

V.L. Bernshteyn

Professional Issues of International Relations



РАНХиГС

РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАРОДНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА
И ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ СЛУЖБЫ
ПРИ ПРЕЗИДЕНТЕ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

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Пособие предназначено для студентов 3 курса уровней Intermediate, Upper intermediate и может быть использовано в процессе как аудиторной, так и самостоятельной работы.

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PART I

Unit 1

Diplomacy and its Role in the World



DIPLOMACY:

- the art and practice of establishing and continuing relations between nations;
- the skill at dealing with people and getting them to agree;
- the ability to tell someone to go to Hell so that he will look forward to making the trip.

TEXT 1

THE EMERGENCE AND CONTENT OF THE TERM “DIPLOMACY”

It is believed that the word “diplomacy” comes from the Greek word *diplōma*: in this way in Ancient Greece people called double plaques with inscriptions written on them, issued to envoys as credentials and documents that confirmed their authority. Literally this word meant “double” from the way they were formed. The ambassadors sent to negotiations in Ancient Greece received instructions and letters confirming their power and duties, recorded on two folding plaques, which they handed in to the city official (an ancient politician), who was in charge of international affairs.

In everyday speech, the word “diplomacy” is sometimes used to refer to some completely different things. For example, sometimes diplomacy is understood as the foreign policy of the state. In other cases, diplomacy is understood as negotiations, and sometimes this term refers to the totality of procedures through which negotiations are conducted. It is also used to refer to foreign missions that are part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the end, the word “diplomacy” refers to the special people’s ability, manifested in the art to gain profit in the conduct of international negotiations, or dexterity in the good sense of the word, and in a bad sense — in insidiousness in such matters. These five meanings of the word “diplomacy” are especially used in English-speaking countries.

Independently this word began to be used from the end of the 16 century. The first case of the word “diplomacy” in England dates back to 1645. Later, the great German scientist Gottfried Leibniz used the word “diplomatic” (in the Latin *diplomaticus*) in the *Codex Juris Gentium*

Diplomaticus issued in 1693. Since then, it began to refer to “relating to international relations”.

In 1716 French diplomat François Calier, who was an ambassador of Louis XIV in several states, published a book “On the methods of negotiating with sovereigns”, where he used “diplomacy” in the modern sense of the word. Calier’s book is still used for training diplomats at a number of diplomatic schools. In his book diplomacy is seen as the art of negotiating, based on certain moral principles and based on a certain theory. Before that, in the times of Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome, as well as Byzantium and the Middle Ages, the art of lying and deceit in international affairs was brought to perfection. F. Calier contrasted this with honest negotiations based on high intelligence. He wrote in his book: “Deception is in fact an indicator of the limitations of person’s mind and even the most brilliant successes of diplomacy, achieved by deception, rests on shaky ground. Successfully conducted honest and high-level negotiations will create great advantages for the diplomats in the subsequent dialogue that they will conduct” [15].

Task 1. Answer the questions:

1. What is the origin of the word “diplomacy”?
2. What five meanings of this word are used in English-speaking countries?
3. What is Calier’s idea of diplomacy?

TEXT 2

THE ESSENCE AND GOAL OF DIPLOMACY

Whenever there are conflicting interests between human beings, solution must be found. There are essentially two ways to arrive at solutions: the way of force or the way of negotiations leading to compromise. Man’s history is too often marked by attempts to use force against an opponent, but it is equally true that solutions based exclusively on force prove to be unsatisfactory and short-lived. In most cases people realize that compromises arrived at by mutual consent serve their interests better than solutions based on the use of force. The way to arrive at a compromise between conflicting interests is called negotiation; it is diplomacy when negotiations are undertaken between states.

In diplomacy peace is conceived not as the mere absence of violence in international relations but rather as a state of mutual confidence. Confidence building between partners in the international world is

a prerequisite for any agreement, for any compromise, arrived at by negotiation.

The ideal diplomat should be honest in order to inspire confidence. If a diplomat fails to get confidence, he would most probably not achieve a compromise with his partner. Never to lie is a general guideline for a good negotiator. But, one should, of course, keep in mind that there is no need always to tell the whole truth or to reveal one's intentions completely to a partner. What one must avoid is the loss of confidence due to falsehood.

If honesty tops the list of qualities a good international negotiator should possess there are other virtues almost as important. Modesty and loyalty probably come next. First of all, a negotiator must be loyal to those he represents: his country, his government. A good sense of modesty and of proportion is the best protection against an opponent who knows how to take full advantage of conceit, false pride, and other weaknesses, which are only too human.

Patience has often been called the cardinal virtue of a good negotiator. Never should one allow the time factor to become decisive. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that good results take time. The best results of international negotiations took many years before they were achieved.

A good sense of imagination, openness and flexibility, and, of course, a high degree of intelligence — they are indispensable features for a good negotiator. Negotiation is a creative activity. Its outcome is very often the result of painful work plus a lot of imagination.

Finally, psychology should be mentioned. It is by far the most important element in any successful negotiating process. If compromise is the ultimate goal of diplomacy, psychology is the only way to achieve it. If a lasting compromise is to be found, it must be based on mutual consent. Both contracting partners must have secured their proper interests. Consequently one has to find out what partners' interests really are and where they can be met consistently with our own aims. A good negotiator should put himself in the position of his counterpart. He will then be able to judge correctly where concessions can be expected and where his own demands can be met by the partner.

Diplomacy defined as "the art of negotiation" does not aim at victory or surrender, but at compromise by consent. Even if one side is negotiating from a position of superior strength, a lasting agreement can only be established if it also meets the basic needs of the weaker partner. The essence of diplomacy is negotiating, and its ultimate goal is the creation and maintenance of peace [7].

Task 1. Answer the questions:

1. How are the essence and goal of diplomacy identified?
2. What does Diplomacy aim at?
3. What two ways may be used to arrive at solutions in a case of a conflict?
4. How can negotiation be defined?
5. What is a general guideline for a good negotiator?
6. How do you assess author's idea that "there is no need always to tell the whole truth"?
7. What is the role of psychology in any successful negotiation?
8. What qualities are indispensable for a good diplomat?
9. What other qualities, in your opinion, should a good negotiator possess?

Task 2. Translate these adjectives into Russian and divide them into two categories:

- a) those that assist to achieve success in diplomacy;
- b) those that prevent a person to become a diplomat.

1. ambitious — _____
2. awkward — _____
3. blunt — _____
4. cerebral — _____
5. clear-headed — _____
6. concerned — _____
7. confident — _____
8. dedicated — _____
9. dignified — _____
10. discontented — _____
11. dispassionate — _____
12. distressed — _____
13. efficient — _____
14. embittered — _____
15. emotional — _____
16. intense — _____
17. gentle — _____
18. generous — _____
19. high-handed — _____
20. hot-tempered — _____
21. moody — _____
22. open-minded — _____
23. purposeful — _____
24. reserved — _____

25. responsible — _____
26. ruthless — _____
27. sensitive — _____
28. shrewd — _____
29. shy — _____
30. thoughtful — _____

Task 3. Write a description of your own personality using the adjectives from Task 2. Is it possible for you to become a diplomat and achieve success in this professional sphere? Use the following expressions:

I think ... my personal qualities ...

It's possible / impossible for me ... because...

I am always / seldom ... diplomatic ...

My temper allows / does not allow me ...

In my opinion another person from our group may become ...

Task 4. Discuss the following Diplomacy functions, methods and means of Diplomacy. Provide your examples:

Diplomacy Functions

- representation
- diplomatic communication and correspondence
- conduct of negotiations
- gaining somebody's favour
- obtaining information or diplomatic intelligence
- protection of the interests of citizens of their country abroad

Methods and Means of Diplomacy

- official and other visits and negotiations;
- diplomatic congresses, conferences, meetings;
- preparation and conclusion of bilateral and multilateral international treaties and other diplomatic documents;
- participation in the work of international organizations and their bodies;
- the daily representation of the state abroad, carried out by its embassies and missions;
- diplomatic correspondence;
- publication of diplomatic documents;
- media coverage of the government's position on various international issues;
- transfer of diplomatic notes;
- breaking diplomatic relations;

- usage of Internet resources, information and communication technologies and social networks

TEXT 3

THE ARMED FORCES ARE THE INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY, NOT ITS MASTER

No successful and no peaceful foreign policy is possible without observance of this rule. No nation can pursue a policy of compromise with the military determining the ends and means of foreign policy. The armed forces are instruments of war; foreign policy is an instrument of peace. It is true that ultimate objectives of the conduct of war and of the conduct of foreign policy are identical: BOTH SERVE THE NATIONAL INTERESTS. Both, however, differ fundamentally in their immediate objectives, in the means they employ, and in the models of thought they bring to bear upon their respective tasks.

The objective of war is simple and unconditional: to break the will of the enemy. Its methods are equally simple and unconditional: to bring the greatest amount of violence to bear upon the most vulnerable spots in the enemy's armor. The military leader lives in the present and in the immediate future. The sole question before him is how to win victories as cheaply and quickly as possible and how to avoid defeat.

The objective of foreign policy is relative and conditional: to bend, not to break, the will of the other side as far as necessary in order to safeguard one's own vital interests without hurting those of the other side. The methods of foreign policy are relative and conditional: not to advance by destroying the obstacles in one's way, to retreat before them, to circumvent them, to maneuver around them, to soften and dissolve them slowly by means of persuasion, negotiations, and pressure.

To surrender the conduct of foreign affairs to military is to destroy the possibility of compromise and thus surrender the course of peace. The military mind knows nothing how to operate between the absolutes of victory and defeat. It knows nothing of that patient intricate and subtle maneuvering of diplomacy, whose main purpose is to avoid the absolutes of victories and defeats and meet the other side on the middle ground of negotiated compromise. A foreign policy conducted by military men according to the rules of military art can only end in war.

Peace must be the goal of any foreign policy. Foreign policy must be conducted in such a way as to make the preservation of peace possible and not to make the outbreak of war inevitable. In a society of sovereign nations military force is a necessary instrument of foreign policy. Yet this instrument of foreign policy should not become the master of

foreign policy. As war is fought in order to make peace possible, foreign policy should be conducted in order to make peace permanent. For the performance of both tasks, the subordination of the military under civilian authorities which are constitutionally responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs is an indispensable prerequisite [2].

Task 1. Match the words and phrases from the text with their Russian equivalents:

1. a prerequisite _____
2. an observance _____
3. the ends and means _____
4. an outbreak _____
5. a subordination _____
6. an objective _____
7. to be vulnerable _____
8. to be indispensable _____
9. to circumvent _____
10. to pursue a policy _____
11. to safeguard _____
12. to retreat _____
13. to surrender _____
14. to meet the other side on the middle ground _____
15. to bend _____
16. to conduct _____

Отступать, вспышка / начало, сгибать, вести, предпосылка, соблюдение, подчинение, цели и средства, цель, быть крайне необходимым, быть уязвимым, защищать, обходить, делать уступки, сдавать/ отказываться, проводить политику.

Task 2. Complete the following sentences using the ideas from article and the active vocabulary words from Task 1:

1. The objective of war is ...
2. The method of conducting war is ...
3. The objective of foreign policy is ...
4. The methods of foreign policy are ...
5. The main purpose of diplomacy is ...
6. Foreign policy must be conducted in such way as ...
7. The subordination of the military under civilian authorities is ...

Task 3. What are pluses and minuses of using the armed forces to settle International issues according to the article? What is your opinion?

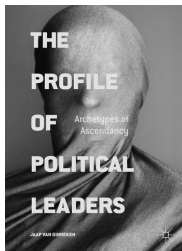
Task 4. *Discuss the following statements with the group:*

1. The military should not determine the ends and means of foreign policy.
2. To surrender the conduct of foreign affairs to military is to destroy the possibility of compromise.
3. The main purpose of diplomacy is to avoid the absolutes of victories and defeats and meet the other side on the middle ground of negotiated compromise.
4. The subordination of the military under civilian authorities for the conduct of foreign policy is an indispensable prerequisite.
5. Diplomacy not backed by strength will always be ineffective at best and dangerous at worst.

Task 5. *Write a paragraph on one of the statements from Task 4.*

Unit 2

Diplomats: Political Profile



TEXT 1

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: From Refugee to Chief Diplomat

America's former Secretary of State is a symbol of the country's immigrant past and its powerful women.

Profile

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 1937 | Born in Czechoslovakia. |
| 1948 | Immigrated with her family to the United States. |
| 1955–1959 | Student at Wellesley College. Edited the campus paper. Campaigned for Adlai Stevenson. |
| 1959 | Married Joe Albright. |
| 1961 | Gave birth to twins, Alice and Anne. Went to Columbia University to obtain her Ph. D. in Political Science. |
| 1976 | Fundraiser and chief legislative assistant for Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie. |
| 1982 | Divorced. |
| 1988 | Foreign policy adviser for Michael Dukakis, a key figure in the party. |
| 1993–1996 | US Ambassador to the United Nations. |
| 1997–2001 | Secretary of State. |
| From 2001 | Heads the Board of Directors of the National Democratic Institute of International Relations. |

While diplomacy has long been dominated by gray men in gray suits, Albright is a red dress, a point she has not hesitated to make as she began her **tenure** as the first female secretary of state.

The best way to understand Madam Secretary is as a Great Communicator — someone who wrote for her college newspaper, was four times teacher of the year as a foreign — policy professor at Georgetown

University and woes to take her foreign-policy message not just to Berlin and Beijing but to Saginaw and San Diego. “She can go out there and explain in terms that people understand why stopping the war in Bosnia or **famine** in Africa should matter to them,” says a White house official.

Her rise is a great immigrant success story. In 1948 Madeleine Jana Korbel arrived in America. The girl was only 11 but had been a **refugee** twice — first in 1938, when Nazis rolled into Czechoslovakia and forced her father, a diplomat, **to flee** to England. The second time came 10 years later when a communist **coup** forced the Korbels to flee once again, this time to America. The family settled in Colorado. Albright’s friends say this experience of flight is key to understanding her belief in American power, whether it’s in Bosnia or Haiti.

For women who have worried that taking a few years off to raise their children would ruin their careers, Albright offers a reassuring example. She attended Wellesley College, where she met Joseph Medill Patterson Albright, a publishing **heir** whom she married in 1959. She stayed home to raise children, stretching out her Ph. D. at Columbia University for nearly a decade.

Her career **was propelled** by hard work and the **patronage** of powerful men. Muskie made her his legislative assistant in Senate, where she learnt the delicate art of compromise. When Zbigniew Brzezinski, her old thesis adviser from Columbia, became Jimmy Carter’s national-security adviser in 1977, he tapped Albright to handle his relations with Capitol Hill.

In 1982, her personal world fell apart. That year, her husband, Joe, announced that he was leaving her for another woman. After the divorce Albright threw herself into politics and policy. She **honed** her skill as a communicator. Her foreign policy interests were in areas such as terrorism and press — today’s hot topics but, at the time, dismissed as soft by her fellow **academics**, who were more interested in topics like nuclear throw-weight. Her Georgetown home became a gathering place for intellectuals and Democratic politicians.

During the period, Albright was very much in the mainstream of Democratic thinking on foreign policy. She supposed the **nuclear freeze**, opposed aid to the Nicaraguan contras and urged delay in the use of force against Iraq after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. Over time, though, she became known as a **hawk**. What accounted for the move? Her friends say she came to trust her latent hawkish instincts. She basically **cottoned** to the use of US power.

When Clinton appointed her to the United Nations in 1992, she used the New York stage effectively in ways of small and large.

Within the administration she was a particularly effective **advocate** on the part of the cause that moved her most — Bosnia. She fought with