize the availability of expert advice and campaigning enthusiasm, employed voting rather more than \*consensus decision-making, and set a tight deadline for \*adoption and \*signature of an agreed text. The proceedings were launched by the Canadian foreign minister at a conference in Ottawa in October 1996 and the convention was opened for signature, also at Ottawa, in December 1997. It \*entered into force on 1 March 1999. The Ottawa process is held by enthusiasts to be the prototype for an entirely new style of negotiation designed to produce a \*treaty quickly. It is true that it achieved this only at the expense of establishing weak procedures for verification and above all of proceeding without the \*major powers

(the People's Republic of China, the United States, and Russia) and other important states (e.g. Egypt, Iran, Iraq – since \*accessed – Syria, and Israel; North Korea and South Korea; India and Pakistan). Nevertheless, there is clearly something to be said for creating a bandwagon. In 2011 156 states were parties to the Ottawa Convention. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy; niche diplomacy.

**Ottoman diplomacy.** *See* dragoman; hostage; *sefaret-name*.

**outpost.** *See* satellite office.

**outreach.** As now used by \*diplomats (sense 1), a broad and rather vague term signifying either \*lobbying, networking, or \*public diplomacy – or all three. Outlying missions of \*hub embassies are sometimes described as 'outreach embassies'. *See also* diplomat-in-residence.

**overseas mission.** *See* mission.

**overseas territory.** *See* colony.

# P

**P5.** *See* permanent members.

**pacific settlement.** The process of trying to solve disputes by such means as \*negotiation, \*inquiry, \*mediation, \*conciliation, \*good offices, \*arbitration, \*judicial settlement, and resort to regional agencies.

**package deal.** An agreement produced by exchanging \*concessions across a broad range of issues. It is often summed up in the expression 'nothing is agreed until everything is agreed'. In the World Trade Organization a package deal is known as a 'single undertaking'. *See also* Homans's theorem; linkage.

**pact.** Another name for a \*treaty, as in the Briand-Kellogg Pact (1928).

**pacta sunt servanda.** The principle that \*treaties are

\*binding on the parties to them.

***pacta tertiis nec nocent nec prosunt.*** The principle that \*treaties do not impose any obligations, nor confer any rights, on third states.

**Palácio das Necessidades.** The Portuguese \*foreign ministry, so called because it has been based in the building bearing that name since 1911.

**Panch Shila.** Also known as 'Panchsheel', the five principles of \*peaceful coexistence attached to the Chinese-Indian Commercial Treaty of April 1954 (by which India recognized Chinese \*suzerainty over Tibet): mutual respect for \*sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. *See also* intervention.

**panic room.** *See* safe room (sense 1).

**papal legate.** *See* legate (sense 2).

**paradiplomacy.** (1) Generally, activity analogous to \*diplomacy (sense 1) conducted by anyone without \*diplomatic status, in particular a member of a \*non-governmental organization or private individual acting independently. *See also* personal diplomacy. (2) Specifically, international activity (typically \*lobbying) by regional governments such as the Canadian province of Quebec and stateless nations such as that of the Kurds. Paradiplomacy of this kind is sometimes prefixed with one or other of the following adjectives: sub-national, sub-state, or regional. *See also* federal state.

By analogy with 'paramedics', 'paramilitaries', and so on, practitioners of both kinds of paradiplomacy are sometimes called paradiplomats, although the term is rare.

**parallel reciprocity.** A condition in which the parties to a conflict foster an atmosphere conducive to negotiations by simultaneously adopting

unilateral \*confidence-building measures. The key point is that their actions should be simultaneous, thereby avoiding the risk of making the first conciliatory gesture and exposing themselves to charges by hardliners of weakness or betrayal. This term came to prominence at the beginning of the 1990s when the United States was trying to persuade the Arabs (including Palestinians) and Israelis to attend a peace conference. *See also* reciprocity.

**paraphe.** \*Initialling a document, either at the end or in the margin of each page. From the French *parapher*, to initial.

**Pardo, Arvid (1914–99).** Maltese diplomat and scholar. Pardo was born in Rome to a Maltese father and a Swedish mother, both of whom he had lost by the time he was eight years old. (His father, a lawyer, died of typhus while working for the International Labour Organization in Soviet Russia.) The result of this was that he became the ward of his uncle, the senior Italian ambassador, Bernardo Attolico, who served at numerous important posts, including that of Berlin (1935–40). Not surprisingly, although

Pardo only spent vacations with Attolico, he grew up multilingual. In the 1930s he studied diplomatic history at the University of Tours and international law at the University of Rome. During the Second World War he worked for the anti-Fascist underground in Italy and suffered prolonged periods of imprisonment; but in 1945 he was able to make his way to London. Here, with the help of a family friend, he obtained a clerical post with the \*United Nations – at that time temporarily quartered in the British capital – and so began a long association with the new world body. He worked for the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories until 1960 and then the secretariat of the Technical Assistance Board (the forerunner of the UN Development Programme), serving as its deputy representative in Nigeria and Ecuador. In 1964 Pardo acquired citizenship of newly independent Malta and became its first \*permanent representative to the UN. In the manner of \*small state diplomats, later on he also had \*side accreditations: as ambassador to the United States and the Soviet Union and \*high commissioner to

Canada. In 1970 this prompted *Time* magazine to refer to him as ‘a sort of superdiplomat’ but his ability to juggle these different balls was not the reason for his later acclaim. Instead, it was for the momentum he injected into the \*multilateral diplomacy in the 1970s which culminated in a new \*international regime for the oceans and the seabed contained in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982). This \*entered into force on 14 November 1994 and has been authoritatively described as ‘the most extensive and detailed product of \*codification activity states have ever attempted and successfully concluded under the aegis of the United Nations.’ (The conferences held to discuss the law of the sea at this time also inaugurated a major development in diplomatic practice, namely \*consensus decision-making.) Arvid Pardo launched the movement for a new international regime for the oceans with a clarion call to the \*General Assembly’s First Committee on 1 November 1967 – rightly described as ‘electrifying’ – which combined eloquence with obvious technical, legal, and political mastery of the subject.

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Thereafter, Pardo maintained his campaign, although – as a \*political appointee – he was automatically recalled from all of his ambassadorial posts when Dom Mintoff's Labour Party was returned to power in 1971. Nevertheless, he represented Malta at the \*preparatory commission of the Law of the Sea conference in 1972 and led the Maltese delegation to the UN Seabed Committee from 1971 to 1973. Arvid Pardo is vivid proof that, at least in the multilateral sphere, diplomats from small states can have great influence. The 'father of the Law of the Sea conference' spent his final working years as a university teacher in the United States.

**parliamentary assembly.** In \*international relations (sense 2), an organ of or one related to an \*international organization consisting of parliamentarians nominated by the member states. Parliamentary assemblies are therefore unelected, even though their members are elected representatives in their national parliaments. The Council of Europe, NATO, the Nordic Council, and the Western European Union all have parliamentary assemblies. The nominal purpose of such

bodies is to bring a modicum of democratic accountability into international organizations. Appointments to these bodies are also a useful source of government patronage.

### **parliamentary diplomacy.**

(1) \*Multilateral diplomacy which takes place in public in the organs of an \*international organization. A \*parliamentary assembly does not engage in parliamentary diplomacy, such assemblies not being diplomatic organs. *See also* open diplomacy; propaganda; public diplomacy. (2) Dialogue between the parliamentarians of different states. This is fostered by regional inter-parliamentary organizations and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Geneva-based world organization which was founded in 1889 and currently has a membership of over 150 national parliaments.

**party.** (1) Any \*international actor. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy; stakeholder. (2) A \*state which is bound by a \*treaty. (3) A state which is involved in legal proceedings.

**passport.** A travel document issued by a state which certifies the identity and nationality

of its holder. *See also* ask for passports; diplomatic passport; laissez-passer; letter of protection; right of transit; safe-conduct; visa.

**peace.** In international legal terms, the absence of \*war or \*armed conflict.

**peacebuilding.** *See* peacemaking.

**peace enforcement.** The currently favoured name for \*collective security-type action. However, whereas collective security envisaged armed action against cross-border \*aggression, peace enforcement also refers to such action taken within a state against internal disturbers of the peace. *See also* R2P.

**peaceful coexistence.** A slogan of the \*Cold War era which usually meant that the struggle between Communism and the capitalist world should be conducted with sufficient restraint to avoid the risk of general war, that is, mutual nuclear annihilation. It did not mean (as some in the West believed) 'live and let live'. Its origins lay in the ideological convolutions of the Bolshevik leadership in the aftermath of

the 1917 October Revolution. *See also* appeasement; Panch Shila.

**peacekeeping.** Impartial and non-threatening third-party activity taken at the request or with the consent of disputants who wish, at least for the time being, to live in \*peace. It may be embarked upon with a view to containing a crisis, maintaining stability along a line of international division (perhaps in a \*buffer zone), or resolving a dispute. Such activity was periodically taken throughout most of the twentieth century. But its distinctive characteristics were not delineated and conceptualized as 'peacekeeping' until the late 1950s and the early 1960s. This was a result of the pacifying role of the \*United Nations in the 1956 Suez crisis, which led to peacekeeping being seen by some as a specifically UN province. But that was a mistake: peacekeeping can be undertaken by any \*international organization, group of states, or even by an individual state in which the disputants have confidence.

Typically, until the 1990s, peacekeeping was conducted by a small international force made up of battalions seconded



from suitable states, or by \*military observer groups made available on an individual basis by their states. Instances of current peacekeeping operations of this type include the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) on Arab-Israeli borders; the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), where it operates along the dividing line between Turkish-held northern Cyprus and the rest of the state; and the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) – a non-UN body – in Sinai between Egypt and Israel.

Such operations have since the end of the \*Cold War tended to be called traditional peacekeeping, to distinguish them from subsequent operations – called, by some, second-generation peacekeeping – which often include substantial civilian as well as military elements and which sometimes are markedly more abrasive and less impartial than the earlier sort. This last type of activity, however, had by the twenty-first century tended to develop into and generally to be referred to as \*peace enforcement. In conceptual terms this is a good thing, since as a practical matter there is no real half-way

station between (traditional) peacekeeping and activity which is willing to threaten and take armed action against one of the disputants. *See also* chief military observer; contributor state; Hammarskjöld; R2P; special representative.

**peacemaking.** A term which encompasses the processes of \*peaceful settlement. But it may also go beyond them to refer to the creation of those attitudes, political arrangements, and underlying social and economic conditions which are sometimes thought to provide the only lasting basis for secure international and domestic peace. Such an approach is also known as peacebuilding. *See also* election assistance; election monitoring.

**peace process.** A popular synonym for \*step-by-step diplomacy. It was coined by those working with Henry \*Kissinger in the American-mediated disengagement negotiations in the Middle East following the war in 1973.

**peace support operation.** A generic term used nowadays to refer to any \*peacekeeping, \*peacemaking, or \*peace enforcement operation.

**peace treaty.** A \*treaty which brings a \*war to a conclusion.

**Pella, Vespasian (1897–1952).** Romanian international law expert and diplomat. Pella was educated at universities in his country and Paris before spells in academic life, politics, and Romania's diplomatic service – notably as delegate to the \*League of Nations (1925–38), \*minister to the Netherlands (1936–9), and minister to Switzerland (1943–4). In 1925, when he was vice-president of the International Association of Penal Law, he began publishing groundbreaking work on \*international criminal law and three years later produced a draft statute for the establishment of an international criminal court. In 1937 Pella made an important contribution to League discussions about creating such a court as well as negotiating a draft \*convention on \*terrorism. A decade later he was one of the principal drafters of the Convention on the Prevention of Genocide (1948) and acted for the \*United Nations as an expert adviser on international criminal law. On his death, Vespasian Pella was described in *The American Journal of International Law* as 'the

principal pioneer' of international criminal law.

**people's bureau.** The name given by the Libyan government in 1979 to its \*missions abroad.

**Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA).** Established by the \*Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, the PCA is, as has often been said, neither permanent nor a court. Rather, it consists of a list of arbitrators (nominated by the parties to one or other of the Hague conventions regarding the PCA). When a dispute is submitted to it, each of the parties selects two arbitrators from the list (only one of whom may be its own \*national (sense 2) or from the arbitrators it placed on the list) and they select a fifth. The award is given by majority vote. These services of the PCA have not been much used since around 1930, but its International Bureau has continued to be very active in facilitating ad hoc \*arbitration and other forms of dispute resolution.

**Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ).** Set up in 1921 and superseded in

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1946 by the \*International Court of Justice, which is in all essential respects similar to the PCIJ.

**permanent delegate.** A member of a \*permanent delegation. This was the original title of \*permanent representatives to the \*United Nations.

**permanent delegation.** The usual term for the \*permanent missions which a number of members of the \*League of Nations established to maintain contact with it. They did not necessarily live in Geneva (the League's headquarters and meeting place); but the members of \*delegations based there came to receive certain \*privileges and immunities and in time they were constituted as a formal \*diplomatic corps. The members of the delegations were known as permanent delegates.

**permanent diplomatic mission.** Another name for a \*diplomatic mission. *See also* permanent mission.

**permanent members.** The five states with permanent seats on the UN \*Security Council – the P5 as they are often known: Britain, China,

France, Russia, and the United States. Each of them enjoys the right of \*veto. The Western permanent members are known as the P3. Since the early 1990s there has been much discussion about the enlargement of the Security Council and, in particular, about possible changes to the states entitled to permanent membership; this has remained unchanged throughout the UN's life.

**permanent mission.** (1) Sometimes known as a 'permanent representation', the name given to a mission of permanent character sent to the headquarters of an \*international organization by a member state. The mission represents the state at the organization, maintains liaison between it and the \*sending state, negotiates with and within the organization, reports on its activities, protects the sending state's interests in relation to the organization, and ensures the participation of the sending state in its activities (ordinarily it is the mission's personnel who participate on behalf of their state in the meetings of the organization's organs and committees). The \*head of mission is called the state's

\*permanent representative to the organization.

If an organization is of particular significance for a state and its degree of activity justifies such action, the state is likely to accredit a permanent mission to it. Virtually all members of the \*United Nations, for example, maintain missions in New York and the headship of such missions is one of the most important overseas appointments in their diplomatic services. However, there is no question of \*agrément being required from the organization or from the head of its \*secretariat for the head of such a mission. This is because the organization is quite unlike an individual state, being instead a collectivity of states; nor is the \*presentation of credentials by the head of mission to the head of the organization's secretariat attended by the formality which customarily and the pomp which occasionally marks the equivalent visit of an incoming head of mission to the receiving state's \*head of state. Furthermore, the credentials with which the head of a British permanent mission is furnished are not called letters of credence but a \*letter of introduction.

On the other hand, these procedural differences can once in a while eventuate in controversy over a head of mission's credentials. As these do not have to be cleared in advance, a civil conflict within a state can result in two claimants to a state's seat turning up at the organization, which then has to decide between them, or postpone the decision. Such matters are, of course, rarely subject to detached appraisal, but are determined by the political considerations involved and the relative number of votes that can be mustered by the backers of each claimant.

The members of a permanent mission (and also the officials of the organization to which they are accredited) are not hugely less in need of legal \*privileges and immunities than the members of a diplomatic mission accredited to a foreign state. In immediate terms, this is a matter for the \*host state (sense 2), which can be expected to attend to it by obtaining the necessary legislation. (If it did not wish to do so, it would hardly have agreed to play host to the organization, nor would the latter's members have settled on that location.)

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Generally, such privileges and immunities are not as extensive as those given to the members of embassies, but are reasonably liberal and sufficient for the missions' needs.

The Vienna Convention on the \*Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character (1975) sets out one possible form of such privileges and immunities, but the convention has not been widely accepted, let alone embodied by host states in their municipal law. The absence of \*reciprocity in this matter means that it is difficult to bring effective pressure on hosts to accept what others judge to be a desirable international standard. (2) Sometimes 'permanent mission' is used as a synonym for a diplomatic mission accredited to a foreign state, more especially a \*resident mission.

**permanent neutrality.** The position of those states which not only remain \*neutral during all wars between third parties but accept no commitments in peacetime (\*alliances or military \*base agreements, for example) which might lead them into \*belligerency

in some future contingency. This peacetime aloofness from military commitments might, as in the case of Sweden, be based on a purely unilateral political position which can, as a result, be changed unilaterally. Alternatively, it can derive from an international obligation. The paradigm case of this kind of permanent neutrality, sometimes regarded as the only true version, is Switzerland, at least since the Congress of \*Vienna in 1815. Here it was declared that '[t]he neutrality and integrity of Switzerland and her independence from any foreign influence are in the interest of European politics as a whole'. Switzerland did not join the \*United Nations until 2002. Austria also, by treaty, became a permanent neutral in 1955, but nonetheless decided to join the UN in the same year. *See also* neutralization.

**permanent observer.** The head of a \*permanent observer mission. *See also* observer status.

**permanent observer mission.** A mission, office, or \*delegation headed by a permanent observer. States now

tend to use the term 'mission' as the collective term for their observers, whereas \*international organizations usually call it an 'office', but occasionally a 'delegation'. At the conference held in Vienna in 1975 on the \*Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character, an argument arose as to whether such missions should be permitted 'representative', that is, \*diplomatic functions. Successfully supporting this position were those who for political or religious reasons were unable to attain membership of an international organization but wished nevertheless to be as closely associated with it as possible. *See also* observer status.

**permanent representation.** *See* permanent mission; representative office.

**permanent representative.** (1) The head of a \*permanent mission (sense 1). Although such officials are almost invariably given the personal title and rank of \*ambassador and are so spoken of, formally speaking they are not ambassadors to the international organization in question, as an

ambassador is traditionally the representative of one \*head of state to another. *See also* permanent delegate. (2) The title sometimes given to the head of a permanent representation which is in effect a \*representative office, as in the case of West Germany's \*representative in East Berlin between 1974 and 1990.

**permanent under-secretary of state (PUS).** The title of the \*official at the head of the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who is also head of the \*Diplomatic Service. In other words, Britain's senior diplomat. The PUS is, of course, subordinate to the FCO's \*ministers (sense 3).

**perpetual neutrality.** Another term for \*permanent neutrality. By a \*treaty of 1839 Belgium was declared to be perpetually neutral. *See also* neutralization.

**personal diplomacy.** (1) \*Diplomacy (sense 1) conducted by means of direct human contact, as opposed to \*e-diplomacy. (2) Activity of a diplomatic kind conducted by those who are not \*diplomatic agents and may be acting without formal authorization

or even encouragement, but whose personal standing ensures that they will be heard. A \*head of state without executive power may engage in such activity, an instance being the role sometimes played by Britain's Edward VII (who reigned from 1901 to 1910). *See also* Nobel Peace Prize; paradiplomacy (sense 1); personal representative; summitry; track-two diplomacy.

**personal envoy.** *See* personal representative; special representative.

**personal rank.** Occasionally, a diplomatic or consular officer has been permitted, for personal reasons, to use a diplomatic designation which is unrelated to their current responsibilities. Thus, an officer who has served as an \*ambassador or \*minister (sense 1) and then becomes a \*consul-general, might (as a matter of courtesy) retain the former designation. Although this will probably be referred to as a personal rank, it is really not that but a personal title. *See also* career ambassador; career minister.

**personal representative.** (1) A term which may be used

for an individual charged with a specific diplomatic task by a \*head of state or government. US presidents have in the past often used personal representatives – or 'personal envoys' – to minimize congressional interference in their conduct of foreign policy. Such agents are usually not, therefore, 'personal' in the sense of being chosen because of any close relationship which they have with the president, although they may be. US presidents can give any rank or title to a personal representative or none at all – as was the case with Harry Hopkins, who was employed in highly sensitive matters by President Roosevelt during the Second World War and, as it happens, was his intimate. (2) An individual appointed by the UN \*secretary-general, perhaps to observe a critical situation, to assist in the attempt at its alleviation, or to head a \*peacekeeping operation or a \*peacemaking mission. Such a person is likely, in UN terms, to be less senior than a \*special representative but senior to a \*representative. *See also* ambassador-at-large; special mission.

**personal standard.** The flag flown on a \*head of mission's

car. It may be a slightly altered national flag, such as the sending state's \*diplomatic flag. For security reasons, such personal standards are sometimes not flown.

**personal union.** The rare case of two territories that share the same \*head of state but otherwise are entirely separate \*sovereign entities. The last unambiguous instance of a personal union was Denmark and Iceland from 1918 to 1944. The Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy (1867–1919) (in which the ruler was emperor in one part and king in the other) was not a personal union, as foreign policy, defence, and finance were jointly controlled. Arguably a personal union of sorts has existed since 1931 between members of the \*Commonwealth who are part of the \*Queen's realms, but the phenomenon and hence the terminology has now gone entirely out of fashion.

**persona non grata (png).** The term traditionally used by a \*receiving state to indicate that a \*diplomatic agent accredited to that state is no longer acceptable as such. (This is colloquially known

as 'to png'.) Anyone so designated must be recalled by the \*sending state. However, the use of the Latin phrase is not essential and has decreased. Instead, the same end may be and often is achieved simply by requesting the individual's recall or, if the diplomat in question happens not to be in the receiving state, withdrawing their \*visa. In the case of members of a \*diplomatic mission not enjoying \*diplomatic status, the recognized way of securing their withdrawal is to declare them unacceptable. The 'png' term may, however, be used in respect of a \*consular officer.

A receiving state is not obliged to explain its reasons for declaring a diplomat *persona non grata* or unacceptable. However, it is well understood that – except when \*tit-for-tat retaliation is the motive – such reasons may include the belief that the individual in question is engaged in \*espionage, is encouraging terrorist or subversive activity, or has in private life committed a serious crime. The thread connecting all such cases is the named individual's (alleged) involvement in impermissible behaviour.



Sometimes, however, png or an equivalent device may be employed in response to an objectionable feature of the sending state's policy. It was on such grounds that in 2008 Bolivia and Venezuela each expelled the United States' ambassador. And in 2010, after the Cote d'Ivoire president refused to accept the adverse outcome of supervised elections, European Union states agreed to withdraw the diplomatic status of ambassadors he had appointed.

In principle, someone who has been declared png or its equivalent is unable to return in a diplomatic capacity to the state in question. However, nothing stands in the way of a receiving state indicating privately that that aspect of the past has been forgotten, or even, most unusually, announcing it publicly – as in 2009 when the United States and Venezuela agreed that their 'png declarations' of the previous year were now 'without effect'. Accordingly, the two diplomats returned to their previous posts. Possibly such an agreement is easier when the behaviour to which objection had been taken was not that of the pnged individual. *See also* agrément; ask for passports.

**piece of paper.** *See* *bout de papier*.

**pillar.** A European Union metaphor signifying one of the three areas of cooperation which it is hoped will eventually support a fully or at least more united Europe. These 'pillars' are the \*supranational institutions and policies of the community ('first pillar'), the \*Common Foreign and Security Policy ('second pillar'), and police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters ('third pillar').

**placement.** *See* seating arrangements.

**plain language.** *See* en clair.

**playing it long.** A British diplomatic term, now somewhat dated, for procrastinating in a \*negotiation in the expectation that future circumstances will put the other side in a weaker position, lead it to drop the issue altogether, or see it disappear into political oblivion. The Florentines, who were also keen on this tactic, called it 'enjoying the benefit of time'. *See also* Guicciardini.

**plebiscite.** A vote by the electorate of a state or territory on a

question of major importance, such as union with another state or (as, for instance, in a number of post-First World War plebiscites) which state the territory should join. Also called referendum.

**plenary.** The meetings of an international \*conference or \*international organization which are empowered to take final decisions on the business in hand. All member states are entitled to attend plenary meetings (whereas some committees or working groups may have a limited membership) and are likely to be represented by the heads of their \*delegations or missions.

**plenipotentiary.** A \*diplomat (sense 1) or \*delegate possessing \*full powers (i.e. to sign a \*treaty). In the Middle Ages such an official was usually known as a 'procurator'.

**plural accreditation.** *See* multiple accreditation.

**plurilateral treaty.** A multilateral \*treaty confined to states with a strong interest in its subject matter and which requires the full cooperation of all signatories to be effective. As a result, the facility

to make \*reservations to it is much more limited than in other multilateral treaties. Plurilateral treaties are a notable feature of minority interest 'agreements' in the World Trade Organization.

**png.** *See* persona non grata.

**policy planning department.** The department which, in some \*foreign ministries, is charged with engaging in medium- or even long-term \*foreign policy planning. To be able to do this, the planners are ideally given freedom from current operational preoccupations and permitted to work directly under the executive head of the foreign ministry. A product of the aftermath of the Second World War, policy planning departments were inspired in part by the model of the planning staffs long employed by military chiefs of staff.

**political advisor.** A senior diplomat assigned to a military commander as a personal advisor. In the case of the United States, the role was pioneered during the Second World War by Robert Murphy, an American diplomat who served as a liaison between

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American forces in North Africa and the local Vichy authorities. Also known as POLAD.

**political agent.** *See* resident (sense 3).

**political appointee.** A \*diplomat appointed from outside the ranks of the career \*diplomatic service, hence sometimes known more neutrally as a 'non-career appointee'. Political appointments, which are normally made to top posts at \*ambassador level in return for services rendered to the government (including financial campaign contributions), are much commoner in some countries than others. In the West, the United States is best known for this practice and a law passed in 1980 which prohibited ambassadorial nominations as a reward for campaign contributions has had scant effect. It is also widespread in Africa and Latin America – except in Brazil, where by law only members of the diplomatic service can be appointed as ambassadors. Political appointments usually cause considerable resentment among the professionals.

**political consul.** In the nineteenth century, a \*consular

officer posted in the Balkans or Asiatic Turkey whose tasks were primarily of a political nature: to encourage reform of the system of Ottoman provincial administration; protect Christians; and give early warning of developments of any kind that could have serious implications for the \*sending state. *See also* military consul; provincial reconstruction team.

**political director.** Sometimes 'director general', a common title for one of the most senior \*officials, if not the most senior of all officials, in a \*foreign ministry. The post normally carries with it direct responsibility for political – as opposed to commercial, consular, and cultural – affairs. Regular meetings of the political directors of the foreign ministries of the EU's member states play a key role in its \*Common Foreign and Security Policy. The American equivalent is the undersecretary of state for political affairs.

**political dispute.** *See* non-justiciable dispute.

**political officer.** A common term for a post in the political section of an embassy,

including a US embassy. The political officer, who especially in 'hard language' countries is preferably a language and area specialist, is charged with establishing a wide range of contacts with officials and others in civil society. Today, human rights is often part of the brief. *See also* chancery; oriental secretary.

**political reporting.** Reporting on the local political scene from a \*diplomatic mission to the \*foreign ministry; it is not usually related to a specific \*negotiation. Once one of the chief diplomatic (and often consular) tasks, political reporting came under attack with the late-twentieth-century explosion in the number and speed of alternative sources of information, especially the Internet. Nevertheless, states need political information on subjects which may not attract media attention or which are not penetrable by the media; they also need information presented in the context of specific policy analysis or recommendations – and they need to be certain that all of the information which they receive, including that on subjects which do attract

media attention, is accurate. As a result, political reporting by embassies and consulates continues to be of importance and is unlikely to disappear. The demonstration to a wider audience of the value of this kind of activity by the \*WikiLeaks disclosures of American political reporting may in the long run prove more significant for \*diplomacy (sense 1) than the short-term damage which they inflicted.

**political representative.** *See* representative.

**political resident.** *See* resident (sense 3).

**polpred.** The English representation of the term used by the Soviet Union in its early days to designate its \*heads of mission, the traditional diplomatic titles being deemed bourgeois. The alternative Soviet term indicated, roughly speaking, that the person concerned was a representative of the people. Unfortunately for the Soviets, polpred was not a recognized diplomatic \*class, with the consequence that its holders necessarily found themselves at the end of the line on any occasion on

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which diplomats were ranked according to \*precedence. The traditional usage was soon resumed!

**Ponsonby Rule.** In British constitutional law, foreign policy, and hence the making and \*ratification of \*treaties, is the prerogative of the Crown. Some treaties, however, have always required parliamentary assent to take effect: for example, those ceding British territory, involving financial obligations, or requiring the modification of municipal law. Apart from those, the government (acting in this area for the Crown) could, in theory, make what treaties it liked, and had no obligation to publicize this activity.

In 1924 a Labour government introduced the rule that before a treaty was ratified it would be laid before both houses of parliament for 21 sitting days, thus allowing members of the legislature to comment. The junior \*minister (sense 3) involved was called Ponsonby. The succeeding Conservative government abandoned the practice, but it was reinstated when Labour returned to power in 1929 and has been followed by all subsequent governments. Since

1997 the government has also provided explanatory memoranda which draw attention to the main features of treaties.

**Porte.** A common abbreviation of 'Sublime Porte', the term widely used for the Ottoman government until the Ottoman Empire was dissolved following the First World War. It is a half-English and half-French rendering of Bāb-i Ali (strictly, 'high gate'), the original name of the gate at the end of the second court of the sultan's palace in Constantinople (today known as the Topkapi Palace). This name was later transferred to the \*grand vizier's residence outside the palace.

**porte-parole.** See official spokesman/woman.

**positivism.** See inductive method.

**post.** (1) A \*mission. (2) The city or state where a \*mission (sense 1) is located.

**post differential.** See hardship post.

**post hirings.** Houses or apartments rented by an embassy for its staff rather than

directly by staff members themselves.

***pourparlers.*** \*Negotiations.

***pour présenter (cards).***

Cards which used to be left by diplomats making formal calls on fellow diplomats soon after their arrival in a capital. The practice seems to have been discontinued, not least because of the great increase in the size of the average \*diplomatic corps.

***power of origin.*** Another term for a \*protected state (sense 2).

***power politics.*** A loose term, generally used to express the belief that in the relations of states, power – especially military power – is crucial. However, its users tend to ascribe too sweeping a significance to military power; to suggest that power is sought by states as an end, whereas it is almost always wanted as a means to achieve certain ends; to give inadequate weight to the huge importance for states of cooperative activity; and to mislead by suggesting that power (of the appropriate kinds) is absent from domestic politics. *See*

*also* balance of power; realism (sense 3); Realpolitik.

***prayer meeting.*** A British term for a daily meeting of senior officials or diplomats.

***precedence.*** The order in which \*diplomatic agents, when present in that capacity, are ranked. Until the early nineteenth century it often gave rise to considerable discord, as states sought the ranking for their diplomats which matched their own conception of their importance. An agreed solution to this problem was reached at the Congress of \*Vienna (1815) in the shape of the \*Regulation of Vienna, which received general acceptance. It has been echoed in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961). The position is now:

(a) As among \*heads of diplomatic missions in a particular capital, the order of precedence is divided into three classes, on the basis of the three \*diplomatic classes into which heads of mission fall. Within each class, heads take precedence in accordance with the date and

time at which they took up their functions. This is determined either on the basis of the presentation of their \*letters of credence or \*letters of commission to the \*head of state or the presentation of a \*working copy of them to the foreign ministry. Each \*receiving state must determine which of these practices it adopts, apply it uniformly, and arrange for credentials to be presented in the order in which heads of mission arrive. (Equivalent arrangements must be made by \*Commonwealth states of the \*Queen's realms in respect of the presentation of \*letters of introduction.) Thus the ambassador or high commissioner who has been longest in a particular capital will be at the front of the precedence line.

- (b) The *head of a \*special mission* to a particular state normally takes the same precedence as the head of their diplomatic mission in that state. In the event of there being no such mission or where there is doubt for some other reason, the matter will be settled according
- to the rules of the host government.
- (c) The *heads of \*permanent missions to the UN* have a different order of precedence each year, in accordance with the arrangements for the order of seating and \*roll-call voting in the \*General Assembly. This is decided at the start of each annual assembly, when a member state is chosen by lot to take the first seat to the left in the front row and the other members follow in English alphabetical order from left to right in each row of seats. *See also* alphabetical seating.
- (d) As among the *staff of a state's diplomatic or permanent mission*, precedence among \*diplomats reflects their \*diplomatic rank (sense 1) and their seniority within that rank; as among \*temporary diplomats, precedence is determined by the sending state. There are occasions when a \*sending state may wish to obscure the significance of an individual's role within a mission, so that, for example, a senior \*intelligence officer may be 'buried' well down the list.

- (e) *Heads of \*consular posts* rank within each class of head according to the date of the grant of the \**exequatur*, or the date of their provisional admission to the exercise of consular functions when it precedes the *exequatur*.
- (f) *\*Honorary consular officers* who are heads of consular posts rank in each class after career heads, on the same basis as such heads.
- (g) As among *consular officers at a state's consular post*, precedence is determined by the state in question.

A state's 'order of precedence' refers to many other dignitaries besides diplomats.

**precondition.** A concession required of one party by another before agreeing to enter around-the-table \**negotiations*. More often a feature of adversarial relationships, insistence on preconditions is a common tactic of those who are least attracted to negotiations, either because they feel that time is on their side or because they fear that otherwise their supporters would suspect their real intentions. *See also* *prenegotiations*.

**pre-emptive attack.** *See* self-defence.

**preliminaries.** Another term for \**prenegotiations*.

**prendre acte.** To declare that note has been taken of a statement made by another party and that this may be brought up against it in the future.

**prenegotiations.** The first stage of a \**negotiation*, or that which precedes the formal, around-the-table stage. *Pre-negotiations* are usually concerned with three questions: whether or not negotiations are a good idea; if so, what the \**agenda* should be; and how any formal negotiations should be conducted – that is, questions of procedure. *Pre-negotiations* are sometimes thinly disguised talks of a substantive nature.

**preparatory commission.** A body sometimes created to make the necessary arrangements for implementation of a \**treaty* once it has \**entered* into force. A 'prepcom', which usually comprises all the parties to the agreement, is a characteristic feature of the \**follow-up* stage of a multilateral treaty



establishing an \*international organization.

**presence post.** *See* American presence post.

**present.** A gift from one \*head of state to another, or by a \*receiving state to an \*accredited representative. Presents given to heads of state are often regarded as indicating the esteem in which leaders or their countries are held and have to be chosen with care. *See also* decorations.

**presentation of credentials.** Inasmuch as, formally speaking, an \*ambassador (sense 1) is the representative of the \*sending state's \*head of state accredited to the \*receiving state's head of state, it is natural that the envoy's \*letters of credence should be delivered personally to the latter. At one time this was of real significance because of the political importance of \*monarchs. Now it is, in its essence, a ceremonial occasion only. Indeed, it is no longer always an essential prerequisite for an ambassador's \*tour of duty formally to begin; depositing a working copy of the credentials with the foreign

ministry is sometimes sufficient. And if some such ceremony is still required, there appears to be no reason why it should not be conducted by a head of state's deputy, or some other appropriate personage – as has occasionally been considered or suggested in cases where the head of state is also \*head of government and therefore extremely busy. But there have been cogent objections to this idea: sending states would not like it and the receiving state might also suffer some disadvantage, with the result that it has only rarely been adopted. Generally, therefore, the traditional ceremony continues, sometimes with some pomp and ceremony but sometimes also with little, as in the United States where incoming ambassadors are generally received very briskly and in a group.

In most states the ceremony tends to conform to a similar pattern, but there are differences in the degree of formality and form of dress, and the personal style and temperament of the head of state may also affect the detailed procedure at the ceremony. Typically, the head of mission is escorted by the

head of the foreign ministry's \*protocol department (or, in the case of Britain, by the \*marshal of the diplomatic corps or \*permanent under-secretary) and perhaps by a senior \*official or a \*minister (sense 3). After the ambassador's introduction, short speeches may be made (but in the United States the speeches are exchanged in written form) and some light discussion ensues. Occasionally there may even be an opportunity for a helpful private discussion. A few members of the ambassador's mission and any spouse (or the equivalent) may be introduced before or after the discussion. The ceremony is similar for a \*high commissioner who is presenting \*letters of commission to a head of state. But in Britain, whereas an ambassador is conveyed in a cotton-lined landau pulled by two horses, a high commissioner's coach is silk-lined and pulled by four (one of which is ridden by a postilion).

In respect of a high commissioner from one of the \*Queen's realms to another, credentials take the form of a letter of introduction from the sending state's prime minister to that of the receiving

state and are presented to the prime minister very informally. However, in London this last aspect of the procedure was abandoned in the late 1990s, because sometimes it was not possible to arrange an appointment for the new high commissioner to call on the prime minister for some considerable time. Instead, the letter of introduction is delivered to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the same way as ambassadors and non-realm high commissioners deliver \*working copies of their letters of credentials and letters of commission. In consequence of the use of letters of introduction, high commissioners to Britain from one of the Queen's (other) realms do not meet the Queen at a credentials ceremony soon after their arrival. So that such diplomats do not feel left out, a special audience of the Queen is arranged for them shortly after they have taken up their position – but, as this is not a ceremonial occasion, they have to make do with travelling to it by their own car (which is often a matter of regret!).

Because of the extravagant and sometimes exotic ceremonial traditionally attending the

presentation of credentials, it is one of the most popular subjects in works of art dealing with diplomacy. It has also attracted the attention of caricaturists, none more so than James Gillray. One of the most legendary ceremonies was that granted in September 1793 by Qianlong, Manchu Emperor of China, to the experienced British envoy, Lord Macartney, who hoped to establish the first resident embassy on Chinese soil. Macartney, however, refused to \*kowtow and in consequence not until the middle of the next century did a British embassy open in Peking. The scene which Gillray envisaged as Lord Macartney's reception was immortalized in his cartoon entitled 'The Reception of the Diplomatique & his Suite, at the Court of Pekin' (it was actually held at the cooler summer retreat of the emperor at Jehol). Less well known is his more striking cartoon of the audience granted early in the following year by King George III to Jusuf Aga Efendi, the first permanent Ottoman ambassador ever appointed by the sultan. One of the 'suppressed' engravings (concealed from public view because of their sexually suggestive nature),

this is called 'Presentation of the Mahometan Credentials – or – The final resource of French Atheists'.

**press attaché.** The older name for an embassy's \*information officer.

**prestige.** Reputation for power. This is sometimes known as 'face', although it is not a very serviceable term because while it is often 'lost' it rarely seems to be 'gained'.

**prevailing language.** An additional language in which some treaties are drawn up and which prevails in the event of any divergence of interpretation of a point between the versions cast in the languages of the parties. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty concluded with the following statement: 'Done at Washington, D.C. this 26th day of March, 1979, in triplicate in the English, Arabic, and Hebrew languages, each text being equally authentic. In case of any divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail.'

**Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected**

**Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, Convention on (1973).**

\*Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1973, the convention \*entered into force in 1977, and at the beginning of 2011 had 173 \*parties (sense 2). Each is obliged to take appropriate measures, including cooperating with other states, to ensure that the purposes of the convention are achieved.

**preventive diplomacy.**

A term used by the second \*secretary-general of the United Nations, Dag \*Hammarskjöld, to refer both to his 'quiet diplomacy' and to \*peacekeeping operations. It then fell into disuse. But in 1992 the then secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, called for more 'preventive diplomacy', by which he meant not just his personal diplomatic activity but also fact-finding and the 'preventive deployment' of 'peacekeeping' missions within and between states, the latter not necessarily with the agreement of both sides. A mission with this term in its title operated on the Macedonian border with Yugoslavia and Albania from 1995 to 1999. The variety of activities that

the term has been used to designate makes it an unsatisfactory one.

**principal.** The head of a \*delegation.

**principal officer.** A US State Department term for the head of a \*consular post.

**private letter.** *See* unofficial letter.

**privileges and immunities.**

*See* consular privileges and immunities; diplomatic privileges and immunities; permanent mission.

**Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies, Convention on (1947).**

After approval by the UN General Assembly this \*convention \*entered into force in the following year. At the beginning of 2011 it had 116 parties.

**Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, General Convention on (1946).**

A \*convention providing for the immunity of the United Nations from jurisdiction, the inviolability of its premises and papers, certain currency and fiscal privileges, and \*freedom of

communication. It also entails full 'diplomatic' immunity for the UN's senior personnel and immunity in respect of the official acts of lesser officials. However, even for those states which have become parties to this convention, national legislation will normally be required for the UN's privileges and immunities to be recognized within the legal system of any particular state. (One well-known \*derogation from the position set out in the convention is the United States' refusal to exempt from US taxation those of its nationals who are members of the UN \*Secretariat.) The convention \*entered into force in the year of its adoption by the General Assembly. At the beginning of 2011 it had 157 parties. *See also the entry which begins* Headquarters of the United Nations.

***procès-verbal.*** *See* agreed minute/s.

**proconsul.** A term frequently applied with rhetorical flourish to a grand and senior figure in the administration of an empire, particularly a colonial governor, in the age of European imperialism. ('Proconsul' was the title

given to the commanders of armies or governors of provinces of the Roman Empire.) The \*viceroy of India – who also bore the title \*governor-general and headed the British administration from 1858 until independence in 1947 – was a very grand \*proconsul. Recently the term has been applied to the combatant commanders of the five unified, regional commands of the US armed forces: Pacific, Northern, Southern, European, and Central.

**pro-consul.** A rank sometimes given to \*consular officers who come immediately below vice-consul. For many years it was British practice to employ pro-consuls for the purpose of administering oaths, taking affidavits or affirmations, and performing notarial acts. The rank is not widely used.

**procurator.** *See* plenipotentiary.

**PRODROME.** The telegraphic address of the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office, first registered in 1884. Taken from the Greek *prodromos* meaning precursor, it was probably chosen on the assumption that

most \*telegrams were curtain-raisers for \*extenders.

**progressive development.**

The correction or removal of apparent inconsistencies in \*international law. *See also* codification; International Law Commission.

**pro-memoria.** *See* aide-mémoire.

**pro-nuncio.** The title at one time preferred to \*nuncio for the \*Holy See's diplomatic representative of \*ambassadorial rank in states which refused automatically to permit this envoy to be \*dean of the \*diplomatic corps. If there were no 'nuncio', the question of his \*precedence provided for under the terms of the \*Regulation of Vienna of 1815 could not arise. In recent years the prefix 'pro' has been abandoned. *See also* apostolic delegate; internuncio; nunciature.

**propaganda.** The use of mass communications to reinforce or change public opinion, domestic or foreign. If the source is openly admitted, it is known as 'white' propaganda; if concealed or misrepresented, as 'black'.

Traditionally it is regarded in \*International Relations (sense 3) as the antithesis of \*diplomacy (sense 1) because of its customary crudeness and mendacity and appeal to the people over the heads of their governments. However, some propaganda may contribute to a genuinely diplomatic cause. For example, it may be used to help break an \*impasse in negotiations by testing the water with new ideas or sustain the momentum of faltering talks by 'talking them up'. *See also* Blue Book; Cold War; gazette; information work; megaphone diplomacy; public diplomacy.

**protected state.** (1) A \*sovereign state which, by \*treaty or by virtue of some other arrangement, is subject to administrative control by another. Historically, this always involved the conduct by the stronger state of the foreign relations and defence of the weaker one. The terminological expression of this status – and, indeed, the status itself – was deeply out of step with the ethos of the later twentieth century, so that all treaties of protection appear to have been brought to an end by 1971. However,

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much of the substance of the status has been incorporated in the 'compacts of free association' made since the mid-1980s between the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, and Palau on the one hand and the United States on the other, whereby the latter has full responsibility for the defence – but not for the foreign relations – of these very small sovereign states. Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has had a stabilizing foreign military presence since 1995 (first supplied by NATO and from 2004 by the EU), has also been described as a protected state, although it remains in full control of its foreign relations and defence. *See also* associated state; international protectorate; protectorate; resident (sense 3). (2) A state whose interests in a second state are protected by the diplomatic mission of a third; a protected state in this sense is also sometimes known as a 'power of origin'. *See also* interests section (sense 2); protecting power.

**protecting power.** (1) A state which is in that relationship to a \*protected state (sense 1). (2) A state which undertakes to protect the

interests of a second state – a \*protected state (sense 2) – in the territory of a third. This important diplomatic institution originated in the sixteenth century in the right asserted by the French court – for reasons of prestige and commercial advantage – to protect the interests of any Christians whose business or pleasure took them to the Ottoman Empire and found themselves without the protection of diplomats from their own state. The responsibility was discharged – in the face of increasing competition from other European powers – by the French embassy in Constantinople and its outlying consulates. Protecting powers are still employed by states which feel that their interests in another do not justify the expense of a mission but today they come into play chiefly as a result of a breach in \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). For example, following the breach between Iran and the USA in 1979, Switzerland became the protecting power for the United States in Tehran, while Algeria assumed the same role for Iran in Washington. The institution is enshrined in the Vienna Convention on

\*Diplomatic Relations (1961).  
*See also* interests section.

**protectorate.** (1) In much international terminology, a synonym for \*protected state (sense 1). (2) In British constitutional law, a territorial entity which, while not formally a part of the monarch's dominions, is treated as if it were. To all intents and purposes, therefore, British protectorates were in the position of \*colonies. None of Britain's remaining \*dependent territories enjoys this status. *See also* international protectorate.

**protest.** A formal expression of one state's strong dissatisfaction with an aspect of the policy of another. Depending on the importance of the issue, it may be personally delivered to the head of the offending state's diplomatic mission by the foreign minister of the protesting state or by one of its officials, and/or by \*note (sense 1). *See also* démarche.

**protocol.** (1) Rules of diplomatic procedure, notably those designed to accord to the representatives of \*sovereign states and others, as well as different \*classes of officers

within them, the treatment in all official dealings to which their recognized status entitles them. Public occasions present the most testing times for such rules and it is for this reason that a state's chief of protocol has in the past sometimes been known as its 'master of ceremonies'. (2) An \*annexe to a treaty. (3) An agreement of a less formal kind than is usually connoted by the word \*'treaty'. (4) The \*agreed minutes of a conference or an official record of what has happened: for example, a protocol of deposit of an instrument of \*ratification. (5) A treaty signed in order to elaborate a \*framework treaty or to amend an existing treaty.

**protocolist.** One who draws up a \*protocol (sense 4). Sir Philip Currie was joint protocolist to the conference in London on Egyptian finance from 28 June to 2 August 1884. Now historical.

**provincial reconstruction team.** A civil-military outpost in a state suffering endemic insurgency. It is staffed by its external backers and tasked to assist it in 'post-conflict reconstruction'. Large ones supervise smaller 'forward operating



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bases'. PRTs, as they are usually called, are an American idea and have been an important feature of reconstruction work in Afghanistan and Iraq. In effect a special kind of \*consulate, they have a 'diplomatic' component and are sometimes headed by a \*diplomat (sense 1). *See also* political consul.

**provisional entry into force of treaties.** *See* entry into force.

**proxenos.** In ancient Greece, a citizen appointed by a foreign government to defend its interests in his own state. Cimon the Athenian statesman, who was appointed by Sparta to look after Spartan interests in Athens, is a good example. The proxenoi were usually leading political and social figures who were glad to have this public testimony to the spread of their reputations beyond the borders of their own states. Appointments often became hereditary. Resembling the modern day \*honorary consular officer, the proxenos – apart from the fact that he was a citizen of the \*receiving rather than \*sending state – was the forerunner of the \*resident ambassador created in Italy

during the late fifteenth century.

**proximity talks.** \*Negotiations conducted between hostile parties via an intermediary, usually at the same \*venue but without face-to-face contact between the adversaries. Commonly occasioned by the refusal of one party to recognize the legitimacy of the other, their physical proximity at least makes the intermediary's task of communication somewhat easier and also has \*propaganda advantages for both parties: to the one refusing \*recognition, that of \*signalling to the outside world that this obstacle will not be allowed to stand in the way of peace; to the one anxious to obtain it, that of suggesting that recognition is no longer so far off. The UN-brokered negotiations on the Greek island of Rhodes during 1949, which led to \*armistice agreements between Israel and its four Arab neighbours, were in the nature of proximity talks. Such talks under UN \*mediators were also employed at the Palais des Nations in Geneva in the mid-1980s to produce a settlement between Afghanistan's Soviet-backed regime and Pakistan,

as the latter refused to recognize the former. They were also employed by the United States at the talks held in 1995 in Dayton, Ohio (at an air force base) with a view to generating a breakthrough on the problem of Bosnia. *See also* contact group.

**proxy.** Acting via another (hence also the noun, one who acts on behalf of another), as in negotiating, fighting, or voting 'by proxy'. The term is a contraction of 'procuracy'. *See also* plenipotentiary; proxenos; representative; representative character.

**public affairs section.** The US State Department term for an embassy section dealing with \*information work and \*cultural diplomacy.

**public diplomacy.** (1) The exploitation by professional diplomats and foreign ministries of the rich opportunities of modern communications technology to engage in a dialogue with foreign publics, albeit with a view to persuading them more effectively to their point of view. It is this emphasis on dialogue, as also on \*cultural diplomacy, that is held to distinguish public

diplomacy from \*propaganda. Public diplomacy in this sense has become immensely popular in recent years. Indeed, by 2007 'the ability to engage in public diplomacy' had become part of the 'rating system' used in judging the suitability of US diplomats for promotion. *See also* information work; public affairs section. (2) A synonym for open \*propaganda which lacks the negative connotations of the latter term; in short, a euphemism for it. Those who hold this view point to what those who practice 'public diplomacy' actually do rather than what they say they do (which is usually replete with pious vagaries) and the obvious similarities between the activity in which they actually engage and the activity in which propagandists openly admit they engage: political advertising to foreign publics. (3) A synonym for \*open diplomacy. This was the usual meaning of 'public diplomacy' until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

**publicist.** A learned writer on \*international law.

**public minister.** Sometimes also \*foreign minister, the term for a \*diplomatic agent

of any class before the word \*diplomat came into common usage, although the term *ministres publics* remained current in French diplomacy until well into the twentieth century. In 1758 \*Vattel said, 'This expression, in its most general sense, is used of every person intrusted with the management of public affairs, but it is particularly applied to those who are appointed to fulfil such duties at a foreign court.'

**puppet state.** A \*sovereign state which appears to move not just at the will of

a stronger state (which is not unusual internationally) but only at its will. It is an imprecise term, but is probably best used to refer to a less independent situation than that indicated by the terms \*'dependent state' or \*'satellite state'. A good example is the Japanese-created state of Manchukuo, which existed from 1932 until 1945. *See also* sphere of influence; vassal state.

**pursuivant.** In medieval diplomacy, a \*herald's assistant.

# Q

**Quai d'Orsay.** The French \*foreign ministry, which settled in the purpose-built palace on the quai d'Orsay (no. 37) in Paris in 1853.

**qualified majority voting.**

(1) Any system of voting in which a decision requires either a \*double majority, \*supermajority, or \*weighted majority. All forms of qualified majority voting are designed to ensure that decisions have the blessing of those members whose support is deemed essential for effective implementation of the decision, and whose continued participation in the body concerned might be at serious risk if they experience defeat on a crucial issue or repeated defeats on lesser ones. *See also* consensus decision-making. (2) The term for the system of weighted voting currently employed by the European Union's Council of Ministers (but due to be

replaced by double majority voting in 2014). The weighting of each member state's votes is based on population, although the system has always favoured \*smaller states. (In practice, most council decisions are still reached on the basis of \*consensus.) *See also* constructive abstention; unanimity.

**Queen's commissioner.**

A term employed in the mid-nineteenth century by the British to describe what soon came to be known instead as a military and subsequently as a \*service attaché.

**Queen's messenger.**

'King's messenger' when a king is on the throne, a full-time British \*diplomatic courier. The origins of the King's messengers have been traced to the late twelfth century, but it was 1824 before they were constituted on the basis

which still obtains today. In that year the \*Foreign Office took over their financing and control from the monarch. Thenceforward King's messengers had to be British subjects, preferably former officers in the armed services, under 35 on the date of their appointment, adept in foreign languages, and unlikely to fall off a galloping horse. Former serving officers, for whom the preference has remained strong, were thought most likely to be loyal, resourceful, and disinclined to be meek in asserting their legal rights of immunity in the face of ignorant or truculent border officials. Today, the Queen's

messengers, whose numbers are much depleted, are more likely to be found in a plane than on the back of a horse. *See also* casual courier; diplomatic bag; express; freedom of communication.

**Queen's realms.** \*Sovereign states whose \*head of state is Queen Elizabeth II. *See also* Commonwealth; high commissioner.

**quid pro quo.** In \*negotiation, something given in return. *See also* concession (sense 1).

**quiet diplomacy.** *See* Hammarskjöld.

# R

**R2P.** This stands for ‘Responsibility to Protect’, a doctrine with three main elements: first, that each \*state bears primary responsibility for protection of its population from genocide, \*war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing; second, that the \*international community itself has a duty to assist states in fulfilling their humanitarian responsibilities, for example, by \*capacity building and \*mediation of internal conflicts; and, third, that if a state is failing to protect its population or is in fact the perpetrator of the crimes, the international community has a responsibility (as distinct from a *right*) to be prepared to engage in \*intervention, first by peaceful means but eventually, if necessary and in the last resort, by means of armed force, provided that this has been authorized by the UN \*Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN

\*Charter. The origin of the doctrine lies in the emergence in the 1990s of the concept of ‘sovereignty as responsibility’ and the justification advanced by some governments for humanitarian \*intervention, as in Kosovo in 1999. Kofi \*Annan adopted the idea, and in 2001 the Canadian government-sponsored International Commission on Intervention on State Sovereignty set out the case for R2P. In September 2005 it was formally adopted at the special UN World Summit and in the following year was endorsed by the Security Council in Resolution 1674. R2P is controversial because it represents such a significant challenge to the traditional United Nations doctrine of \*domestic jurisdiction, which still has widespread support, especially among \*smaller and weaker states. It is also argued by some that such a major extension of the powers of

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the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter requires an amendment to the Charter and that the Council cannot confer such a new power on itself simply by passing a resolution. However, the adoption of R2P by the special UN World Summit and endorsement by Security Council \*resolution are generally accepted as representing incorporation of the doctrine in international law.

**Ragusan diplomacy.** *See* Dubrovnik, diplomacy of.

**raison d'état.** Shorthand for the doctrine that the moral codes generally prevailing in relations between individuals may be ignored by government agencies if the security of the \*state is in jeopardy. In other words, it is the doctrine that governments may do anything, such as breaking promises, ordering assassinations, or making alliances with heretics and infidels, if they believe such actions are necessary to preserve the state. Originating in the thought and practice of Renaissance Italy, where it was first labelled *ragione di stato*, \*Richelieu was perhaps its most celebrated practitioner.

*See also* Barbaro; Guicciardini; Kautilya; Machiavelli.

**rapporteur.** At a conference, the person chosen to draft a report on the work of a committee or working group and, when it is agreed, present it to the \*plenary body on the committee's behalf. Since the report will usually contain proposals and the reasons for them, the opportunity to produce the first draft provides the rapporteur with a position of some influence.

**rapprochement.** An overcoming or putting aside of previous difficulties in \*diplomatic relations (sense 2), a reconciliation, and growth in intimacy. The term was commonly employed to describe the improvement in relations – at first cautious and slow, then dramatic and rapid – between the United States and the People's Republic of China at the beginning of the 1970s: 'the Sino-American rapprochement'.

**ratification, instrument of.** Also sometimes called 'acceptance' or 'approval', the international means whereby a signatory to a \*treaty, in accordance with the treaty's

terms, confirms its signature. In the case of a bilateral treaty, the instrument is exchanged with the other signatory; in the case of a multilateral treaty, it is lodged with the treaty's \*depository. Such exchange or lodgement is a step along the road towards the treaty's \*entry into force as regards the signatory state. \*International organizations expressing their consent to be bound by a treaty tend to describe the process as an 'act of formal confirmation'. If a treaty does not require ratification, signatures to it are referred to as 'definitive'. An instrument of ratification is to be distinguished from the domestic process which may be its precondition.

The practice of ratification was institutionalized at a time when poor communications made it difficult if not impossible for there to be any certainty that negotiators had not exceeded their \*instructions, or that their masters had not changed their minds since despatching them. It is still valued because it provides an opportunity for second thoughts and it lends treaties greater weight. Furthermore, the constitutions of some states require that treaties, or

certain kinds of treaty, must be approved by a body such as parliament, in which case it is necessary – from a domestic point of view – that there be an intervening stage between signature and entry into force. The United States, for example, cannot become a party to a treaty without the Senate's approval. There is no equivalent requirement in Britain, but it is customary to seek specific parliamentary approval for very important treaties. Another reason for ratification is that all states will, in respect of some treaties, need to pass domestic legislation for the treaties' requirements to be fulfilled. *See also* executive agreement; Ponsonby Rule.

**realism.** In \*International Relations (sense 3), a label either for (1) views or policies which pay more respect to what is achievable in practice than what might be ideal – first marked in the work of \*Machiavelli; (2) the doctrine that the focus of the subject should be the interplay of states, in which case 'Realism' is usually written thus, that is, with a capital letter; or (3) the position of scholars who believe, generally



in conjunction with the preceding sense, that states aim primarily at dominance over other states, in this event the label also being normally employed with a capital letter. *See also* balance of power; idealism; power politics; Realpolitik.

**Realpolitik.** The German term for political \*realism (sense 1), attributed to Ludwig von Rochau, who published *Grundsätze der Realpolitik* in 1853. It is now usually contrasted with 'Idealpolitik' or \*idealism.

**rebus sic stantibus.** *See* clausula rebus sic stantibus.

**recall.** (1) The temporary or permanent withdrawal of a \*diplomatic mission. The latter eventuality, it should be noted, does not necessarily entail the breach of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). (2) The temporary or permanent recall of a \*head of mission. A temporary withdrawal often indicates the \*sending state's displeasure with some act of the \*receiving state. A permanent recall generally indicates that the head of mission's \*tour of duty is being brought to a normal end. *See also* letters of recall.

**receiving line.** A device for efficiently welcoming guests. At an embassy reception this is a line generally composed of ambassador and spouse together with any guest of honour. (At a big reception, selected senior diplomatic staff may also stand in the line.) As host, the ambassador will head the line, although a butler or other aide will sometimes stand in front to elicit and announce accurately the names of the guests, who then proceed down the line. Hosts normally 'receive' in this way for about half an hour after the time stated for the reception on the invitation. However, at a \*national day reception, for example, standing in line to welcome late arrivals may well merge into bidding goodbye to early departers, thus occupying virtually the whole period of the function.

**receiving state.** The \*state which agrees to receive a \*diplomatic or a \*special mission from another state. It is also sometimes spoken of as the \*host state.

**reception.** The formal welcome extended by the \*receiving state to a new \*head of

mission. Unless it happens that \*presentation of credentials is to take place very soon after the new head's arrival, the reception is likely to take the shape of an audience with the \*foreign minister. A reception will also be arranged for a \*special mission.

**reciprocity.** The principle stipulating that with regard both to specific arrangements and general behaviour action of a particular kind by one state will, in appropriate circumstances, carry the expectation or run the danger that the other state(s) involved in the 'transaction' will respond in kind. This very influential principle underlies much state behaviour, diplomatic intercourse not least, and thus contributes to ensuring the observance of legal obligations. *See also* bilateral diplomacy; diplomatic privileges and immunities; diplomatic representation; international law.

**recognition.** A state's acknowledgement of a situation, with the intention of admitting its legal implications.

**recognition of a government.** The \*recognition – explicit or implicit – by one

state of a new government in another, especially one which has come to power by 'unconstitutional' means. During recent decades many states have abandoned the practice, preferring to follow the \*Estrada Doctrine. *See also* de facto recognition; de jure recognition; recognition of a state.

**recognition of a state.** The \*recognition by one state of another, extended either explicitly or implicitly. It is often said that this should be granted if the aspirant state meets the conditions stipulated in the \*Montevideo Convention (1933). However, in practice the decision whether or not to grant recognition of a state (and also \*recognition of a government) is often a political act. Recognition of a state is distinguishable from and a prerequisite for the establishment of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1). However, unlike the latter, recognition is a unilateral act. A breach of \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) does not imply a withdrawal of recognition. Indeed, if the facts remain the same, recognition cannot be withdrawn. *See also* de facto recognition;

de jure recognition; recognition of a government.

**recorder.** A nineteenth century \*Foreign Office term for a duplicate of an enciphered \*telegram sent \*en clair by \*Queen's messenger or ordinary post. The purpose of a recorder was to provide a check on the deciphering of the telegram. Recorders presented the obvious risk that the \*cipher (sense 2) would be compromised if they fell into the wrong hands. As a result, in 1890 they were replaced by paraphrased versions of the enciphered telegrams. *See also* extender.

**recredential.** In French a *lettre de récréance*, this is a letter of acknowledgement written by the head of a \*receiving state to the head of a \*sending state on receipt from the latter of \*letters of recall of an ambassador. Usually formulaic, it expresses satisfaction at the conduct and regret at the departure of the agent.

**redaction.** The action of deleting or obscuring sensitive passages of text (including the names of persons still living) from \*classified documents prior to public release. This

used to be done manually but is now usually automated. Neither method is foolproof. *See also* Office of Inspector General; WikiLeaks.

**Redcliffe, Lord Stratford de.** *See* Canning, Stratford.

**Red Cross Conventions.** The chief embodiments of \*international humanitarian law, these are the four \*conventions, alternatively known as the 'Geneva Conventions', which were agreed at Geneva in 1949 and are still in force today. They deal respectively with (i) the care of the wounded and sick members of armed forces in the field; (ii) the care of the wounded, sick, and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea; (iii) the treatment of prisoners of war; and (iv) the protection of civilian persons in time of war. Almost all states are \*party (sense 2) to these important and – at least in the last regard – innovative conventions. Nevertheless, post-1949 changes in methods of warfare, among other things, required greater attention to be given to the protection of the civilian population against the direct effects of hostilities. As a result, in 1977

two new treaties of international humanitarian law were adopted: the 'Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions'. A clear majority of states are today bound by at least one of these. *See also* R2P.

**red line.** The point beyond which a party publicly announces it will not be pushed. In a \*negotiation this may or may not be the same as its \*fall-back position. Sometimes whole issues are surrounded by metaphorical red lines, as in the case of Tibetan independence for the People's Republic of China. *See also* sticking point.

**referendum.** *See* plebiscite.

**regime.** *See* international regime.

**regime change.** *See* intervention.

**regional customary international law.** *See* special customary international law.

**regional diplomacy.** A form of \*multilateral diplomacy practised between states in a geographic region or sub-region. It has gained in

prominence since the end of the \*Cold War and produced an alphabet soup of new regional groups.

**regional embassy office.** A recent term for a post traditionally and still more usually referred to as a \*consulate. It was employed by Britain and the United States in Iraq in 2011.

**regional organization.** An \*international organization whose members are restricted to a region (loosely interpreted): for example, the African Union or the League of Arab States.

**registry.** The section of a \*foreign ministry or of a \*diplomatic mission in which mail is handled and documents are registered, filed, and indexed by archivists. *See also* chancery; diplomatic archives.

**règlement de Vienne.** *See* Regulation of Vienna.

**regulation.** A European Union law which is immediately and – in contrast to a \*directive – \*binding on member states in respect of the means of its implementation as well as its aims.

**Regulation of Vienna (1815).** A landmark in the development of diplomatic procedure which was agreed at the Congress of \*Vienna. The regulation divided \*heads of mission into three classes: (i) \*ambassadors, \*legates, or \*nuncios (who alone had the \*representative character); (ii) \*envoys, ministers or others, accredited to sovereigns; and (iii) \*chargés d'affaires, who were accredited only to the foreign minister. (This was modified at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 by the insertion of another class – minister \*resident – between envoys and chargés d'affaires, thereby making four classes in all.) However, the radical development came in article 4, under which it was agreed that, henceforward, within each class heads of mission would take \*precedence according to the date of the official notification of their arrival at their posting. *See also* diplomatic classes; presentation of credentials.

**reis effendi.** A high official of the Ottoman government directly subordinate to the \*grand vizier. Originally head of the chancery of the sultan's *divan* (council), he later came

to act as secretary of state and \*foreign minister.

**relation.** An early modern term for a detailed report from a diplomat or consul on a particular subject, usually attached to a \*despatch. 'I have bene large in this subject [Barbary pirates] in former relations,' Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador at Constantinople, informed King James I in March 1621. Such reports were not as full as the famous Venetian \**relazioni*.

**relazione.** A detailed account of the political, military, economic, and social conditions within a state produced by the \*Venetian diplomats who had served there. Dating from the second half of the thirteenth century although not achieving its final form until the sixteenth, the *relazione* was much fuller than a \*despatch and was updated by each successive ambassador and solemnly read to the senate on his return. The Venetian *relazioni* were unique and acquired great fame; as a result, copies were bought both by governments and collectors. They were not, however, universally admired. \*Torcy, the bustling foreign

minister of Louis XIV, who required a written *mémoire* or final report from his own envoys on their return from abroad, noted tersely that the Venetian style contained '*beaucoup de paroles, nulle conclusion*'. See also *sefaretname*.

**RELEX.** From 'Relations Extérieure', a common abbreviation for \*directorates-general of the European Union dealing with \*Common Foreign and Security Policy, trade, development, and enlargement.

**reparation.** (1) The redress of an illegal act. See also damages. (2) Compensation exacted for an act which is deemed to have been politically or morally improper (usually both). Victors in \*war have sometimes exacted reparations from the defeated states – as instanced notably in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles made at the conclusion of the First World War.

**representation.** (1) A synonym for \*diplomacy (sense 1). See also diplomatic functions; diplomatic representation. (2) The ceremonial and social – and often extremely tedious – side of the work of a diplomatic agent,

especially an ambassador. Apart from entertaining and attendance at state ceremonial occasions, 'representational duties' include such chores as standing in line at the airport with the rest of the \*diplomatic corps to welcome some foreign dignitary to the country. (3) The permanent mission abroad of a body such as the European Commission. The commission has 'representations' in all of the member states of the European Union. (The Commission's outposts in non-member states are known as 'delegations'.) (4) In the plural, an umbrella term for diplomatic missions plus consular posts. See also representative character.

**representational officer.** A diplomat of at least relatively high rank who has duties of \*representation (sense 2), especially entertaining. Such an officer has a strong case for spacious and well-furnished personal accommodation. See also *frais de représentation*.

**representations.** See diplomatic representation (sense 2).

**Representation of States ... Vienna Convention**

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**on (1975).** This deals with the position (including the \*privileges and immunities) of \*permanent missions, \*permanent observer missions, and of \*delegations to organs of \*international organizations and to conferences convened by and under the auspices of international organizations. At the beginning of 2011 it remained one \*ratification short of the 35 needed for it to \*enter into force, \*host states (sense 2) in particular being unhappy at the extent of the privileges and immunities which it proposes. Meanwhile, the position of missions and delegations is regulated by specific agreements between individual host states and the organization concerned. It should be recalled that the entry into force of the convention will only create \*binding obligations for those states which have ratified it.

**representative.** (1) A generic term for the head of a \*diplomatic mission, \*consular post, \*agency, or \*representative office. Hence it is sometimes used when there is difficulty in assigning a \*head of mission to one of the recognized

\*diplomatic classes. The states concerned may agree to resort to the term 'representative', or the \*sending state may unilaterally adopt that designation. The two states may also, in these circumstances, agree on the diplomatic class into which the representative falls; alternatively, the \*receiving state will make its own determination on the matter. Such a case arose in respect of British-Irish representation during the Second World War (at which time there was a difference of opinion as to whether Ireland was a \*dominion). Britain refused to agree to Ireland's wish that the representative of each of them should have a diplomatic rank and title. It was therefore agreed that their representatives should be so called. However, a further problem arose as Ireland refused to use the name 'United Kingdom', as its full version included the words 'and Northern Ireland'. Thus while Britain called its representative in Dublin the 'representative of the United Kingdom', Ireland called him the 'British representative'. Another example occurred after Cyprus became a \*sovereign state in 1960. For about six months its

position in relation to the \*Commonwealth was uncertain, Britain being reluctant to agree to its full membership. Accordingly, during this period the head of Britain's \*diplomatic mission to Cyprus was called a 'representative'. *See also* Massaquoi. (2) The title given to an individual appointed by the United Nations to support the \*secretary-general's efforts in the field of peace and security. *See also* accredited diplomatic representative; accredited representative; colony; diplomatic representative; personal representative; polpred; representative character; representative office; resident (sense 3); special envoy; special representative.

**representative character.**

The representation of the person of the sending sovereign. This idea used to be employed to justify \*diplomatic privileges and immunities and the related right to demand direct access to the receiving sovereign, which according to Article 2 of the \*Regulation of Vienna (1815) was considered exclusive to \*diplomatic agents of the first class (\*ambassadors, \*legates, and \*nuncios). This generally

gave ambassadors no more than a negotiating point on top-level access, although it could sometimes be used to great advantage. The disappearance of \*monarchical regimes and the political emasculation of those which remained, together with the practical obstacles to effecting this doctrine, saw the importance attached to it diminish during the course of the nineteenth century. Even the early editions of *Satow's Guide* (now \**Satow's Diplomatic Practice*), published shortly after the First World War, regarded the 'representative character' of the ambassador as little more than an historical curiosity. Nevertheless, many diplomats from all sorts of states remain deeply conscious of representing the person of their \*head of state. *See also* exterritoriality; functional approach; representation; throne room.

**representative functions.**

A synonym for \*diplomatic functions.

**representative office.** Also known as a 'liaison office', 'permanent representation', or even 'general delegation', a type of mission sometimes employed in the absence of



\*diplomatic relations (sense 1). In these circumstances, typically where one party refuses to \*recognize the government or state of the other but both are keen to promote contacts, representative offices are a favoured solution to the problem of resident representation. In effect informal embassies, they were employed in Japan's relations with certain states prior to the ending of the occupation regime in 1952 (although foreign 'liaison missions' in Japan were formally accredited to the Supreme Command of the Allied powers). They were also exchanged between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the interval between their \*rapprochement in the early 1970s and US recognition of the PRC in 1979. They are currently popular with Taiwan and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. And until Norway granted it diplomatic status in 2010, the PLO had a representative office in Oslo styled a 'general delegation'. A representative office may also be opened in a territorial entity or area which is formally part of a wider \*sovereign state but not under the latter's effective control and which does not for

the moment openly demand the right to secede. Such an office is indicative of a wish on the part of the \*sending state to communicate regularly with the entity in question or lend it some support. Thus a British representative office was opened in the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan in May 2004. *See also* consular post; interests section.

**reprisal.** An act which is illegal in itself but which is allegedly justified as a means of retaliation for an illegal act by another state. During the second half of the twentieth century the issue of reprisals, especially where they involved the use of force, became highly controversial. In consequence, the concept of lawful defence has sometimes been stretched to cover acts which once would straightforwardly have been called reprisals. *See also* countermeasures; reciprocity; retorsion; sanctions.

**republic.** A state in which the \*head of state is elected by the people or a representative body, as distinct from a \*monarchy.

**reservation.** A qualification made by a \*party (sense 2)

to a \*treaty, \*resolution, or \*consensus statement purporting to exclude itself from the operation of a particular provision of the instrument. In principle, the validity of a reservation depends on the consent of the other parties. But in practice the situation often becomes less than entirely clear. Nor is clarity in this area helped by the recent practice of \*ratifications and \*accessions being accompanied by interpretative declarations, which do not have the legal effect of reservations but which sometimes seem, in the effect they are intended to have, to be little different from reservations. *See also* plurilateral treaty.

**residence.** The home of the \*head of mission when distinct, as is now commonly the case, from the \*chancery or \*embassy (sense 1); it might be anything from a hotel room to a mansion. Sometimes described as the 'private residence', it was expressly included within the definition of the 'premises of the mission' in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) and is entitled to exactly the same inviolability and protection as the

chancery or embassy proper. The physical separation of the residence from the chancery can be advantageous. When the US \*army attaché in Paris, Major General Vernon A. Walters, was instructed by the White House in 1970 to make secret contact with the Chinese ambassador, he decided, according to his memoirs, 'that the way to do this was to go and see him at the residence in the Neuilly suburban district of Paris, rather than to attempt to go to the Chinese chancery downtown. This would draw a lot of attention'. *See also* diplomatic premises; *hôtel de l'ambassadeur*.

**residency.** *See* resident (sense 3).

**resident.** (1) In early modern European diplomacy, a \*public minister (including an \*ambassador) who was permanently resident in the state of his accreditation. *See also* Barbaro. (2) Later, the term was used to describe a minister of the third class, that is, one below an \*envoy but above a \*secretary of embassy. By the end of the eighteenth century the term had dropped out of use, although it re-emerged

as 'minister resident' as the title for the third class of diplomatic agent provided for in the addition to the famous \*Regulation of Vienna (1815) made at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. (3) The representative in one of its \*colonies of a European power practicing indirect rule. 'Colonial residents' (who worked from a 'residency') were usually ranked in the French system: *résident général*, *résident supérieur*, and *résident*. Some such representatives were termed 'political residents', and some – especially to lesser \*protected states – as 'political agents'. (4) An \*intelligence officer (sense 2) serving as head of an intelligence agency's 'station' in a \*diplomatic mission, frequently used in connection with the former KGB ('the KGB resident in London').

**resident clerk.** See duty officer.

**resident custodian.** A member of the \*locally engaged staff of a \*diplomatic mission appointed as caretaker of its buildings and grounds (\*diplomatic premises) in the event of a break in \*diplomatic relations. Such an appointment

is invariably prudent when the \*sending state owns these premises and might also be wise when they are rented. See also protecting power.

***résident général.*** See resident (sense 3).

**resident minister.** A \*minister (sense 3) serving overseas. Such appointments have been very rare and made in exceptional circumstances. For example, during the Second World War the future British prime minister, Harold Macmillan, held the important office of resident minister with cabinet rank at Allied Headquarters in Algiers (1942–5). See also Casey; minister (resident).

**resident mission.** A \*diplomatic mission the head of which is resident in the \*receiving state. Generally, its other members will also be resident there, but occasionally some or even most of them will be resident at a mission in another state, or dispersed among several other missions. Sometimes (although it seems less common than it used to be) a resident mission will have a non-resident head, with the

mission in the receiving state being headed by a \*chargé d'affaires *ad interim*. See also delegation (sense 2); multiple accreditation; non-resident mission; satellite office.

**residual mission.** The term by which the rump British mission in Rhodesia was known after the latter's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. It was withdrawn in 1969. (Before 1965 the mission had been called a \*high commission, even though Rhodesia had not been a \*sovereign state. This terminology reflected the territory's distinctive historical position in the \*Commonwealth.)

**res nullius.** See *terra nullius*.

**resolution.** The standard form in which UN bodies and other \*international organizations formally record their conclusions, which may or may not be \*binding. The resolution begins with a preamble which rehearses the background to the subject in question and then proceeds to the operative paragraphs. See also substantive.

**responsibility to protect.** See R2P.

**retorsion.** Retaliatory acts which are legal in all circumstances. See also reprisals.

**retreat.** The session of a \*summit meeting where the heads of state and government meet strictly on their own and usually in a quiet location away from the main venue. Traditionally associated with \*Commonwealth heads of government meetings, retreats, which typically last for a day or a day and a half, are now a feature of certain other serial summits as well. See also Camp David.

**review meeting.** A conference held to review the operation of a \*treaty and, by the threat of naming and shaming any \*party (sense 2) tempted to default on its obligations, encourage its implementation. Review meetings, which are an important means of \*'following-up', may have long intervals between them (five years in the case of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) but lower-level committees usually operate for substantial parts of these periods. Bilateral review meetings are usually known as 'joint commissions'. See also armistice commission.

**revision.** *See* reservation.

**Riad, Mahmoud (1917-92).**

Egyptian army officer and diplomat. In August 1948, in the middle of the first Arab-Israeli war, Mahmoud Riad, a graduate of the Military Staff College, was appointed head of the military intelligence office in Gaza. It was the turning point from a military to a diplomatic career which had the fate of Palestine as its principal focus. For the Gaza posting led to his membership of the Egyptian delegation that attended the Rhodes armistice conference in February 1949 and this in turn led to his five year-leadership of the small Egyptian delegation on the mixed \*armistice commission set up at El Auja under the general \*armistice signed between Egypt and Israel at Rhodes. Having established himself as an able negotiator with the Israelis as well as the Egyptian army's leading expert on Palestine affairs, after the military coup in 1952 which brought down King Farouk he was put in charge of the Palestine Department of the Military General Command. In 1954 he took the formal step into diplomacy by transferring to the foreign ministry.

Enjoying the confidence of Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser, who by this time had emerged as Egypt's leader, Riad's diplomatic career then took off. In early 1955 he was appointed ambassador at Damascus, where he was given a free hand to promote Nasser's dream of a 'United Arab Republic' of Egypt and Syria. On the realization of this objective in February 1958 (which in the event proved short-lived), he was brought back to Cairo to serve as a political adviser to the president. From 1962 to 1964 he was Egypt's \*permanent representative (sense 1) to the United Nations in New York and then, from 1964 to 1972 – at the pinnacle of his influence – foreign minister. Mahmoud Riad had the reputation for being a man of mild temperament who represented his government with poise and dignity: 'it was his burden', it has been said of him, 'to present tempered versions of ... Nasser's rants.' Nasser died in 1970 and Mahmoud Riad was unhappy with the decision of his successor, Anwar Sadat, to switch to a policy of reliance on the United States to support Egypt's bid to regain the Sinai (lost to Israel in the June War

in 1967) and obtain a just settlement for the Palestinian Arabs. In a major cabinet overhaul in January 1972 he was removed from office although kept close as an adviser. Six months later Sadat arranged for him to be elected \*secretary-general of the Cairo-headquartered Arab League, a post which by tradition was held by an Egyptian. Riad's period at the Arab League witnessed the signing of the Camp David Accords in September 1978, in the negotiation of which he believed Sadat to have been procedurally inept and substantively naïve; and it also saw the signing of the Egypt-Israel \*peace treaty in the following March, which resulted in Egypt's ostracism in the Arab world. His position as secretary-general had become untenable and he promptly resigned. In his retirement Mahmoud Riad published a semi-autobiographical account in English of the Arab-Israeli conflict, *The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (1981), which ends with a trenchant attack on Sadat's negotiations with Israel, and three volumes of memoirs in Arabic.

**Richelieu, Cardinal (1585–1642).** Armand Jean du

Plessis, Cardinal and Duke of Richelieu, was chief minister to King Louis XIII of France from 1624 until his death shortly before the end of the Thirty Years' War. To students of diplomacy Richelieu is best known for being the first prominent figure to insist on the importance to a community of states of continuous negotiation between them, and – despite being a pious Catholic – one of the most successful statesmen in modern European history to apply the doctrine signified by the phrase \*raison d'état. The cardinal's *Testament Politique*, which was written shortly before his death for the private guidance of Louis XIII and did not see the light of day until 1688, contains a succinct distillation of his political and diplomatic wisdom. At one time thought to be a forgery, it is now accepted by historians to be substantially authentic.

**right of embassy.** (1) A synonym for the \*right of legation. (2) The right to be represented at the level of \*ambassador.

**right of legation (*ius legationis*).** This term, which was

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commonly used in the early modern period, was very slippery in its meanings: (1) It could refer to the issue, at the time controversial, of who had the right to send \*ambassadors (sense 1) or \*ministers (sense 1) to foreign states, that is to say, whether this right should be restricted to \*sovereign states or extended to others: for example, private bodies or \*vassals. (There is an echo of this in recent arguments surrounding \*multistakeholder diplomacy.) Insisting on the sole right to send embassies (with their special privileges) was a very practical means whereby monarchs could deny this powerful tool to their vassals and thereby help to keep them in their place. (2) The right of legation could also refer to, as from the pen of \*Grotius, the rights enjoyed by diplomats if and when they had been admitted to another state. (3) More commonly, however, the right of legation meant the alleged right of one state to have its diplomats admitted to another. This claim was largely without substance, as there was little point in attempting to act on it if the \*receiving state was not agreeable. It was asserted in article 1 of the Havana Convention on

\*Diplomatic Officers (1928) – which was no doubt one of the numerous reasons why this convention was not \*ratified by the United States – but it is now universally accepted that a \*diplomatic mission is established on the basis of the receiving state's consent. *See also* right of embassy.

**right of transit.** Known earlier as the right of innocent passage, the alleged right of \*diplomatic agents and members of their \*families (sense 1) to pass freely through third states on their way to and from a diplomatic \*post. Strictly speaking, however, diplomats have no greater rights in this regard than their fellow citizens. Thus, if a visa is ordinarily required for people of their nationality, they must obtain one. Nevertheless, diplomatic agents (and their families) passing legitimately through a third state on the way to or from their posts are entitled to such immunities as are necessary to ensure their passage. *See also* safe conduct.

**rights and duties of states.** *See* Montevideo Convention.

**Rio Branco, Baron of (1845–1912).** Brazilian geographer,

diplomat, and politician. José Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior was the son of a former foreign minister. In 1876 he was appointed \*consul-general at the major British port of Liverpool and remained there until 1891. In that year the 'Baron of Rio Branco' (he had been given the title in 1888) was moved to Paris in order to direct the Brazil immigration service. Meanwhile, exploiting a geographical expertise cultivated in the libraries of Europe, he had successfully represented Brazil in two important boundary disputes and in 1901 was rewarded with appointment as \*minister (sense 1) at the \*legation in Berlin – and only a year later with the office of \*foreign minister, a post he held until his death. Rio Branco is generally credited with the major role in delimiting Brazil's national frontiers (which had long been a source of conflict with neighbouring states), promoting the policy of \*rapprochement with the United States (in the course of which he stimulated the upgrading of the two states' legations to embassies at the beginning of 1905), and being the founder of the Brazilian diplomatic service. The Brazilian diplomatic academy, founded

in 1945 (the centenary of his birth), is named after him.

**Rio Branco Institute.** *See* Rio Branco, Baron of.

**ripe moment.** The juncture in a dispute when the parties are most inclined (perhaps out of exhaustion) to make a settlement and when, therefore, it is best to start a \*negotiation or force the pace of an existing one. It is allied to the concept of 'premature negotiation'. Sometimes presented as a twentieth-century insight, the doctrine of the ripe moment, or 'ripeness', was discussed at some length by \*Guicciardini in the early sixteenth century; he called it the 'right season'.

**rogatory letter.** A letter or commission requesting that a judicial authority in one state obtain evidence, serve process, or serve a summons on behalf of a judicial authority in another. \*Consuls play a prominent role in delivering such letters and in some circumstances may assist in their execution. The US \*State Department believes that the use of such letters is a time-consuming, cumbersome, and costly process and should only be used as a last resort.



### 328 Rogers Act (1924)

**Rogers Act (1924).** See Foreign Service, US.

**rollback.** (1) A provision in an agreement whereby the parties undertake to dismantle all of their existing policies inconsistent with it. \*Standstill agreements often have a rollback element. (2) The early \*Cold War policy of the United States of encouraging the states of Central and Eastern Europe to escape from Soviet domination, thereby rolling back the frontiers of the \*Kremlin's \*sphere of influence.

**roll-call voting.** A method of voting used in \*international organizations and conferences in which an officer calls the roll of member states, whose representatives then answer 'Yes', 'No', or 'Abstain' as the names are called. Latterly it has often been replaced by electronic voting. See also precedence.

**Rosier, Bernard du (?-1475).** French cleric and scholar. Du Rosier was provost and later archbishop of Toulouse for over 20 years. He also knew the world of diplomacy and has been authoritatively credited with writing the

first textbook on the subject in Western Europe. Completed at the end of 1436, this was called *Ambaxiator Brevilogus* or 'Short Treatise about Ambassadors'. His book was also remarkable for its preference for the word \*ambassador' as the title for the most important envoys several centuries before this became routine.

**round (of negotiations).** A series of negotiating sessions. While a session normally lasts for hours, a round can last for weeks, months, or even years.

**round-table conference.** A conference held at such a table. The idea is an echo of the round table of Arthurian legend and has the attraction of avoiding contention over \*seating arrangements. Having, unlike a square one, no sides, and, unlike an oblong one, no head or foot either, a round table suggests that all \*delegations sitting at it are, as conferees, of equal status and need not see themselves as opposing groups – however much these claims are belied by reality. A round table is typically employed today in an effort to ease prickly relations at a

negotiation which involves not just \*sovereign states but also armed factions and perhaps \*non-governmental organizations as well. An instance of its use was at the Bonn talks on Afghanistan in November 2001. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy.

**roving ambassador.** *See* ambassador-at-large.

**rules of procedure.** Rules agreed by a decision-making body to govern its proceedings. In international relations a well-known instance is to be found in the 'Provisional Rules of Procedure' of the UN \*Security Council (as amended

on 21 December 1982), which deal with the calling of formal meetings, production of the agenda, representation and credentials, the presidency, the role of the secretariat, conduct of business (including use of \*rapporteurs), voting, official and working languages, publicity of meetings and records, admission of new members, and relations with other UN organs, non-governmental organizations, and private individuals.

**rupture.** Often used to refer to a breach of \*diplomatic relations. But it may also connote a lesser deterioration in relations between two states.

# S

**safe-conduct.** Sometimes loosely described as a \*laissez-passer (in German, *Passierschein*), this was an official permit for diplomats or any other individuals to enter and travel 'without let or hindrance' through a specified state, usually one with which their country was at \*war. However, until \*international law began to give relatively uniform protection to diplomatic envoys in the country of their accreditation after the sixteenth century, it was customary for safe-conducts to be required by diplomats even in \*receiving – as well as transit – states and securing them was a task for intrepid \*heralds and other messengers. A number of developments have dramatically reduced the problems which traditionally led diplomats to seek safe-conducts, especially in transit states. Among these are air travel and the emergence of the

customary rule (since codified in the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations 1961), that a diplomat admitted to a third country in the course of a journey to or from a post, is entitled to personal inviolability and 'such other immunities as may be required to ensure his transit or return'. As a result, safe-conducts fell into disuse in the twentieth century. *See also* right of transit; visa.

**safe room.** (1) A room inside a diplomatic mission strengthened and equipped in such a manner as to provide a secure redoubt – like a 'keep' in a Norman castle – in the event of an invasion of the mission. This kind of safe room may double as a 'safe speech room'. It is sometimes also known as a 'panic room'. *See also* compound. (2) A synonym for a \*SCIF, now rare.

**salami tactics.** *See* concession (sense 1).

**salute.** *See* gun salute.

**sanctions.** The means adopted to enforce a legal obligation. They may be utilized on an individual or a collective basis. Under the UN Charter the \*Security Council has the right to take or authorize measures, including armed measures, in face of any threat to or breach of the peace; and in so doing it may intervene in matters which are essentially within a state's \*domestic jurisdiction. Given, on the one hand, the disposition of UN members to favour a broad interpretation of the term 'threat to the peace' and, on the other, the ending of the \*Cold War, the way was opened for the Council to engage in or empower the taking of a variety of measures against those whom it deemed to be lawbreakers. Hence during the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first there was a noticeable increase in the number of cases of UN-sponsored collective sanctions. Prominent among them were those directed against Iraq, Libya, and the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Sanctions of the economic sort are increasingly seen as a blunt instrument, since they penalize an entire population in addition to its government. As a result, targeted or 'smart' sanctions aimed at individuals have begun to find favour. *See also* R2P.

**San Francisco Conference.** The 1945 conference at which the UN \*Charter was concluded.

**satellite office.** A term sometimes used to describe a (generally small) office of a diplomatic or consular character which does not have the status of a \*diplomatic mission or \*consular post in its own right (although its members will enjoy \*diplomatic or \*consular status). This is because it is only an outpost in the \*receiving state of a diplomatic mission or consular post accredited to that state. Accordingly, the senior member of the satellite office cannot be given a typically \*head-of-mission title, such as 'ambassador'; instead some such title as 'officer in charge' is likely to be used. The person to whom it is given will be

responsible for the conduct of the office to the head of the mission. Satellite offices, sometimes known simply as 'offices', are commonly employed by certain states to handle trade, aid, and immigration questions. *See also* virtual consulate.

**satellite state.** A state which is or tends to be habitually subservient to another in respect of an important area or areas of policy. During the \*Cold War it was widely applied in the West to the East European associates of the Soviet Union. It has some affinity with the concept of a \*vassal state. *See also* bloc; dependent state; puppet state; sphere of influence.

**Satow, Sir Ernest (1843–1929).** British scholar-diplomat. Born of an English mother and a Swedish father, Satow's most significant postings were in the Far East. These culminated in China, to which he was posted as \*envoy extraordinary and high commissioner shortly after the relief of the siege of the \*legation quarter in Peking in 1900. Satow received much of the credit for the agreement subsequently negotiated

between China and the other powers and remained in Peking until 1906. If students of the Far East now remember Satow for his profound scholarship on this region, by diplomats he is recalled chiefly for his authorship of what is now called *\*Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, which is in its sixth edition and is indisputably the pre-eminent English-language manual of the profession. The latest edition acknowledges for the first time that Satow had a Japanese partner or 'common-law' wife called Takeda Kane who bore him two sons, one of whom became a botanist at Kew Gardens near London. In Japan Satow remains a celebrity to this day.

***Satow's Diplomatic Practice.*** The highly technical manual on \*diplomacy (sense 1) first written by Sir Ernest \*Satow and published by Longmans, Green and Company of London in 1917 under the title *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*. In 1922, he published a second, revised edition. He died in 1929 and the four subsequent editions were each revised by recently retired British diplomats. The third edition (1932) was produced by Hugh Ritchie,

formerly a technical assistant in the Treaty Department; the fourth (1957) by Sir Nevile Bland, whose last post was ambassador at The Hague; the fifth (1979) was revised by Lord Gore-Booth, who was \*permanent under-secretary at the \*Foreign Office in the second half of the 1960s; and the sixth (2009) was edited by Sir Ivor Roberts, a former British ambassador to Yugoslavia, Ireland, and Italy (*see also* valedictory despatch). For students of Satow, therefore, the most valuable edition is the second, while for professional diplomats the best one is the most recent, now known as *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*.

**saving.** A British Diplomatic Service term for a relatively low priority message sent telegraphically, rather than by the less economical \*diplomatic bag.

**savingram.** A halfway house between a letter and a \*telegram in that it is a message in the same form as an \*unofficial letter but sent \*saving.

**schutzbrief.** *See* letter of protection (sense 1).

**SCIF.** A Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility.

SCIF (pronounced 'skiff') is the latest American term for what used to be known – with rather more economy – as a 'bubble'. It is a facility in which conversations can be held without fear of being overhead. It may be a special room in a \*diplomatic mission or a special tent erected in any convenient space (including a hotel room) for those on the move: for example, a head of government on a foreign visit. *See also* freedom of communication; listening device.

**seal.** (1) An emblematic figure or design pressed into a piece of wax or other substance as a means of authenticating either the document so marked or the signature on it. (2) An engraved tool or 'stamp' employed for making such markings. States customarily have a seal of this kind for use on papers of the highest importance, such as \*treaties. In Britain this seal is called the Great Seal of the Realm. (3) A piece of wax or similar substance which overlaps a fold in a letter or document, thereby making it impossible (or at least very difficult) to open it and then 're-seal' it without detection. *See also* golden bull.

### 334 seating arrangements

**seating arrangements.** At official and social functions in a \*receiving state, the rules of \*precedence apply to the seating of \*heads of mission and their position as a class is determined by the receiving state's domestic order of precedence. Other \*diplomatic agents are seated on the basis of their \*diplomatic rank and the time they have served in that rank in the receiving state (their position as a class again being determined by the receiving state's order of precedence). \*Temporary diplomats are placed according to their precedence within their mission. Precedence at table is widely known by the French word, *placement*.

The application of these principles can, in respect of individual functions, often give rise to difficulty, in the solution of which the \*protocol (sense 1) department of the receiving state's foreign ministry is likely to provide valuable assistance. But it remains that diplomatic feathers will sometimes be ruffled. The traditional form of protest at a host's failure to recognize a guest's proper seniority as revealed by the placement is for the insulted guest to turn their soup bowl

upside down on the table, after the soup has been served but before it is consumed, and to depart in silence. Happily, this rarely happens.

At international political meetings the representatives of participating states may be seated on any basis which is mutually agreed – resort to an \*alphabetical basis often being found convenient. But difficulties can arise when the participating states are not in \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) or do not \*recognize each other, or when \*non-state actors are involved. Ad hoc solutions are then required, which (provided the parties agree to meet in the same room) may include the use of separate or \*round tables. \*International organizations have their own arrangements for their meetings, which will carry through to social functions. Those utilized at the UN are indicated in this dictionary's entry on precedence (c); those of the Commonwealth in the entry on that body.

**second-generation peace-keeping.** See peacekeeping.

**secondment.** The temporary attachment of a government

\*official to another department, or of a non-official to a government department. When such an arrangement results in service in a diplomatic mission, the secondee may usefully be considered a \*temporary diplomat. *See also* attaché.

**second secretary.** In \*diplomatic ranks, that which lies beneath first secretary and above third secretary. *See also* secretary of embassy/legation.

**secret agent.** *See* agent sense (4); intelligence officer.

**secretariat.** The collectivity of officials responsible for the administration of a body such as an \*international organization. *See also* international civil servant.

**secretary.** A term in varying use to designate anyone from a lowly clerical official to the \*ministerial (sense 3) or \*official head of a government department. *See also* diplomatic rank; permanent under-secretary; *and immediately following entries.*

**secretary of embassy/legation.** In the diplomatic services of the modern period,

especially its later part, a \*diplomatic agent of the lowest rank. Nevertheless, in many \*embassies and \*legations the secretary was the only other diplomatic agent after the \*head of mission and was thus often in charge in the former's absence, which was frequently prolonged. \*Torcy created the French Political Academy to train secretaries of embassy. *See also* chargé d'affaires *ad interim*.

**secretary-general.** A term sometimes used to designate an organization's chief administrative \*official – as in the case of the \*United Nations and in some \*foreign ministries, for example the \*Quai d'Orsay. In the UN \*specialized agencies, the term director-general is often preferred. *See also* Annan; Hammarskjöld.

**secretary of state.** In the United States, the \*ministerial (sense 3) head of the \*State Department. In the United Kingdom, the title given, in conjunction with the name of their department, to most senior ministers (sense 3). One such is 'Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs'.



**secretary of state's certificate.** *See* Foreign Office certificate.

**secret diplomacy.** \*Negotiations in regard to which any number of the following is kept secret: (1) the content of the negotiations; (2) the fact that negotiations are going on; (3) the content of any agreement successfully negotiated ('secret treaties'); or (4) the fact that any agreement has been successfully negotiated. If secret diplomacy is defined as in sense 1, the term is nothing more than a pleonasm since serious negotiation is secret by definition. The attack on 'secret diplomacy' during and after the First World War chiefly had in mind senses 2 and 3. *See also* open diplomacy; Wilson.

**secret intelligence.** *See* intelligence.

**Security Council.** The \*United Nations organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It was established in 1945 with 11 members, five of whom were \*permanent members: Britain, China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

(with the breakdown of the USSR in 1991 Russia inherited this seat), and the United States. As from 1966 the Council's membership was increased to 15 by raising the number of non-permanent members from six to ten. Each year five non-permanent members are elected by the \*General Assembly for two-year terms.

Any decision of the Council (which votes by \*show of hands) has since 1966 required nine votes; before that date the required number of votes was seven. On a non-procedural matter it is also necessary that none of the permanent members casts a negative vote; in other words, an \*abstention is \*constructive. (This represents a very early de facto amendment of the UN \*Charter, which specifies that non-procedural draft resolutions require the 'concurring' votes of the permanent members to pass.) Any such vote on a non-procedural draft resolution which would otherwise have been passed (because it received the requisite number of positive votes) is informally called a \*veto, in that it prevents the adoption of the resolution. In the UN's early years the phenomenon

of the double-veto was also encountered. Where there was disagreement over whether a proposal was procedural, that question would first be voted on, and was treated as non-procedural; thus a permanent member could first veto the claim that a draft resolution was procedural, and then veto the substantive resolution – hence the ‘double-veto’.

The UN Charter made provision for the Security Council to have armed forces at its disposal so that it could take enforcement measures in support of the principle of \*collective security and, in the event of such forces being used, for them to be controlled by the Council’s Military Staff Committee. However, member states declined to place any forces in the Council’s hands, so this whole scheme for the implementation of collective security foundered. Instead, what the Council has occasionally done in response to \*aggression (where the political circumstances have also been appropriate) is either to invite states to place forces under its command or to authorize certain states to take action on its behalf. (In practice there has been little

difference between these two modes of action.)

During the \*Cold War the division between East and West resulted in the Council rarely acting in the manner which the Charter anticipated, and vetoes abounded. However, it did utilize and extend the device of \*peace-keeping. Since the end of the Cold War the Council has become much more involved in both peacekeeping and \*peace-enforcement – a consequence of the greater political harmony in the Council and the concomitant sharp decline in the use of the veto. But it should not be assumed that this pattern is now fixed. The Council’s effectiveness is chiefly a function of relations between its permanent members. Any general deterioration in those relations will be reflected in its activity.

The formal meetings of the Security Council – those called and conducted under the Charter and its \*rules of procedure – are normally public. These ‘open meetings’ may also receive ‘open briefings’, for example, from a \*personal representative of the \*secretary-general. However, in some circumstances (notably when there is a need to

discuss the appointment of a new secretary-general) they may be held in private. Since the mid-1970s, the Council has also increasingly met informally, that is, not under the Charter or the rules of procedure, with the significant corollary that there is no official record or \*agreed minutes of meetings held in this fashion. 'Informal consultations', as they are collectively known, are now a very important feature of the Security Council's work and thus of the \*negotiating history of \*resolutions. They come in a variety of shifting shapes and sizes and have accordingly generated a great deal of semantic confusion. Nevertheless, there are two main kinds. The first consists of meetings chaired by the president, composed of all members of the Council (but excluding non-members) and since 1978 usually gathering in the private 'Consultation Room'. These are known as 'informal consultations of the whole' or simply 'consultations of the whole'. In 2009–10 there were 124 such meetings compared to 191 formal meetings of the Security Council. The second category of informal consultations consists of those that are

more selective in membership, may admit non-members (including troop-contributing states), and may be chaired by someone other than the Council president. Among others, this residual category includes meetings of \*caucus groups, groups of \*friends, \*contact groups, and those under the \*Arria formula. *See also* R2P.

**security intelligence.** (1) Information on 'internal' threats to a state or its government, which is sought abroad as well as at home. (2) The agencies involved in the collection of this kind of information. *See also* intelligence.

**sefaretname.** A general report on his mission submitted by an Ottoman envoy on his return to Constantinople, perhaps modelled on the Venetian \**relazione*. They were rare before the late seventeenth century. Such reports (alternatively known as *sefaret takriri*) were required more insistently during the eighteenth century as the \*Porte became anxious for intelligence on developments in Europe, especially in the spheres of military and naval technology, science, and industry. About 50 *sefaretnames*

survive, although all are in Ottoman Turkish except the one written in French by Mahmoud Raif Efendi, chief secretary of the first permanent Ottoman ambassador to Britain, who was appointed by Selim III in 1793.

**selective post.** *See* comprehensive post.

**self-defence.** The inherent right of states, either on their own or with the assistance of their friends and associates, to use force to protect their political \*independence (sense 1) and territorial integrity. According to the UN \*Charter, the right of individual or collective self-defence may be exercised only following an armed attack and until the \*Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. However, the speed and destructive capacity of weapons have increased greatly since the Charter was written. As a result, sometimes acts said to be in self-defence are taken pre-emptively, so as to prevent an anticipated attack by orthodox means, or one by a \*terrorist group. It should be noted that while the Charter does not authorize states to

take pre-emptive action in self-defence, it undoubtedly empowers the Security Council itself to take or authorize such action following a determination by the Council that there exists a 'threat' to international peace and security. *See also* intervention.

**self-determination.** Often prefixed by the term 'national', this is a doctrine which postulates the right of \*national (sense 1) groups to determine their political condition for themselves and more particularly whether they should constitute \*sovereign states. The doctrine's espousal by President Woodrow \*Wilson had some impact on the emergence of new states in central and eastern Europe after the First World War; and its wide popularity after the Second World War contributed to the rapid ending of the overseas empires of the West European colonial powers. *See also* colonialism; General Assembly.

**semi-official letter.** *See* unofficial letter.

**sending state.** The \*state which sends a \*diplomatic or a \*special mission to another state.

**senior foreign service.** The current term for the category of officers in the US \*Foreign Service who fill its most senior posts, including two-thirds of all ambassadors. *See also* career ambassador.

**senior member.** Where the \*trade representatives in a national capital form, or are believed to form, a distinct body, this is the term sometimes used to describe the person who plays in it a role analogous to that of \*dean. The person concerned may be responsible, among other things, for publishing a list of its members.

**separate opinion.** The opinion which may be delivered by a judge of the \*International Court of Justice who concurs in the judgment or opinion of the court but does so, at least in part, on the basis of different reasoning from that expressed by the majority.

**serial summit.** *See* summitry.

**serious consequences.** A euphemism for the threat or use of armed force. *See also* diplomatic language (sense 1).

**service adviser.** In a Commonwealth \*high commission, the equivalent to a \*service attaché.

**service attaché.** A generic term for any officer in the armed forces (air force, army, or navy) attached to a \*diplomatic mission. The term 'defence attaché' is also sometimes used for this group as a whole although the British, French, and Americans now usually reserve this title for the senior service attaché at a diplomatic mission, irrespective of that person's own branch of the armed forces. (To make things a little clearer, the title indicating service affiliation is usually added: in the British case, for example, 'defence and air attaché'.) In French diplomacy the term *Attaché militaire* denotes seniority. At \*high commissions in the \*Commonwealth the word 'adviser' is substituted wherever 'attaché' appears in the above titles.

The duties of service attachés, or as they are known in the US Foreign Service 'defense attachés (DATT)', invariably involve acquiring information on the armed forces of the country in which

they are based. Where relations are close this will not be difficult and, in such circumstances, an important part of their duties is also to organize collaboration between the two countries' armed forces – examples of which are joint training exercises, officer exchanges, harmonization of weapons systems, defence sales and after-sales services and training, naval ship visits, and visits in both directions by senior and other officers and units.

It has been well said that service attachés stand at the interface between secret \*intelligence and \*diplomacy (sense 1) and this sometimes gets them into trouble, especially when they find themselves in unfriendly states. In the first place, there is always the risk of finding themselves having to serve different – and sometimes competing – masters: the ambassador, the defence ministry, and the secret service. In the second place, they are always liable to be declared \*persona non grata by a \*receiving state on grounds of \*espionage. It is because of the sensitivity of their work that, apart from the \*head of mission (where \*agrément is mandatory), the

service attaché is the only member of the staff of a diplomatic mission whose name may, if the receiving state so requires, need to be submitted for approval prior to appointment – and in practice, receiving states almost always do so require. Under the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961) a receiving state can also refuse to accept service attachés altogether, or certain kinds of service attaché.

Persons faintly resembling service attachés had begun to appear in early modern Europe and in 1681 \*Wicquefort argued for their introduction, not least to spare the ambassador himself the inconvenience and possible embarrassment of being obliged to accompany an importunate prince on campaign. (It could be especially embarrassing for a Christian ambassador required to accompany the Ottoman sultan or his \*grand vizier on campaign against fellow Christians.) However, it was not until the nineteenth century that the habit of appointing recognizably modern military and naval attachés became common in Europe. Air attachés were an

innovation that had to await the interlude between the First and Second World Wars.

**service staff.** The domestic service of a diplomatic mission: drivers, cooks, gardeners, and cleaners, for example. Traditionally part of the envoy's retinue, they were sometimes granted immunity but state practice was inconsistent. When it was discussed in the run-up to the 1961 UN Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities, there was little support for granting immunity to service staff except in respect of their official acts and only if they were not \*nationals of or permanently resident in the receiving state. At Vienna, therefore, this was quickly agreed. *See also* Diplomatic Relations, Convention on (1961); *GlavUpDK*.

**servitude.** A right of an absolute character which one state enjoys in the territory of another – hence the international manifestation of what domestically would be called an 'easement'. Such rights exist not infrequently – such as those relating to military \*bases, tracking stations, and pipelines. But as the term

'servitude' has semantic and historical connotations of a large power imbalance between the two states concerned, it has fallen out of favour. *See also* capitulations (sense 1).

**'Seventh floor'.** Shorthand for the policymakers in the \*State Department in Washington, this being the level of the building occupied by \*secretaries of state and their most senior officials.

**Seven Towers, Castle of.** *See* hostage (sense 1).

**Shemlan.** *See* Middle East Centre for Arab Studies (MECAS).

**Sheriffs' List.** The list provided for under section 5 of the \*Act of Anne, 1708, naming the individuals attached to \*diplomatic missions (including personal servants of the ambassador) on whom it was a criminal offence to attempt to initiate legal proceedings, typically for debt. It was known as 'the Sheriffs' List' because although compiled in the office of one of the principal secretaries of state it then had to be 'transmitted to the sheriffs of London

and Middlesex for the time being, or their under sheriffs or deputies, who shall, upon the receipt thereof, hang up the same in some public place in their offices, whereto all persons may resort, and take copies thereof, without fee or reward'. The Sheriffs' List was thus the original London \*Diplomatic List, and this list still carried this eighteenth century title until the early 1960s, even though it was by this time generally referred to orally as 'the London Diplomatic List'. The offence created by the Act of Anne was abolished by the Diplomatic Privileges Act passed by the United Kingdom parliament in 1964 and in the same year the Sheriffs' List was formally restyled 'The London Diplomatic List'.

**sherpa.** A senior official who is responsible, in collaboration with counterparts from other states, for preparing the ground for a \*summit. In the case of Group of Eight summits, this work includes drafting the final \*communiqué as well as agreeing the agenda and is supported by separate meetings between 'sous-sherpas' (one specialist

in foreign affairs and one in finance under each sherpa) and \*political directors from foreign ministries.

**show of hands voting.** Indication of a voting decision by the raising of the hand, as, for example, in the UN \*Security Council.

**shuttle diplomacy.** A term owing its origin to the frenetic diplomatic style of Henry \*Kissinger following the October War of 1973 in the Middle East. Urgently seeking to promote the disengagement of Israeli forces from Egyptian and Syrian territory, the number of flights between the capitals of the parties which he made during two periods over the next seven months in pursuit of such a limited objective was probably unprecedented for so senior a member of government of a \*major power. The term 'shuttle', once applied to this activity by the *New York Times* in January 1974, seemed to fit it to perfection and it stuck. It has also been retrospectively applied to the urgent (and successful) efforts of the American mediator Cyrus Vance in respect of the 1967 crisis over Cyprus that



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almost brought Greece and Turkey to war.

#### **Sibylline books principle.**

A version of the 'fading opportunity', a rather drastic tactic in \*negotiations which involves responding to rejection of an offer by reducing rather than increasing it, while still insisting on the initial \*quid pro quo demanded of the other side. In the famous Roman myth, a sibyl (prophetess) offered nine books of prophecies to Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, at a high price. Upon his rejection of the offer, she burned three and offered him the remaining six at the same price. When he persisted in refusing to strike a deal, she burned three more and offered him the remaining three, still at the same price. At this point Tarquinius – fearing that he would obtain no books at all – agreed to the purchase. Clearly, any party employing this tactic must have a weaker interest in a settlement than the other party to the negotiation. It also risks torpedoing the talks at an early stage by threatening the other side with an intolerable loss of \*face. *See also* ultimatum (sense 2).

**side accreditation.** *See* multiple accreditation.

**side consultations.** Discussions on a subject different from that which is the focus of the main event: for example, conversations between \*delegations on purely bilateral matters in the wings of a \*multilateral conference.

**side letter.** A letter accompanying a broader agreement. Side letters typically cover either a point regarded as too sensitive to be given the prominence of inclusion in the main body of a \*treaty or contain undertakings by the signatories to a \*third party, or vice versa, which are essential to its fulfilment. Side letters of both kinds accompanied the main Camp David Accords of September 1978 and the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty to which these accords led in the following March.

**sigint.** 'Signals intelligence' is the \*intelligence activity which involves interception and decrypting of communications plus interpretation of the significance of emissions from such sources as radar installations. The former division of sigint is usually known

as 'communications intelligence' and the latter as 'electronic intelligence'. In Britain, Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) specializes in sigint, while its counterpart in the United States is the National Security Agency (NSA). Sigint facilities are sometimes located in \*diplomatic missions, while the communications of these missions have for long been a major target of sigint attack themselves. *See also* freedom of communication; listening device; SCIF.

**signalling.** The attempt to communicate intentions by non-verbal means: for example, by \*body language, the timing and \*venue of a \*summit, or the movement of armed forces. Diplomatic signals of this sort are not always easy to read, even by those who share the same culture as the signaller. For example, most if not all Arab states were as surprised as the rest of the world when Saddam Hossein's 'military manoeuvres' on the Kuwait border in 1990 turned out to be the preparations for an attack. *See also* Glaspie.

**signatory.** A state that has signed a \*treaty. However, the

term is often, misleadingly, used to refer to a state that has ratified a particular treaty. *See also* ratification.

**signature.** A formal act of consent to the text of a \*treaty, usually by the heads of the \*delegations who have been entrusted with its \*negotiation. The signing of politically important treaties may be witnessed by front-rank political leaders of third states but this has no legal implications. Treaties are often signed subject to \*ratification; but if the need for that procedure is not stated in the treaty, it may be assumed that the treaty becomes operative immediately, or as from the date specified in the treaty – in which case the signature is termed 'definitive'. A state that has signed a treaty that is subject to \*ratification is not obliged to ratify it. A treaty may also be signed \*ad referendum. Treaties do not have to be signed. They may, indeed, be concluded by an exchange of third-person notes. *See also* adoption; authentication; full powers; initialling; plenipotentiary; *toilette finale*.

**silence procedure.** The rule that a proposal with strong

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support is deemed to have been agreed unless any party raises an objection to it before a specified deadline. In other words, silence signifies assent – or at least acquiescence. Silence procedure is a device of \*consensus decision-making in \*multilateral diplomacy. It may be used either as a way of concluding the proceedings when the \*delegations have already reached a consensus, or as a form of pressure on the reluctant minority when they have not. Silence procedure is employed in bodies such as NATO, the European Union (e.g. in the framework of its \*Common Foreign and Security Policy via \*COREU), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**silent procedure.** *See* silence procedure.

**silver car pass.** Originally called a 'carriage pass' and now made of red leather rather than silver, this item was introduced in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century to ensure that the carriage of Queen Victoria's mistress of the robes was given such assistance by the police as would enable it to proceed without interruption. The pass was soon also given to

\*ambassadors (sense 1). Other than in respect of members of the Royal Family, it is given to the post rather than the post-holder. Besides ambassadors and \*high commissioners, such a pass is carried by members of the government, ex-prime ministers, and other specifically designated 'special people'.

**silver greyhound.** The badge of office of the corps of \*Queen's messengers, the greyhound symbolizing 'despatch'.

**single mission principle.** The rule long adopted by the Swiss authorities that \*sending states could maintain in Switzerland only one mission accredited to the \*United Nations and the other \*international organizations with headquarters in the country. However, in 1994 this principle was abandoned so that sending states can now establish separate missions to the UN's European headquarters, to individual \*specialized agencies, and to the Conference on Disarmament, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (subsequently the World Trade Organization).

**single negotiating text.** A technique employed in \*multilateral diplomacy by a 'coordinator' or by a \*mediator in \*proximity talks. Following consultation with each of the parties, a single text is drawn up and submitted to them for consideration. The text is then amended in light of this second round of consultations and resubmitted. The process is repeated as many times as needed to reach agreement.

**single undertaking.** *See* package deal.

**SIPRNet.** This acronym stands for 'Secret Internet Protocol Router Network', which is the worldwide Internet system run by the US Department of Defense. It was established in 1995 but expanded after \*9/11, when it emerged that poor information-sharing between different \*intelligence agencies had probably contributed to the failure to detect the \*terrorists' planning. The \*State Department was also connected to SIPRNet and it was not long before almost all US embassies were linked to it. This meant that all but the most sensitive diplomatic messages (those up to and including 'Secret') could also

be read by anyone in the vast US military establishment with 'Secret' security clearance and a computer connected to the network. In 2010 the security of the system was breached and over 250,000 diplomatic \*cables fell into the hands of \*WikiLeaks. *See also* stovepiping.

**sitrep.** A situation report provided by a diplomatic mission. It is also widely used in a military context.

**'Sixth floor'.** Shorthand for assistant secretary level in the US \*State Department. *See also* Seventh floor.

**size of diplomatic mission.** *See* diplomatic mission.

**small post.** A term used in some foreign services to categorize a \*post (sense 1) which, in terms of size, falls below a certain level.

**small state.** (1) A \*state which, for one reason or another, is believed to fall into the residual category of those which are neither \*major powers nor \*middle powers. (2) A state believed to fall between a middle power and a \*micro-state. *See also* buffer

state; colony; dependent state; DiploFoundation; Kautilya; multiple accreditation; neutralization; Pardo; protected state; puppet state; satellite state; sphere of influence; state; tribute; vassal state.

**sous-sherpa.** *See* sherpa.

**sovereign immunity.** Another, generally less formal, way of referring to \*state immunity.

**sovereign post.** A \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office term for a diplomatic post subordinate to no other, that is, an \*embassy (sense 1), \*high commission, or \*permanent mission to an international organization. *See also* subordinate mission.

**sovereign rights.** Usually, the basic legal powers a \*state needs to act independently, including its actions on the international stage. *See also* sovereignty (sense 2).

**sovereign state.** A territorial entity which enjoys \*sovereignty (sense 1).

**sovereignty.** A term which is used in a number of different ways, often causing confusion

due to a failure to distinguish between these distinct usages.

(1) The condition which makes a territorial entity eligible to participate fully in \*international relations (sense 2). It consists of constitutional independence; that is to say, the situation which exists when an entity's constitution is not contained, however loosely, within a wider constitutional scheme, but stands apart and alone. Thus the constituent states of a \*federal state do not enjoy this sort of sovereignty no matter how large or powerful they are, nor does an internally self-governing \*colony. Sovereignty in this sense is a legal status which derives from the constitutional position of the entity concerned and is both absolute (in that it is either possessed or not) and unitary (in that its internal and external implications are inextricably connected). Externally, sovereignty in this sense makes an entity eligible to participate in international relations, but the extent to which it does so depends upon its own inclinations and the extent to which other sovereign states are willing to have dealings with it. Thus, this sense of sovereignty is utterly basic

for the practice and study of international relations in that it serves to identify the territorially based \*international actors and hence the entities which engage in \*diplomacy (sense 1). *See also* equality of states.

(2) The ensemble of legal rights which are central to a \*sovereign state's external and internal activity. Often called its \*sovereign rights, \*international law either (in respect of the state's external activity) bestows them on a state, or (in respect of the state's internal activity) places an obligation on other states not to \*intervene in the state's domestic affairs. Sovereign rights include (subject to any specific obligations the state has accepted to the contrary) the right to exercise jurisdiction throughout its territory, on its \*territorial sea, and in its \*air space (these matters often being referred to simply as the right of \*domestic jurisdiction); the right to \*self-defence; the capacity to enter into \*diplomatic relations (sense 1); and the capacity to make \*treaties. Sovereignty in this second sense is a consequence of sovereignty in the first, in that sovereign rights attach to those entities which

enjoy sovereign status. The infringement of a sovereign right, however, has no bearing on the sovereign status of the entity concerned.

(3) The extent to which a sovereign state is under no specific or general international obligations regarding its internal behaviour and decision-making. In this sense its sovereignty consists of the degree to which it is legally free to conduct itself as it sees fit. Thus this concept of sovereignty is relative in nature. Sometimes it is called legal sovereignty. It is enormously difficult to measure, but it easily permits the comment that a state's sovereignty has been diminished by its acceptance of a specific obligation. Such an act has, of course, no effect on a state's sovereignty in the first sense. Indeed, such acts are a run-of-the-mill activity for sovereign states.

(4) The extent to which a sovereign state is under no external pressures regarding any aspect of its behaviour. This concept also, therefore, is a relative one. Sometimes it is known as political sovereignty. As all states, large and small, are constantly aware of the factor of political constraint, all of them enjoy a

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less-than-full measure of this kind of sovereignty. But this in no way undermines state sovereignty in the first sense. For sovereign states the lack of complete political freedom is simply a fact of international life.

(5) The power exercised by those who control a state's decision-making processes. Thus it might be said that a state's sovereignty is in the hands of the people, the cabinet, the supreme leader, or whoever – or, perhaps more accurately, some mixture of such elements. But *who* exercises sovereignty is quite distinct from whether or not an entity enjoys sovereignty (senses 1 and 2), or the extent to which an entity is sovereign (senses 3 and 4).

**special agreement.** *See compromis.*

**special ambassador.** *See special mission.*

**special customary international law.** Rules of \*customary international law which apply among (and only as among) limited numbers of states, often as exceptions to rules of general customary international law. Such

law is sometimes referred to as 'regional customary international law' because it often develops among states in one region. *See also* diplomatic asylum.

**special emissary.** *See* special envoy.

**special envoy.** An individual charged with a specific mission, often of a \*mediatory kind; alternatively known as a \*special representative. These terms were, for example, used in the late 1990s to refer to the United States and British representatives who, among others, were asked to seek a solution to the Cyprus problem. Richard Holbrooke's title, 'special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan' (which he held from 2009 until his death in 2010) was intended to indicate that his responsibilities were wider than those of an 'envoy' as they extended beyond the US \*State Department and he reported (through the secretary of state) to the president. *See also* ambassador-at-large; personal representative; special mission.

**specialized agencies.** Those multi-member \*international organizations having

responsibility for economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters, which have been linked to the \*United Nations through special agreements. The UN Economic and Social Council has responsibility for trying to coordinate their work on the basis of consultation and recommendation but each is an independent body, with its own membership, budget, deliberative and governing organs, \*secretariat, and headquarters. *See also* Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies, Convention on.

**special mission.** A temporary mission, consisting of either an individual or a group, which is sent by one state to another (with the latter's agreement) for the purpose of dealing with it on specific questions or of performing in relation to it a specific task. Before the establishment of \*resident missions with general functions, all diplomatic missions were special missions.

The head of a special mission may be called, among other things, a special ambassador or a special envoy. However, unlike the always personal form of those issued

to a \*head of [resident] mission, the \*credentials of a special mission will refer to the mission as a whole. If a special mission is given \*full powers, they too may relate to all the mission's members; but alternatively they may empower specified members of the mission or just its head. The functions of a special mission generally begin when it arrives in the \*receiving state's territory. If the \*sending state already has a resident mission in the capital of the state concerned, that mission may resent the arrival of the special mission, seeing it as suggesting that the resident mission cannot competently handle the issue which has prompted the despatch of the special mission. However, in the event of the receiving state reacting badly to the work of the special mission, its use may protect the interests of the resident mission – and the special mission may in fact have been employed with that in mind. On the other hand, some special missions – especially if led by an important figure – are solicited by resident missions: they bathe in their reflected glory and benefit from the resultant improvement in relations with



the receiving state. *See also* embassy of obedience; mixed embassy; Special Missions, Convention on (1969).

**Special Missions, Convention on (1969).**

The convention entered into force on 21 June 1985, but at the beginning of 2011 had been ratified by only 38 states. Many of its provisions on the privileges and immunities of the members of special missions are similar if not identical to the equivalent ones in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) and reflect the same functional approach. Under the convention, the existence of neither diplomatic nor consular relations is necessary for the sending or reception of a special mission; nor does the severance of either diplomatic or consular relations of itself terminate any current special mission. *See also* derogation.

**special passport.** A document which is more than an ordinary passport but less than a diplomatic passport. It may be supplied to the representatives of a state who serve abroad but do not enjoy diplomatic status. *See also* Queen's messenger.

**special relationship.** One between two states which is sufficiently intimate to result in each doing more for the other than it would do for a third party. However, it is not always the case that one state's belief that a relationship is special is reciprocated by the other. And even where both deem their relationship to be special, its actual impact on behaviour may be difficult to chart. One notable instance of a British relationship long believed in London to be special is that with the United States. *See also* Commonwealth; external affairs, ministry; friendly relations; letters of commission.

**special representative.** An alternative term for a special envoy, sometimes used in formal titles. It is much favoured at the United Nations, where Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSGs) are officials who represent the secretary-general in respect of some particular issue or at the head of a field mission with some markedly diplomatic responsibilities, such as certain peacekeeping operations. *See also* ambassador-at-large; personal representative; special mission.

**sphere of influence.** A region within which a powerful state claims exclusive rights of \*intervention. This zone may be anything from a part of a \*sovereign state, as in Persia following the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 which divided the country into British, Russian, and neutral zones, to the hegemony which the Soviet Union wielded over its European allies during the \*Cold War. *See also* dependent state; Monroe Doctrine; puppet state; satellite state; vassal state.

**splendid isolation.** The term often used to describe Britain's pre-twentieth century policy of avoiding \*alliances in time of peace. *See also* isolationism.

**sponson.** A commitment made by a \*diplomatic agent without official authorization and voidable if inconsistent with the agent's \*instructions.

**sponsor.** In a \*multilateral forum such as the UN \*Security Council, a member who has submitted a draft \*resolution.

**spouse, diplomatic.** The partner, marital or not, of a \*diplomatic agent. *See also* tandem couple.

**square brackets.** A device commonly used in \*negotiations to indicate a portion of text on which there is not yet agreement. For example: 'Further cuts in the tariff on imported bananas will be made every [ten/twelve] months over the next [seven/eight] years.' It should be noted that this is a variation on the normal use of square brackets, which is to signify words added to a quotation for purposes of clarification and are not therefore those of the author of the quotation.

**SRSF.** *See* special representative.

**staffeto.** Alternatively a *staffette* or *estafette*, a courier of the imperial German postal service run by the von Taxis family from the fifteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth.

**stagiaire.** A young person doing a *stage* (training period or course) of practical work experience, generally with a theoretical component – an apprentice, intern, or student. The term is currently favoured for those young graduates of European Union member states who are attached to

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one or other of the \*directorates-general of the European Commission.

**stakeholder.** A party able to sustain a claim to be materially affected by an issue and thus to be entitled to participate in decisions affecting it. It is a term recently borrowed from the business world for what used to be known as an 'interested party' or a party with 'standing' in an issue. It is much favoured by \*non-governmental organizations and by foreign ministries in liberal democracies. *See also* multistakeholder diplomacy.

**stalemate.** *See* impasse.

**standard of civilization.** *See* international minimum standards.

**standard time.** *See* Greenwich Mean Time.

**standing (locus standi).** *See* stakeholder.

**standing conference.** One which is permanently in being in the sense that it meets from time to time rather than on just one occasion. *See also* international organization.

**standstill agreement.** An agreement not to take any further action on a particular issue, or not to take any action on it prior to a specific date or during the course of a specific negotiation.

**standstill ceasefire.** *See* ceasefire.

**stare decisis.** The principle that a court must apply the legal principle reflected in a decided case to other cases of the same character. The \*International Court of Justice is not obliged to proceed on this basis. But its judgments naturally have a considerable persuasive character, both for itself and for states.

**state.** Any territorial entity which enjoys \*sovereignty (sense 1), no matter how tiny or weak. So far as non-sovereign territorial entities are concerned, the term tends to be restricted to those whose size and governmental powers are judged to be significant, such as the constituent entities of a \*federal state.

**statecraft.** The art of preserving and strengthening the \*state relative to other states by all available means and thus

without serious reference to political ideals or any system of private morality; that is to say, the practical application of the doctrine of *\*raison d'état*. Statecraft is thus a very broad concept, including *\*foreign policy* (e.g. whether *\*alliance* or *\*neutrality* in a war is best for the state) as well as the appropriate deployment of instruments in its support: *\*diplomacy* (sense 1), *\*war*, and *\*propaganda*. Henry *\*Kissinger's* book, *Diplomacy* (1994), is really about statecraft. However, the term smacks of the Old World and *\*power politics* in general and of *\*Machiavelli* in particular, and for these reasons – despite its occasional reappearance – is out of fashion. *See also* Kautilya.

**State Department.** Formally the 'Department of State', the *\*foreign ministry* of the United States. Initially, in 1789, it was called the Department of Foreign Affairs, but within a few months its name was changed to Department of State in recognition of its acquisition of certain domestic duties. Although these were subsequently surrendered, the name stuck.

**state funeral.** *See* working funeral.

**state immunity.** Sometimes called 'sovereign immunity', the doctrine which deals with the immunity of *\*states* – and hence their representatives acting in that capacity – from the jurisdiction of the criminal and civil courts and the law-enforcement agencies of foreign states. At one time the immunity was complete. But with the increased tendency of states to engage in commercial activity, most states have drawn a distinction between these 'private acts' and 'public acts', immunity being granted only to the latter. Inasmuch as, however, decisions regarding that immunity are generally reached, as occasion requires, by the courts of individual states, the interpretation of the doctrine varies somewhat from state to state and issue to issue. The *\*United Nations* has attempted to introduce greater uniformity into the matter by adopting a Convention on the Jurisdictional Immunities of States and Their Property (2004), but thus far it has been only minimally *\*ratified* and seems rather far from *\*entering into force*.

In recent years one aspect of state immunity which has come under some scrutiny is whether heads of state and government and senior \*ministers (sense 3) may, after they have left office, be pursued in foreign criminal courts for gross crimes (such as genocide and torture) which were allegedly committed while in office. (The UN Convention does not apply to criminal proceedings.) Presently this area is uncertain and contentious. But unquestionably, officials charged with international crimes are finding that the defence of state immunity is by no means easy to sustain – before domestic as well as international tribunals. *See also* diplomatic passport; universal jurisdiction; war crime.

**states-system.** A collectivity of states whose relations – diplomatic and commercial – are organized and continuous. Sometimes rendered ‘state-system’ or ‘system of states’, it is a term which was once common, especially in British writing. However, it has tended to lose ground to the more nebulous term, ‘international system’. *See also* international society; Westphalia.

**state visit.** A visit of a markedly ceremonial nature paid by one \*head of state to another. Although usually of most importance for its symbolic significance, the state visit may provide a cover for important talks; however, unlike a \*summit, the visit does not conclude with an agreement or \*communiqué. It is normal for the head of state to be accompanied by at least one government minister (sometimes many more), such a person being known as a ‘minister-in-attendance’. Except when Britain’s monarch visits one of her realms, an \*ambassador (sense 1) or \*high commissioner would usually also be in attendance on the head of state. A purely personal visit by a head of state (e.g. to receive medical attention of a kind not available at home) is known as a ‘private’ or ‘unofficial’ visit.

**stationnaire.** A small warship or \*gunboat stationed by a state at a foreign port chiefly for the protection of its citizens residing there. Usually it was put at the disposal of the \*ambassador (sense 1). The heyday of the *stationnaire*, or ‘guardship’ as it was known,

was in the years before the First World War.

**status of forces agreement (SOFA).** An \*agreement chiefly concerning jurisdiction over military personnel and property between a host state and a state or international organization with units of its armed forces stationed at \*bases on the former's territory. Such an agreement deals with sensitive matters and requires delicate handling; hence setting one up can take a long time. Accordingly, \*resident missions are much involved in the negotiation and \*following up of SOFAs.

**status quo.** The existing state of affairs or things as they are now. Such a condition is, by definition, beloved of conservatives.

**status quo ante.** The previous state of affairs.

**status quo ante bellum.** The state of affairs before the war.

**Statute of Anne.** *See* Act of Anne.

**steering brief.** A confidential document provided to a

\*delegation in advance of a negotiation. It provides a delegation with the background to the issue and outlines the strategy (and perhaps tactics) to be pursued, or how to 'steer' successfully through the talks. *See also* instructions.

**step-by-step diplomacy.** In \*negotiations between erstwhile bitter adversaries, the approach which favours seeking agreement on relatively uncontroversial subjects before attempting to tackle the most sensitive ones. Well known for having been adopted by Henry \*Kissinger in his Middle East negotiations in the early 1970s, the theory is that only by this means will the necessary trust and stability be established to make complete political resolution of a conflict ultimately possible. It resembles the theory of \*functionalism which underpinned the launch of European integration in the early 1950s. The only problem with this plausible approach is that it takes a great deal of time and time is not always available.

**sticking point.** In \*negotiations, an issue on which one

of the parties believes that it cannot \*compromise or make \*concessions. It need not be, but often is, a matter of detail. Issues described as sticking points are usually less consequential than those encircled by \*red lines and might be more negotiable. *See also* fall-back position.

**stop-over visit.** A brief visit made to one state en route to a more important engagement in another. Such visits may be made by \*heads of government, \*ministers (sense 3), and \*officials. *See also* official visit.

**stopping the clock.** The notional stopping of the hands of the clock so that more time might be allowed to conclude a \*negotiation. It is sometimes used in talks where success seems imminent but a declared deadline has been reached. *See also* eleventh hour.

**stovepiping.** A fashionable American metaphor for the feeding of separate agency recommendations and raw intelligence straight up to the highest levels of government – rising like smoke through a tightly sealed stovepipe – without

permitting them to be examined first by others. Stovepiping is widely believed to have contributed to the intelligence failures prior to \*9/11 and – since it is sometimes employed with a view to promoting a particular policy – to the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 and the mistakes which shaped its disastrous aftermath. *See also* SIPRNet.

**straw poll.** *See* straw vote.

**straw vote.** An informal counting of opinions, as in judging the direction of the wind by casting a straw into the air. The straw poll, as it is alternatively known, is a common device employed in \*consensus decision-making in \*international organizations, not least for the selection of chief administrative officers.

**subject of international law.** An entity enjoying \*international personality. *See also* object of international law.

**Sublime Porte.** *See* Porte.

**subordinate post.** The British term for a diplomatic or (more usually) consular post that

operates under the supervision of a \*sovereign post (usually an \*embassy, sense 1) in the same state or region. Historically, notwithstanding their formal status, subordinate posts have had rights of direct communication with their own \*foreign ministry, especially in crises. The American equivalent is known as a 'constituent post'.

**subsidiarity.** The principle whereby the European Union does not take action (except in the areas which fall within its exclusive competence) unless it is likely to be more effective than action taken at national, regional, or local level.

**substantive.** (1) In connection with a \*resolution of a \*multilateral body, one which deals with an issue of substance, that is, any issue which is 'non-procedural'. *See also* Security Council. (2) The antonym of \*acting.

**summer embassy.** The cooler summer home of a diplomatic mission in a hot country. For example, in China the \*legations moved in summer from Peking to rented temples in the hills about a dozen miles to the west of the city, or to

accommodation on the coast. The British clung to a summer home at the popular seaside resort of Beidaihe (Paitaiho) for some years even after the Communist revolution in 1949. Likewise, most missions at Constantinople migrated to summer establishments on the Bosphorus until well into the twentieth century. However, as the century progressed, improvements in urban amenities, advances in medical care, the invention of air-conditioning, and a less friendly attitude to the lifestyle of the diplomatic profession made summer embassies more difficult to justify. *See also* hardship post.

**summer legation.** *See* summer embassy.

**summitry.** The use of meetings of \*heads of state or \*heads of government for diplomatic or \*propaganda purposes. There are two main kinds: ad hoc summits, which are called as the occasion seems to demand, and are well illustrated by the 1978 Camp David summit on the Middle East; and serial summits, which usually have their origin in ad hoc summits but then become part of a regular series, as with



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the meetings of the European Council or the \*Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGMs). Summitry has very ancient origins but did not acquire this title until Winston Churchill used the word 'summit' in a 1950 speech and it was taken up by the press. *See also* Air Force One; communiqué; Commynes; declaration (sense 1); state visit.

**supermajority.** In voting, more than a simple majority (50 per cent): typically a requirement for two-thirds or three-fifths of votes cast. This is an important form of \*qualified majority voting.

**superpower.** The current term for what, until the end of the Second World War, used to be called a \*great power, that is, a power of the first rank in terms of reputation for military strength. Since the end of the \*Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the United States has generally been seen as the sole superpower. *See also* major power; permanent members; Security Council.

**supranationalism.** The situation which exists where, on matters within its competence, an \*international organization has the legal power directly to \*bind natural and legal persons within the member states. It is thus as if on these matters state boundaries do not exist. This contrasts with the more usual organizational situation where, even if such a body has the power to bind its members, it only binds the state as such. The European Union is currently the only example of a supranational organization.

**suzerainty.** A situation in which one \*sovereign state exercises an acknowledged and significant degree of supremacy over another, often on the basis of a \*treaty between them, but possibly on a political basis alone. The relationship may be marked by the payment of \*tribute to the suzerain. The term went out of fashion in the earlier part of the twentieth century. *See also* dependent state; protected state (sense 1); vassal state.

# T

**tabled offer.** In \*negotiations, an offer which has been submitted.

**tacite reconduction.** The continuation in force of an agreement after the period stipulated in it has elapsed, the signatories having raised no objections.

**Tadasu Hayashi (1850–1913).** Japanese civil servant, diplomat, and politician. Hayashi Tadasu (in Japanese style, family names come first) spent the first 20 years of his career in the civil service at home, although – having early on learnt English – he had been attached to two \*special missions to Europe during this period. It was not until middle age that he was diverted wholly to foreign affairs. In 1891 he was appointed vice-minister at the foreign ministry (\**Gaimushō*) and played an important part in

negotiating the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty (1894) and later in the peace negotiations to end the Sino-Japanese War. In 1895 he left the *Gaimushō* for his first foreign posting, \*minister (sense 1) to China, and in 1897 was transferred to Russia, where he also had \*side accreditations as minister to Sweden and Norway. The highpoint of his career came in 1899 when he was appointed Japanese minister (sense 1) to Britain. In London he was the ‘prime mover’ behind the Anglo-Japanese treaty of \*alliance (1902) and subsequently made his \*legation an effective vehicle for what would now be called Japanese \*public diplomacy – promoting a sympathetic understanding of his country to the British by energetic cultivation of the press and publishing world; this was especially important during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5). In 1905 Hayashi

also conducted the negotiations which led to the stiffening of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance in that year and it was no surprise when, in December, his legation was raised to \*embassy status and he became not just the first Japanese \*ambassador to Britain but also the first Japanese diplomat to hold this diplomatic rank anywhere. However, he was not able to savour his enhanced status for long because only a few months later he was recalled to Tokyo to become foreign minister. The move from diplomacy to politics was one matter that Hayashi did not negotiate well. He had a difficult brief at the ministry (especially over Manchuria) and, with a short temper and strict code of honour, he found it difficult to make accommodations with clan enemies. His period as head of the *Gaimushō* was not noted for any great achievements and in 1908 the government of which he was a part was forced to resign. After this he made only a brief reappearance in politics, as minister of communications (1911-12). Hayashi was an anglophile and a scholar (he translated a number of the works of nineteenth century

English liberals into Japanese) and – like many diplomats – achieved more recognition abroad than at home. (It is significant that – despite Britain's strong tradition of negotiating via its own ambassadors abroad – so many of the key negotiations in Anglo-Japanese relations at this time were conducted in London rather than in the more xenophobic atmosphere of Tokyo.) Out of office, Hayashi devoted time to completing his memoirs, which – when published in full – were to prove controversial. They were translated into English and published after his death under the title *The Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi* (1915).

**Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de (1754-1838).** A French politician, diplomat, and foreign minister. Brilliant, practical, unscrupulous, and a man capable of immense personal charm, Talleyrand was born into the high aristocracy but developed a liberal and reformist outlook. He had great influence within France from the earliest days of the revolution in 1789 until his death. As \*foreign minister, he had a remarkable capacity

for surviving under different regimes and was one of the most dextrous negotiators of his age. Talleyrand managed the conduct of French diplomacy under the Directory (1797–9) and Napoleon (1799–1808), as well as under the restored Bourbon king, Louis XVIII (1814–15). Having brilliantly secured the re-entry of France into the circle of \*great powers at the Congress of \*Vienna and played a pivotal role in rebuilding the European equilibrium, Talleyrand ended his diplomatic career as ambassador at London (1830–4), by which time he was in his early eighties. Opportunists, among others, have condemned him for opportunism, although it is difficult to see how this squares with the risks he took in opposing Napoleon, especially after his resignation as foreign minister in August 1807 and the final parting of the ways between the two men in 1808. *See also* Metternich.

**tandem couple.** An American term for two diplomats who are married or partnered. Each is independent of the other inasmuch as they have their own separate orders

and entitlements. They are, however, only entitled to one residence while serving overseas. The \*State Department tries to ensure that tandem couples are posted to the same locations, but this may not always be possible; sometimes, too, one spouse might have to take a less career-enhancing job, especially at a small \*post (sense 1), where there may be few suitable openings. Alternatively, some couples have job-shared. British diplomats Carolyn Davidson and Tom Carter were joint \*deputy heads of mission in Bratislava and then shared the job of \*high commissioner to Zambia, alternating the job on a four-monthly rotating basis.

**telecommunication.** Any mode of communication over a long distance which requires human agency only in the sending and reception of the message which it contains and not, as with a \*diplomatic courier, in its carriage. The use of smoke-signals, mechanical telegraph ('semaphore'), towers, drums, and pigeons with messages tied to their legs, therefore, are instances of telecommunication just as much as \*telegrams, faxes,

telephone calls, and e-mails. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that telecommunication did not make a major impact on diplomacy until the introduction of the electric \*telegraph towards the middle of the nineteenth century. *See also* airgram; e-diplomacy; e-gram; International Telecommunication Union; teleconference; video-conference.

**teleconference.** A conference between parties at distant locations conducted by any form of \*telecommunication. *See also* video-conference.

**telegram.** A telegram, or cable, is a printed out message sent by \*telegraph. It has traditionally had its own special format: a 'from ... to ...' heading (e.g. 'Outward Telegram from Ministry of Foreign Affairs "X" to Mission "Y"'); 'Inward Telegram to MFA "X" from Mission "Y"'), precise times of despatch and receipt, a number, security classification, subject heading, numbered paragraphs, and circulation list. These features have tended to contribute to the impersonality of this form of diplomatic communication. On the other hand, the

basic text of a telegram may be written in a style much like that of a letter, if generally pithier, and steadily became the normal means of communication between foreign ministries and missions abroad after the middle of the nineteenth century. *See also* despatch; Greenwich Mean Time; official-informal; saving; savingram; unofficial letter; WikiLeaks; Z.

**telegraph, electric.** A form of \*telecommunication in which electric current is passed along a wire or cable (land or submarine), the circuit being made and broken in the transmitting device in such a fashion as to produce a code or letters in the receiver. Introduced into diplomacy towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the telegraph – by making it possible to issue new \*instructions almost instantaneously – is generally believed to have made extinct great ambassadors such as Stratford \*Canning, who was 'great' largely by virtue of being a law unto himself. Less carefully considered than its impact on the influence of the resident ambassador (which itself may have been exaggerated) have been the implications of the

telegraph for the usefulness of this kind of envoy. In fact, it made the resident ambassador a more flexible instrument of foreign ministries.

**teleletter.** A Foreign and Commonwealth Office term for a private or \*unofficial letter transmitted by electric \*telegraph. Like its slower predecessor, it was relatively informal and personal in tone and usually intended for more limited distribution than a \*despatch. In the 1970s, by which time the costs of telegraphy were much reduced, the teleletter gained in popularity but it was officially replaced by the more familiar personal e-mail (via intranet) in October 2005. It strongly resembled the US State Department's \*official-informal. *See also* e-gram.

**temporary diplomat.** Someone temporarily attached to a \*diplomatic service in the capacity of a \*diplomatic agent.

**terra nullius.** Territory which is not under the jurisdiction of any \*state – and hence deemed available for peaceful \*annexation. To all intents and purposes the concept is now a

historical curiosity. Sometimes *terra nullius* was referred to as *res nullius*.

**territorial division.** *See* geographical department.

**territorial sea.** That part of the sea adjacent to the land over which the coastal state is entitled to exercise \*sovereignty (sense 2). It may not exceed 12 nautical miles in breadth. For long it was known as territorial waters.

**terrorism.** (1) The use or threat of violence against civilian targets for political ends, including its use by states. Terrorism spreads fear by appearing to operate randomly. (2) The somewhat narrower definition employed by the US State Department: 'premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.' (3) Political violence committed by those of whom one disapproves – 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'.

As representatives of states, diplomats and \*diplomatic premises became particular

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targets for terrorists (senses 1 and 2) in the last four decades of the twentieth century. Despite the special obligation to give them physical protection which is placed on \*receiving states by the Vienna Convention on \*Diplomatic Relations (1961), not all governments have had either the will or the capacity to provide it. *See also* compound; diplomatic protection (sense 2); hostage; Inman standards.

**third country national.** A citizen of a state other than the \*sending or \*receiving state.

**third party.** Any \*party (sense 1) not directly involved in a particular bilateral relationship. *See also* conciliation; good offices; mediation.

**third room.** The traditional description in the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office for the junior members in each of its \*departments. It owes its origin to the fact that they usually worked in one large office while the head of the department and his chief assistant each had rooms of their own.

**third secretary.** In \*diplomatic ranks, that which lies

beneath second secretary. In the Indian Foreign Service, third secretaries are always probationers or 'officer-trainees'. *See also* secretary of embassy/legation.

**Third World.** In French *tiers monde*, a term used to describe all of those states which possess neither developed capitalist ('first world') nor developed socialist ('second world') political and economic systems. The emergence of this expression, which has been attributed to its use by the French economist and geographer Alfred Sauvy (1898–1990) in an article in 1952, coincided with the major period of decolonization in the 1950s and early 1960s. The decay or collapse of the Communist command economies, together with the emergence of huge differences in standards of living between groups within the Third World, have rendered the term largely meaningless.

**thirty-eighth floor.** The highest occupied floor of the \*United Nations headquarters building in New York, which houses the top official – the \*secretary-general.

**throne room.** The room in a few embassies of states with a \*monarchical head of state where ceremonies of investiture might still be held, where, that is to say, honours can be bestowed on individuals by the \*ambassador (sense 1) acting with the \*representative character with which the office is endowed.

**tit-for-tat expulsions.** An exchange of expulsions of \*diplomatic agents. This usually begins when one state declares one or more members of a diplomatic mission \*persona non grata for having engaged in 'activities incompatible with their status', that is, almost invariably \*espionage. The state that has suffered then replies by expelling a group of diplomats from the first state who – if the size of that state's diplomatic mission permits it – are equivalent in number and rank to those who have been returned to it. This is a good example of the principle of \*reciprocity.

**toilette finale.** The final, thorough checking and fine-tuning of a draft \*treaty. It is a procedure which may precede or follow the \*initialling of a

bilateral treaty; and in respect of multilateral treaties, it precedes \*authentication. It is no surprise that this is a process which sometimes generates tensions between negotiators and their own \*legal advisers.

**Torcy, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de (1665–1746).** French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Louis XIV, 1696–1715. Torcy was the instigator in 1712 of the small Académie politique. Designed to train \*secretaries of embassy who might subsequently be promoted to the highest ranks, it has since been customary to refer to this as the first 'school for ambassadors'. Its curriculum consisted chiefly of \*international law, modern diplomatic history, and languages. Although the academy began to go downhill after the departure of Torcy in 1715 and collapsed in 1721, the idea that diplomacy was a profession and that entrants should be trained had been firmly planted. He also created the first systematic diplomatic archives, which it has been suggested was a far more lasting achievement than the Académie politique. *See also* Callières.



**total diplomacy.** \*Diplomacy (sense 1) which deals with all subjects, including those social and economic issues which were once thought appropriate only to domestic politics. The term has been popularized by the historian, Keith Hamilton, to capture one of the most striking developments in diplomacy in the twentieth century, which was fostered chiefly by the enhanced role of the state and the advent of total war. It appears to have been used first by US \*secretary of state Dean Acheson in a speech in February 1950, in which he urged that in the same way that the total resources of the state had been mobilized behind the military in the recent war, they would need to be mobilized behind the diplomats in the new peaceful confrontation with the Soviet Union.

**tour of duty.** The period of time spent by a diplomat at a \*post abroad, today typically three years. At \*hardship posts, however, it is usually shorter (sometimes much shorter) and at the most comfortable posts it is sometimes longer. A period in the foreign ministry at home is also sometimes described as a 'tour'.

**tour d'horizon.** See exchange of views.

**track one diplomacy.** A \*mediatory (sense 2) effort by one or more \*states, or by an \*international organization.

**track two diplomacy.** Formerly known as 'citizen diplomacy', \*mediation (sense 2) in an inter- or intrastate conflict conducted by any agency other than a \*state or an international organization, typically by a \*non-governmental organization. The term was coined in 1981 by Joseph Montville, then a US diplomat. Track two diplomacy may be pursued on its own or in partnership with \*track one diplomacy, in which case it will form part of an instance of \*twin-track diplomacy. See also multi-track diplomacy.

**trade commissioner.** (1) The title – less common since the middle of the twentieth century – often given to a \*non-diplomatic agent charged with the furtherance of the sending entity's trade. The agent would be non-diplomatic either because the sending entity lacked \*sovereignty (sense 1) (and therefore could not accredit \*diplomatic

agents), or because the task was deemed inappropriate for a diplomatic agent, or because it was conducted outside the \*capital city (where, ordinarily, agents were not eligible for \*diplomatic status). Such agents were frequently officials of a governmental agency other than the foreign ministry. Nowadays, trade promotion is accepted as part of a diplomat's job. When, therefore, it is conducted at a capital city, it is entrusted to the \*sending state's \*diplomatic mission and the individuals in question will almost certainly enjoy diplomatic status – although they may not be members of their state's foreign service but \*temporary diplomats. When the task is performed in a city other than the capital, the officers concerned are often part of a consulate and hence have a consular title – for example, 'vice-consul (commercial)' – and \*consular status. \*Agents-general play a somewhat similar role to that performed by this kind of trade commissioner. *See also* satellite office.

(2) A now comparatively rare term for a \*commercial officer attached to a diplomatic mission. The best-known contemporary examples are

provided by the staff of the Trade Commissioner Service of Canada. *See also* Commercial Diplomatic Service; trade representative.

**trade mission.** A party of businessmen visiting prospective customers overseas, usually with the assistance of their diplomatic mission in the country in question. *See also* commercial diplomacy; commercial officer; economic officer; trade office.

**trade office.** Often previously known as a 'trade mission', one generally established by a state outside the \*capital city of the \*receiving state, with a view to furthering the \*sending state's trade or commerce. However, when such an office is employed as a disguise for work that is as political as it is economic, notably when states are not in \*diplomatic relations (sense 1), it is usually located inside the capital, as in the case of the British trade mission (subsequently embassy) that opened in Cairo at the end of the 1950s. Sometimes such a post is called a trade promotion office, or a commercial office. *See also* representative office; satellite office; trade

commissioner; trade officer; trade representative.

**trade officer.** A \*non-diplomatic agent who serves in, and is very possibly the head of, a state's \*trade office or commercial office outside the \*capital city of the \*receiving state. Sometimes such officers are attached to a \*consular post, in which case they are likely to enjoy, as of right, \*consular privileges and immunities. Otherwise, special arrangements may be made for the officer to be accorded certain privileges and immunities, either formally or as a matter of understood courtesy. Such arrangements are likely to bear a fairly close relationship to those for \*consular officers as set out in the Vienna Convention on \*Consular Relations (1963). Today a trade officer is very likely to be a member of the \*foreign service. *See also* trade commissioner; trade representative.

**trade representative.** A catch-all term for any diplomatic, consular, or non-diplomatic agent charged with trade responsibilities. Lists of 'trade representatives' are sometimes found

in \*consular lists and sometimes issued separately by the \*senior member.

**trading consul.** An informal term for a \*consular officer who survived on the basis of private trading and fees charged for services rendered. (Formally such officers were called 'unpaid consuls' or, more often, 'unpaid vice-consuls'.) Widely suspected of putting private interests before public ones and degrading their office in the eyes of \*receiving states, trading consuls were a subject of much hand-wringing in the nineteenth century but lingered for long at minor posts because they were cheap. Unlike today's \*honorary consuls, whose consular duties are commonly supposed to be secondary to their other activities, trading consuls were at least formally required to have the opposite order of priorities. Nevertheless, the resemblance between the two remains strong.

**traditional diplomacy.** *See* old diplomacy.

**traditional peacekeeping.** *See* peacekeeping.

**transformational diplomacy.** The term used to describe Western efforts to employ their diplomats in the hands-on encouragement of free market economics and pluralist democracy, together with the innovations believed to be necessary to help them achieve these goals, among them \*provincial reconstruction teams, \*virtual consulates, and other forms of \*e-diplomacy. The policy was first applied to the Soviet bloc in the mid-1980s and then, following \*9/11, began to concentrate on conflict zones in Africa and Asia. It was not, however, until ‘transformational diplomacy’ was made the theme of a speech by US \*secretary of state Condoleezza Rice at Georgetown University in Washington on 18 January 2006 that the term was given its public baptism and clearest explanation. With the advent of the Obama administration in 2009, the goals of transformational diplomacy became somewhat less ambitious.

Despite its clear undertone that diplomacy in conflict zones needs itself to be transformed if it is to be capable of transforming its environment, ‘transformational diplomacy’ is at heart an instance not

of \*diplomacy (sense 1) but rather of \*diplomacy (sense 4) – a foreign policy.

**travaux préparatoires.** The official record of a \*negotiation. Sometimes published, the travaux are often useful in clarifying the intentions of a \*treaty or other instrument.

**Treaties, Vienna Convention on the Law of (1969).** See Law of Treaties.

**treaty.** An agreement whereby two or more states signify their intention to establish a new legal relationship between themselves – one which, being legal, involves the creation of \*binding obligations. In almost all cases treaties are in written form and the Vienna Convention on the \*Law of Treaties (1969) confines the term to written instruments. However, it is possible to make an oral agreement which has the same status as a written one. Treaties may be concluded as between \*heads of state, states, governments, \*ministers (sense 3), or between any other authorized agents. A variety of terms besides that of ‘treaty’ may be used to describe the new instrument, such as

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\*agreement, \*convention, exchange of \*notes, exchange of letters, \*final act, \*modus vivendi, \*procès-verbal, or \*protocol. Other than in very exceptional circumstances, a treaty may not impose obligations or confer rights on third parties without their consent. *See also* accession; adoption; authentication; declaration (sense 4); depositary; entry into force; golden bull; initialling; interim agreement; memorandum of understanding; ratification; reservation; signature; *toilette finale*; United Nations Treaty Series.

#### **triangular diplomacy.**

The term employed by Henry A.\*Kissinger to describe the relationship which he sought to create in the early 1970s between Washington, Moscow, and Peking. This meant \*détente with the Soviet Union and \*rapprochement with the People's Republic of China, together with a continuation of the deep Sino-Soviet rift – the third side of the triangle. As the only party to be on reasonable terms with both, Kissinger believed, with some justice, that only the United States was in a position to obtain \*concessions from

each by the simple expedient of intimating the possibility of moving even closer to the other. *See also* Zhou Enlai.

**tributary state.** *See* vassal state.

**tribute.** Money or more often goods delivered by a \*vassal state to a \*suzerain, usually at prescribed intervals. Both the Chinese and Ottoman Empires were well known for exacting tribute from the \*smaller states and tribes along their frontiers. Not a feature of a diplomatic relationship, which assumes the sovereign \*equality of states, tribute is less important to the suzerain for its economic value than for the mark of submission which it represents. Since, however, envoys from non-tributary states who journeyed to such imperial courts to establish \*diplomatic relations (sense 1) with them invariably carried gifts of their own, this naturally led to misunderstanding, especially in China. According to Chinese ceremonial, objects offered *to* the emperor were tribute by definition; 'gifts' were objects offered *by* the emperor. Hence the boats provided by the Chinese for Lord

Macartney's ill-fated journey from the coast to Tientsin in 1793 carried banners bearing the legend: 'Envoy paying tribute to the Great Emperor'. This was just the beginning of Macartney's problems. *See also* audience; kowtow.

**tribute ambassador.** An ambassador sent to deliver tribute: for example, by \*Dubrovnik to the Sublime \*Porte.

**troika.** A triumvirate (from the Russian for a sledge drawn by three horses). The word entered diplomatic currency in 1960 when the Soviet Union proposed, unsuccessfully, that the office of UN \*secretary-general be shared by representatives from the East, the West and those who fell into neither of these camps – the \*neutrals. In the European Union, however, it found more favour. Here – until the changes introduced into EU external representation in 1999 – there was a troika consisting of the representatives of the state currently holding the presidency of the Council of Ministers, together with those of the ones immediately preceding and succeeding it.

Since the rotating presidency is held by a member state for only six months at a time, these three parties worked in diplomatic harness to preserve continuity of experience and enhance the political weight of EU external representation. The preceding state provided advice to the current holder, while the one which was next in line learned by apprenticeship. The European Commission was also permanently associated with the troika, thereby providing further continuity. Following the appointment in mid-1999 of the first \*high representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the troika was abolished. *See also* Hammarskjöld.

**truce.** An imprecise term, which probably indicates a temporary cessation of armed hostilities. *See also* armistice; ceasefire.

**trusteeship.** The idea that a territory should be administered by a \*state which, for the time being, is deemed better able to look after it than its own inhabitants. During the late twentieth century this idea became deeply out of keeping with the ethos of the

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times. However, during the 1990s the idea was mooted in certain quarters that collapsed states might be placed under some kind of international trusteeship. Unsurprisingly, as a formal status this had no attraction whatsoever for the generality of states and so nothing came of it. But in one or two cases, notably Kosovo following the imposition, with UN \*Security Council approval, of international control over the province in 1999, the practicalities of the situation began to look rather like that of de facto trusteeship. *See also* international protectorate; trusteeship system.

**trusteeship system.** The UN system which replaced that for \*mandates, providing for the supervision by the organization's Trusteeship Council of states administering \*trust territories. A few mandates achieved \*independence (sense 1) immediately after the Second World War, and one – South West Africa – could not be transferred to the new system as the mandatory power (South Africa) refused to cooperate. But the

other mandatories who had been on the victorious side agreed to change their mandates into trust territories; one defeated mandatory (Japan) had its mandates passed to the United States; and the mandatory who during the war moved from the losing to the winning side (Italy) was again put in charge of Italian Somaliland. Provision was made for states administering \*non-self-governing territories to put them under the system, but none did so. As all trust territories have now become, or joined, \*sovereign states, the system is effectively defunct.

**trust territories.** Territories placed under the UN \*trusteeship system.

**twin-track diplomacy.** The conduct of a \*negotiation by two separate but co-ordinated means. *See also* backchannel; track two diplomacy.

**two track diplomacy.** *See* twin-track diplomacy.

**two-way street.** *See* reciprocity.

# U

**ultimatum.** An announcement of a party's non-negotiable demand or position, although there are variations both in form and implication: (1) A formal announcement that failure to undertake a specified action, usually by a specified time, will result in a specified penalty, usually involving the use of force – in other words, a very precise military threat. An ultimatum of this kind was traditionally delivered by \*note or \*memorandum and required a 'prompt, clear and categorical reply'. Perhaps because the meaning of this term is so clear and because it carries a great deal of historical baggage, it can be provocative. David Owen, speaking of the time when he was the European Union \*mediator in the former Yugoslavia in 1994, has reported that the Bosnian Serbs were 'very angry about the constant

use of the word "ultimatum" because it was the emotive word used by the Germans before the bombing of Belgrade in 1941'. The Serbs were lucky; on more than one occasion in the Second World War an ultimatum from Hitler followed rather than preceded military action, a practice 'greatly to be deprecated', noted the fifth edition of *Satow's Guide* (now \**Satow's Diplomatic Practice*); (2) An indication made by one side during a negotiation (usually at a fairly advanced stage) of the absolute minimum it is prepared to accept and/or the maximum it is willing to concede: 'this is an ultimatum – take it or leave it.' *See also* Siblylline books principle; sticking point.

**ultimo.** Of last month, as in 'Thank you for your \*despatch of the 19th ultimo.' Now historical. *See also* instant.



**unanimity rule.** The taking of decisions in an international organization or an international conference on the basis of unanimity, that is, on the basis of the expressed agreement of all members or participants. In these circumstances each member or participant has a \*veto. It used to be the norm and for that reason was generally applicable in the \*League of Nations. But since the Second World War, it has become much less common. However, it is still found in those (few) organizations where it is necessary, for their continued well-being, that in respect of at least part of their work, all the members should march in step. A prominent example is the North Atlantic Council of NATO. *See also* consensus decision-making; constructive abstention; weighted voting.

**under flying seal (UFS).** A \*despatch that was sent UFS was forwarded from one point to another via a third, the latter being either invited or required to read it before resealing it and sending it on its way. For example, this might have been a despatch sent from the foreign ministry to one of its embassies

abroad via another one in the same region, or one to the ministry from a provincial consular post via its embassy. A feature of the era before copying documents was easy and cheap, which extended into the second half of the twentieth century, sending messages UFS was an effective method of keeping the necessary people in the picture.

**under-secretary.** (1) The under-secretary for political affairs is the third most senior position in the US \*State Department, after the secretary and the deputy secretaries. (2) An under-secretary general is the third most senior rank in the UN \*secretariat.

**unequal treaty.** The term applied to the nineteenth century \*treaties made by the European powers and the United States with various east Asian states – notably China, Japan, and Korea – believed by the latter to be unfavourable to them. The treaties usually involved the ceding or leasing of land and grant of sweeping \*extritorial rights. In the case of China, the ‘treaty system’ which replaced the previous ‘tributary system’ for dealing with barbarians

was established by the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 and the Treaties of Tientsin of 1858. However, it was only finally accepted by the Manchu dynasty after the occupation of Peking in 1860 and the plundering and burning of the Summer Palace. China's unequal treaties were not finally abolished until 1943. *See also* capitulations (sense 1).

**unfriendly act.** (1) Traditional \*diplomatic language (sense 1) for an action likely to lead to war. (2) More generally, any action which is deemed to be unnecessarily hostile, especially by a state with whom the aggrieved state considered itself to be in \*friendly relations.

**unilateral declaration.** A \*binding undertaking made unilaterally by a \*minister (sense 3) of one \*sovereign state to another sovereign state. The undertaking may even be made orally.

**unilateral diplomacy.** *See* diplomatic representation.

**unilateralism.** The disposition to act alone, without concerting with allies or bowing to the opinion of a body such

as the UN \*Security Council. To the distress of the European Commission, it periodically breaks out in the European Union.

**United Nations (UN).** Established in 1945 by the victorious powers in the Second World War, initially the UN had 51 member states. Subsequently the \*neutral states in that war, the defeated states, and the numerous new states which emerged with the end of \*colonialism and the breakdown of some \*federal states were also admitted. At the beginning of 2011, the UN had 192 members.

The UN's main initial purpose was to maintain international peace and security on the basis of the principle of \*collective security, which largely fell by the wayside on account of the mutual distrust of its two major members, the Soviet Union and the United States. But, largely through its \*Security Council, the UN made some useful contributions in the area of \*peace-keeping; and since the end of the \*Cold War has operated much more on the lines expressed in the UN \*Charter.

The Charter also spoke of the need to respect the principle

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of \*self-determination, of the desirability of cooperation on economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian matters, and of promoting respect for \*human rights. In all these areas there has, over the years, been a huge expansion in the UN's work, for which the \*General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council are chiefly responsible. The Trusteeship Council also played a part. The \*pacifist settlement of disputes always lies high on the UN's agenda and in that connection the work of the \*International Court of Justice must be mentioned.

The UN's headquarters is in New York but many members of its \*secretariat are based at widely spread locations throughout the world. These include those who service the UN's regional economic commissions and some of its programmes. The \*secretary-general heads the secretariat.

*See also* Annan; Entezam; Hammarskjöld; multilateral diplomacy; Pardo; R2P; specialized agencies; United Nations system; United Nations Treaty Series; Uniting for Peace resolution.

**United Nations family.** *See* United Nations system.

### **United Nations system.**

A term which is sometimes used to refer collectively to the \*United Nations, certain UN programmes and funds (such as the UN Children's Fund – UNICEF – and the UN Development Programme – UNDP), and the \*specialized agencies. This group is also sometimes known as the 'UN family', or the 'UN family organizations'.

### **United Nations Treaty Series.**

The UN-published series containing the treaties registered with its \*secretariat by the organization's members (who are obliged under the UN \*Charter to register all their treaties). Reflecting the UN's inheritance from the \*League of Nations of a commitment to \*open diplomacy, the series is now huge.

### **Uniting for Peace resolution.**

A resolution passed by the UN \*General Assembly in 1950 in the hope that it would facilitate Assembly recommendations for the maintenance of peace in circumstances where the \*Security Council was unable to act because of a \*veto. At its core was the provision that in this event an emergency special session

of the Assembly could be called on 24-hours notice on the vote of any seven members of the Council or on the call of a majority of UN members. It was passed in face of strong opposition from the Soviet bloc, but was never used against these states in the manner in which they feared – and the then-Western majority in the UN hoped. It has, however, been used on a number of other types of occasion.

**universal jurisdiction.** The doctrine that some crimes – such as genocide, slavery, terrorism, and torture – are so heinous that any state may exercise jurisdiction over those who are alleged to have committed them, whatever their nationality, whatever the nationality of the victims, and wherever the crimes were committed. In some respects this is an old belief – as regards piracy, for example – but in others it is a recent development; and in all its aspects it is one at which states tend to look askance, for political as well as legal reasons. Moreover, in a state where a criminal prosecution may be instigated by a private citizen, the doctrine may be

used to get visiting dignitaries messily – albeit perhaps temporarily – involved in court proceedings. Faced with this threat, several Israeli ministers (sense 3) called off planned visits to Britain in 2010. The procedural opportunity which deterred them may soon be closed, but the episode is a reminder of the divide between the universality of certain ideas and the fragmented character of their political context. *See also* state immunity.

**UNO-City.** A popular name for the Vienna International Centre, opened in 1979, where the \*United Nations system has a significant presence.

**unofficial letter.** Alternatively ‘private letter’, a letter sent by a member of a \*diplomatic mission to a named officer at home, or vice versa. In the British case, such letters were first exchanged between the \*foreign secretary and \*heads of mission abroad and became popular during the course of the nineteenth century. This was because the government could be embarrassed by information or opinions conveyed in official \*despatches, which were

always liable to publication in a \*Blue Book. Private letters continued to be exchanged by ambassadors and foreign secretaries until well into the twentieth century, but were gradually confined to the level of ambassadors, other \*diplomatic staff, and officials. Although often relatively informal in style, these letters now go on the file (in the nineteenth century successive foreign secretaries had complained that important documents could only be found among the private papers of their predecessors) and can be referred to and quoted in other official correspondence. Despite being customarily headed 'private', therefore, they have come to be referred to as 'semi-official correspondence', which is a much more accurate designation. *See also* despatch; NO DIS; official-informal; savin-gram; telegram.

**unsigned treaties.** Giving formal notice that a state does not intend to ratify a \*treaty and, in so doing, requesting that this be reflected in the treaty's official status list. US President Bill Clinton signed the Rome Statute of the International Criminal

Court only a few hours before the deadline on 31 December 2001. In May 2002, however, the administration of President George W. Bush unsigned the treaty. The ICC was a noted *bête noire* of John Bolton, who later became Bush's ambassador to the United Nations. 'My happiest moment at State,' he wrote, 'was personally "unsigned" the Rome Statute.'

**UpDK.** *See GlavUpDK.*

**UTC.** The acronym for Coordinated Universal Time, the accepted term for what used to be – and often still is – called \*Greenwich Mean Time. The new term emerged in 1970 from the \*International Telecommunication Union, which also felt that in order to eliminate confusion a single acronym should be adopted. However, it was found impossible to agree on using either the English word order, CUT, or the French word order, TUC, and UTC was chosen as a compromise. Whether the objective of employing one acronym to remove confusion was actually achieved must be considered a moot point!

**uti possidetis.** The doctrine that existing territorial

boundaries should be preserved. It was used in support of the claim of the incoming regimes in former \*colonies to inherit all of the territory; and subsequently in support of their denial of the right of ethnic sub-groups to secede

or join a neighbouring state. Both assertions were well received. The first minimized problems for the outgoing colonial powers, and the second was thought by all the successor regimes to be very much in their interest.

# V

**vacant seat formula.** An expedient sometimes adopted by \*international organizations when more than one group claims to be the legitimate government of a member state. Instead of accepting the \*credentials of one of the groups (thus rejecting the other), the organization may simply leave that state's seat temporarily vacant. This was done literally – and graphically – in the rather different circumstances which resulted from the refusal of the United States Senate to allow its country to join the \*League of Nations, in the creation of which its president, Woodrow \*Wilson, had played an important part. At League Council meetings, a seat was left vacant for the absent permanent member and remained vacant throughout the League's life: the 'empty chair'.

**valedictory despatch.** A head of mission's last \*despatch

before leaving a \*post – a 'parting shot'. Traditionally, this is a reflective summing up, which, in the case of the brave, contains some predictions for the future course of events in the country concerned and thoughts about how policy might accordingly be shaped towards it. Valedictory despatches which mark the end of a diplomat's career as well as the end of a \*tour at a particular post are likely to add some general thoughts about diplomacy and foreign policy. These may make for uncomfortable reading in the \*foreign ministry. In 2007 all future despatches of this nature were banned by the \*Foreign and Commonwealth Office. *See also* farewell call.

**vassal state.** Somewhat akin to the modern concept of a \*satellite state, a state required to pay \*tribute to a \*suzerain (and hence sometimes known

as a tributary state). It is now a little-used term. *See also* dependent state; puppet state.

**Vattel, Emmerich de (1714–67).** Swiss diplomat and international lawyer. Born in Neuchâtel in Switzerland, Vattel was a \*diplomat (sense 1) but achieved fame for his writing on \*international law. In 1746 he obtained employment in the diplomatic service of the Elector of Saxony and in the following year was appointed \*minister plenipotentiary at Berne. Not finding his duties taxing, it was here that he completed his major work, *Le Droit des Gens* (*The Law of Nations*). Published in 1758, this swiftly became a standard work, not least for its treatment of \*diplomatic law. Indeed, it has been said that this represents the last of the great classic writings on the subject. In Vattel, \*diplomatic privileges and immunities were grounded firmly in their \*functional necessity for the efficient conduct of diplomacy.

**Venetian diplomacy.** The diplomacy of the mercantile and seafaring \*republic of Venice, which was originally shaped in the \*Byzantine

pattern but eventually developed quite a distinct tradition. Until the republic was extinguished by Napoleon in 1797, the Venetian diplomatic service, which is generally believed to have been the first organized and closely supervised one to have been created, was regarded as the model for all Europe. Carefully selected, subject to the most austere regulations, and highly motivated to serve the republic, until the end Venetian diplomats continued to be regarded as the best informed men in the \*diplomatic corps of any capital city. *See also* bailo; Barbaro; calendar; *relazione*.

**venue.** The place chosen for a \*negotiation. For both practical and political reasons the choice of a venue is rarely arbitrary. Venue may be significant either by virtue of the country, the precise location within the country, or the building in question – or sometimes by virtue of all three. For example, the exploratory encounters between the United States and North Korea, which eventually led to the signing in Geneva in 1994 of the agreement between them on nuclear matters, began at an official Chinese



venue: the International Club in Peking, which is a facility belonging to the Chinese \*foreign ministry. The fact that China's \*good offices (sense 1) had been accepted made any subsequent informal Chinese \*mediation more likely and secrecy easy to obtain; Peking itself was one of the few sites where both the United States and North Korea had major embassies, while choice of the International Club within the city (rather than one or other of the embassies) reinforced the neutrality of the setting and made Chinese support for the talks easier still. Harold \*Nicolson noted that \*diplomats considered 'venue' a rather vulgar word, no doubt because of its association with sport and popular entertainment.

**verbatim record.** See agreed minute/s.

**veto.** A vote which has the effect of killing a proposal which would otherwise have become a \*resolution of the organization or a decision of the meeting in question. Depending on the \*rules of procedure and the accepted practices of the body concerned, the vote may be a 'no'

or simply an \*abstention. See also Security Council.

**vice-consul.** See consular post; honorary consular officer; vice-consulate.

**vice-consulate.** A \*consular post subordinate to a consulate. The vice-consulate (so described) is fast disappearing. See also American presence post; honorary consular officer; trading consul.

**vice-dean.** The deputy of the \*dean of the \*diplomatic corps. Such a person might be useful if the dean represents a government or state which is not recognized by one or more other states with ambassadors in the local diplomatic corps, although it is unusual for this to be an obstacle to the conduct of *décanal* business. See also *décanat*.

**vice-marshal of the diplomatic corps.** See marshal of the diplomatic corps.

**viceroys.** A man who governs a territory in the name of a geographically distant \*head of state, generally a \*monarch; literally, a vice- or deputy-king; hence a 'vicereine' is a vice- or deputy-queen. In practice, a

viceroy could have a considerable degree of independence, as was the case with the Ottoman sultan's viceroys in Egypt in the nineteenth century. Several once and future British \*diplomats (sense 1) filled the much coveted position of viceroy and \*governor-general of India. For example, Sir Charles Hardinge was \*permanent under-secretary at the \*Foreign Office at the time of his appointment to the \*vicerealty in 1910 and returned to the same position in 1916. *See also* proconsul.

**vicerealty.** The position occupied by a \*viceroy.

**video-conference.** A \*conference conducted in real time via a more or less secure video link between parties at distant locations. This saves the cost, inconvenience, and risk of travelling but forfeits the advantages of \*personal diplomacy (sense 1). A video-conference should not be confused with a web-conference, which needs a lower bandwidth and in consequence has relatively poor images and sound. *See also* e-diplomacy.

**Vienna, Congress of (1814–15).** The \*congress of the powers, dominated by

\*Metternich but not at the expense of \*Talleyrand, which restored the \*international order in Europe following the protracted convulsions of the Napoleonic Wars. For diplomacy, the \*regulation which it agreed solved at long last the serious problem of \*precedence, while the restoration of the Swiss Confederation and the guarantee by the Congress of Switzerland's \*permanent neutrality fortified a tradition which was subsequently to prove of considerable value to the world diplomatic system.

**Vienna Conventions.** *See* Consular Relations; Diplomatic Relations; Law of Treaties; Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character.

**Vienna, Diplomatic Academy of.** The Austrian training school for diplomats. Reopened in 1964 when Bruno \*Kreisky was foreign minister, the Diplomatische Akademie, which is located in the consular wing of the Theresianum in Vienna, traces its origins to the reforms of Count \*Kaunitz in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is reputed to be the world's

oldest diplomatic training institution.

**Vienna mandate.** *See* Geneva mandate.

**vin d'honneur.** A reception to mark a significant event in a diplomat's career, such as the presentation of \*letters of credence to the \*receiving state's head of state.

**virtual consulate.** An interactive website which provides information and facilitates electronic access to limited consular services in an area where there is no actual \*consular post. This virtual presence may be supplemented by visits to the area by officers from a \*mission (sense 1) in the region. Since the late 1990s, the US \*State Department, which is the chief employer of virtual consulates, has formally designated most of them 'virtual presence posts' but in practice the terms are used interchangeably.

**virtual diplomacy.** *See* e-diplomacy.

**virtual embassy.** (1) An information platform for a \*foreign ministry in the Internet fantasy world of

'Second Life'. (2) An online video tour of a real \*embassy via its website.

There appear to be no virtual embassies analogous to \*virtual consulates. *See also* e-diplomacy.

**virtual presence post.** *See* virtual consulate.

**visa.** (1) Earlier *visé* (from *viser*, to look at), an entry in a \*passport providing evidence that it has been examined and found correct. (2) A special authorization (stamped or placed in a passport) to visit or to undertake paid or business activity in a state. This is frequently required but does not always guarantee entry. Arriving diplomats are not exempt from visa regulations. (3) A 'diplomatic visa' is a \*visa (sense 2) issued to the holder of a \*diplomatic passport who enters the issuing state on official business. Unlike the passport, the visa has no validity once those reasons have lapsed. Such a visa may also be issued to an \*international civil servant. *See also* letter of protection (sense 1); right of transit; safe-conduct.

**visa officer.** *See* entry clearance officer.

**visiting fireman.** Anyone who arrives from the outside at the scene of a difficult negotiation to reinforce or take over from those already charged with its conduct. In embassies, the term is usually applied to a senior official or minister arriving from home. At the UN \*Security Council, it can mean more or less anybody who is not a member but is given a hearing, including representatives of \*non-governmental organizations. Since 'visiting firemen' are often more intent on fanning the flames of controversy rather than hosing them down, it will be understood that the phrase is commonly employed with heavy irony. *See also* special envoy.

**vital interest.** An interest considered so essential to the general well-being of a state

that it is one in defence of which it is prepared to go to \*war. *See also* honour; necessity.

**voeu.** A recommendation, wish, or view recorded at a conference to accompany a \*treaty but which has no \*binding force upon the signatories; in some circumstances it may be more or less a pious hope. The assembly of the \*League of Nations, which generally took decisions on the basis of the \*unanimity rule (and always so in respect of important substantive matters), utilized the idea of a *voeu* by ruling that a decision which could be so described needed only a simple majority.

**volte face.** A complete reversal of a position, or about-turn.

# W

**waiver.** The process whereby a state, in respect of one of its \*diplomatic agents or \*consular officers, sets aside the right of \*diplomatic or consular immunity which is normally enjoyed by the individual in question. This is not a frequent occurrence, and is only done after careful consideration. However, in recent years, waiver appears to have been sought by a \*receiving state rather more strongly than hitherto, often with success.

**war.** An \*armed conflict which has been formally instituted by a declaration of war or the expiry of an \*ultimatum. Since 1945 such announcements have gone resoundingly out of fashion, no state wishing to lay itself open to the charge of having initiated a war; associatedly, all armed action is now described as defensive in character, or as in necessary

support of some universal norms such as those relating to \*human rights. *See also* Briand-Kellogg Pact; neutrality; permanent neutrality.

**war crime.** A breach, by an individual, of the \*laws of war (or of, as this subject is now known, \*international humanitarian law). Such laws used to refer only to those who participated immediately in war. But in the major war crimes trials which took place after the Second World War, the concept of war crimes was extended to cover crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity – for which the political leaders of the defeated states could be, and were, indicted. *See also* international criminal law; Pella; R2P.

**warden network.** The network of members of a \*sending state's \*expatriate community – sometimes

also known as 'consular correspondents' – who have volunteered to act as points of contact across the country during a local crisis or emergency. Such networks are now common in chronically unstable or hostile regions, although their efficiency has been impaired when, for their own safety, wardens have themselves been ordered by their employers to leave the country during an emergency. *See also* diaspora diplomacy; emergency room; hot line.

**way bill.** *See* diplomatic courier.

**web-conference.** *See* video-conference.

**weighted voting.** The system of \*qualified majority voting adopted in certain \*international organizations, for example, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development ('World Bank'), and the European Union, of allocating votes in proportion to the 'weight' of the members, usually judged by the size of their financial or other contributions to them. (In the 'qualified majority voting' system

currently employed in the EU Council of Ministers, the criterion is population.) This has appeal for \*realists, but it is politically sensitive. First, it draws attention to the large material differences between states when set alongside their \*equality of status. Secondly, there is usually dispute over the criteria to be employed in computing these differences, as well as in applying the criteria if and when they have been chosen. Where weighted voting is the formal rule, in practice the influence of the \*consensus method is usually considerable.

**Westphalia, Congress of (1644-8).** The \*congress at which an end to the Thirty Years' War was negotiated. It had \*venues at two Westphalian towns: Catholic Münster, to which were assigned the \*plenipotentiaries of France, and Protestant Osnabrück, 55 kilometres away, to which were assigned those of Sweden. The representatives of the Holy Roman Empire, the third of the main parties at the congress, were divided between the two towns, while the plenipotentiaries of the many other parties (including the Spanish, the Swiss,

### 390 Westphalian system

and the Dutch) gravitated to the one or the other depending on whether they were closer to France or Sweden, or on whether one of the venues had already attracted the \*delegation with which they wished chiefly to negotiate. The main fruits of the negotiations were the two \*treaties of peace signed on 24 October 1648 between the Empire and Sweden and the Empire and France. Known collectively as either the 'Treaty' or the 'Peace' of Westphalia, they are generally reckoned to have resolved the structure and codified the constitutional rules of the European \*states-system as it had emerged from the unity of medieval Christendom. Thereafter, it has not been unusual to see the term 'Westphalian system' used to describe the post-1648 system of \*international relations (sense 2), that is, that in which states – secular, sovereign, independent, and equal – are the members, and stability is preserved by the \*balance of power, \*diplomacy and \*international law. *See also* international society.

**Westphalian system.** *See* Westphalia, Congress of (1644–8).

**Whitehall.** The name of a street in London which, because a number of government offices front on to it, is sometimes used – particularly by British diplomats – as a synonym for the government of Britain, or for a particular governmental department.

**Wicquefort, Abraham de (1598–1682).** An \*intelligencer, \*gazetteer and, like \*Machiavelli, a diplomat of the second order who is remembered more for what he wrote than for his other accomplishments. Born in Holland, Wicquefort nevertheless spent most of his diplomatic career in Paris. Here he served as \*resident of the Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia from 1626 to 1658, when, having fallen foul of Mazarin, he was first briefly imprisoned in the Bastille and then expelled. Invited to The Hague by John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Wicquefort was employed as a translator for the States General but chiefly as the grand pensionary's special secretary for French correspondence. In 1675 Wicquefort, who had in the previous year also secured

the appointment of resident in Holland of the Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg-Celle, was accused by his enemies of selling state secrets. He was tried by the Court of Holland and, despite his plea of \*diplomatic immunity, imprisoned for life on the grounds that he remained a Dutch national in the paid service of its government to which he had taken an oath of secrecy. Sent, like \*Grotius before him, to the prison of Loevestein (although he escaped to Celle in 1679), he spent his time writing furiously. Without the aid of his large library, which had been confiscated, he wrote his *Mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics*, which he signed simply 'L. M. P.' (*Le Ministre Prisonnier*), and then his massive *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*. First published in the year before he died, translated into English as *The Ambassador and His Functions* in 1716, and subsequently reissued many times, this became the most highly regarded manual of diplomacy of the eighteenth century. As has been remarked, Wicquefort was the \*Satow of the ancien régime. See also locally engaged staff.

**wife, diplomatic.** See spouse, diplomatic.

**WikiLeaks.** The organization founded by Julian Assange which, in November 2010, began posting on the Internet about a quarter of a million still-confidential US diplomatic \*cables which had been leaked to it. They dated from between 1966 and February 2010 and had been only minimally \*redacted. See also SIPRNet.

**Wilhelmstrasse.** See Auswärtiges Amt (AA).

**Wilson, President Woodrow (1856–1924).** The American president who, in January 1918, enunciated the 'Fourteen Points' for a just end to the war (which the United States had joined in 1917) against the Central Powers. Wilson included references to the need for peaceful change on the basis of \*self-determination (only, however, in Europe); but is best known for calling for \*open diplomacy and for 'a general association of nations' to guarantee the 'political independence and territorial integrity [of] great and small states alike'. This last soon found expression



in the \*League of Nations and its scheme for \*collective security – but the United States did not become a member, chiefly because of the hostility of its Senate.

**Wisma Putra.** The Malaysian \*foreign ministry, so called because since 1966 it has occupied a building of this name. However, since 2001, the ministry has been operating from a new Wisma Putra complex in the administrative city of Putrajaya, 20 kilometres south of Kuala Lumpur. The old office in the federal capital has been taken over by the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations.

**witnessing.** See signature.

**working copy (of credentials).** The copy of an incoming \*head of mission's \*credentials which is furnished on arrival to the \*receiving state's foreign ministry. It is sometimes called 'true copy' and is known in French as the *copie figurée* (earlier as *copie d'usage*). See also letters of credence; presentation of credentials.

**working funeral.** The funeral of a major political

leader which is attended by scores of high-level delegations from abroad. It is thus an opportunity not only for diplomatic \*signalling but also for confidential discussion between the mourners and the politically bereaved government and perhaps more especially between the mourners themselves. The term has been attributed to Robert Carvel, who introduced it in a 1967 newspaper article on the requiem mass for West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

Funerals of this kind, which are attended by high ceremony and generally styled 'state funerals', are extremely useful. They represent a time when it is above reproach for \*heads of state and government to break existing commitments for discussion on an urgent matter of the moment; and they provide a cloak behind which the representatives of hostile states may meet. If the deceased leader was an incumbent rather than retired, the funeral also provides what will probably be the first opportunity for those attending to make contact with the new leader.

**working visit.** See official visit; state visit.

**world public opinion.** See General Assembly.

**Wotton, Sir Henry (1568–1639).** English diplomat and poet. Wotton has gone down in diplomatic legend as the author of the epigram, often misquoted, that ‘An Ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country’. Wotton (pronounced ‘Wootton’) was an amiable but impecunious dilettante and literary amateur. He did not find stable employment until knighted on the accession of James I and sent to Venice as \*resident ambassador. On his way out, in 1604, he stayed in Augsburg. Having already some reputation in the town, he was invited by a resident to write some ‘bon mot’ in a notebook kept for the purpose and the famous quotation was the result. It was intended as a pun on the word ‘lie’, which in this context could mean either ‘sojourn abroad’ or ‘tell lies abroad’. (It is not known whether Wotton also meant it to refer to having sexual relations.) Unfortunately for Sir Henry, while he appears to have conceived the saying in English, he wrote it out in Latin: *‘Legatus est vir bonus*

*peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.*’ According to his friend Isaak Walton, ‘the word lie (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn) was not so expressed in Latin [*mentiendum*], as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English’. This was his undoing, for the notebook eventually fell into the hands of a Catholic controversialist who used it in a polemic against James I published in 1611, presenting it as evidence that the king had sent a confessed liar to represent him abroad. James never entirely forgave Wotton the indiscretion which provided such ammunition to his enemies. The hopes cherished by the diplomat in 1612 of being the king’s secretary were accordingly dashed and Wotton was doomed to remain in Venice (with interludes elsewhere) until 1624. In all, he spent nearly 20 years as either resident ambassador or \*ambassador in ordinary in Venice and ended his career as provost of Eton College.

**Wriston Report (1954).** See Foreign Service, US.

# Y

**Yalta formula.** The provisions which find expression in Article 27 of the UN \*Charter on the voting procedure of the \*Security Council, including (therefore) the \*veto; so called because it was agreed

at the Soviet Crimean resort of Yalta at a summit meeting of the Big Three (the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain) in February 1945.

**YouTube.** *See* e-diplomacy.

# Z

**Z.** The abbreviated telegraphic indication of \*Greenwich Mean Time.

**Zhou Enlai (1898–1976).**

Chinese politician. Zhou (or Chou) Enlai studied in Japan and France and was one of the first members of the overseas branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He supported Mao Zedong as leader of the party and served both as its spokesman to foreign envoys and journalists and liaison officer with the Nationalist (Kuomintang) government of China while they were cooperating in the war against Japan. Following the revolution in 1949, Zhou was appointed prime minister and \*foreign minister of the People's Republic of China (PRC), holding the latter office until 1958 (when he was replaced by Chen Yi) and the former office for the rest of his life. Zhou Enlai was

therefore a towering figure in post-revolutionary China – a consummate survivor at home and masterful operator abroad – and had major influence over the design and execution of its foreign policy until shortly before his death. As Mahmoud \*Riad was to Nasser, so Zhou was to Mao: a moderating influence on his ideological impulses, although he was not always successful. During the madness of the Cultural Revolution, for example, which was at its worst from 1966 to 1969, he could not prevent the foreign ministry from being plunged into chaos by Red Guards charging its senior staff ('big monsters') with being 'reactionaries' pursuing a 'revisionist diplomatic line' (although he was able to protect Chen Yi until 1969). Nor could he prevent all of the PRC's ambassadors – except \*Huang Hua – from being recalled for the purpose of

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political re-education. (Some critics of professional diplomats in the capitalist West probably secretly admired this move.) Only in 1969 did he persuade Mao to start sending out ambassadors again. Nevertheless, all of this was soon forgotten, at least in the West. For, together with Henry \*Kissinger, with whom he had a meeting of minds on the fundamentals of foreign policy (they were both wedded to the importance of the \*balance of power, sense 2), he was the architect of the \*rapprochement between the PRC and the United States in the early 1970s which changed the whole shape and direction of international affairs.

**zone of separation.** *See* buffer zone.

**Zorlu, Fatin Rüştü (1910–61).** Turkish diplomat and politician. Zorlu was educated at the School of Political Science in Paris and the Law School of the University of Geneva and entered the Turkish foreign ministry in 1932. Initially home-based with interludes of \*multilateral diplomacy, in 1939 Zorlu was appointed \*first secretary to the embassy in Paris. In 1942 he was promoted

to \*counsellor of embassy at Moscow and in the following year was made \*consul-general at Beirut. In 1946 he became head of the foreign ministry's department dealing with economic and commercial questions and subsequently led delegations to a number of overseas conferences on post-war reconstruction and related matters. When, after a lengthy campaign for admission, in February 1952 Turkey was finally invited to join NATO, Zorlu – by that time secretary-general of the foreign ministry – accompanied his minister, Fuad Köprülü, to their first meeting of the NATO Council. In the same year (1952) he was given the rank of ambassador and appointed head of the Turkish delegation to the council's headquarters in Paris – probably the most important position in the Turkish diplomatic service. In 1954 he was elected to Turkey's Grand National Assembly and was appointed deputy to the Democratic Party prime minister, Adnan Menderes. In late July 1955, shortly before a major conference in London on Cyprus, Menderes made Zorlu and Köprülü switch roles, the latter taking over as deputy prime minister while

Zorlu became \*acting foreign minister. In November 1957, after a period of cabinet confusion, he became (substantive) foreign minister and retained this position until May 1960. Up to this point, his ability and enormous energy had given 'soul and direction' to Turkey's NATO policy and was largely responsible for ensuring that the Cyprus settlement in February 1959 was satisfactory to the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey itself. But while Zorlu was a great \*diplomat (sense 1), he was no \*diplomat (sense 2) – quite the opposite in fact. He was arrogant and could be extraordinarily offensive to juniors, colleagues and foreign statesmen alike. Sir Hugh Foot, British governor of Cyprus (1957–60), said that he was 'the rudest man I ever met'. On one occasion, the then British prime minister, Harold Macmillan, was so offended by his 'insulting behaviour' that he walked out of the conference room where they were arguing. Sir Hugh also believed that Zorlu was 'the most ruthless'

of all of the major personalities involved in the Cyprus negotiations. (This was no doubt in part because of the widely held view that during the London conference on Cyprus in 1955 he had cabled home a request for popular demonstrations – which in the event turned into major riots – in support of Turkey's demands.) In short, Zorlu was the sort of man who made enemies. It is not altogether surprising, then, that when the Menderes government – which was charged among other things with subverting the constitution by force – was overthrown in a military coup in May 1960, he was one of its most prominent casualties. In September 1961, after a lengthy trial which was a travesty of justice, Zorlu, along with Menderes and one other, was publicly hanged. However, in 1990 the 'martyrs of democracy' were politically rehabilitated and the main conference hall of the Turkish foreign ministry was given the name 'Fatin Rüştü Zorlu'.

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