# DIPLOMACY

## THEORY AND PRACTICE

Fifth Edition

G. R. Berridge

Diplomacy

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# Diplomacy

## Theory and Practice

## 5th edition

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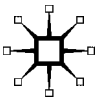


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*In memory of my mother*

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# Contents

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# Preface and Acknowledgements

This edition of *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* has been both refreshed and extended. It has been brought up to date at the time of writing (November 2014), and tightened and corrected where necessary. In places, it has also been extensively reorganized: for example, Chapter 8 is now based on a classification of the types of embassy that raise the main public policy questions; elsewhere, I have clarified some rather dense passages by reducing them to bullet points; and I have removed a number of boxes containing detail now readily available on the Internet. The book has also been significantly broadened in scope, with two new chapters in Part II: 'Secret Intelligence' and 'Economic and Commercial Diplomacy'. In abject surrender to the popularity of the term, I have retained 'Public Diplomacy' as the title of the chapter on propaganda.

In order to give better guidance on further reading at the end of each chapter, I have tried to be more selective in making recommendations and, here and there, annotated them. Other things being equal, I have also given preference to sources freely available on the Internet. As in earlier editions, I have avoided providing URLs for such sources, partly because they are often so long, partly because they tend to rot or die, and partly because it is usually easy enough to find a web resource via a search engine; I simply add '[www]' to a reference available on the Internet at the time of writing. Also for reasons of economy, and because I dislike the on-page clutter produced by the Harvard referencing system, I have eliminated many of the source citations that were a feature of earlier editions, as a rule confining these to quotations and statements that might otherwise raise an eyebrow. The sources for unreferenced recent events are usually serious news websites such as Reuters and *Al-Monitor*, and online versions of newspapers or weeklies like the *Guardian*, *Der Spiegel*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Huffington Post*; for other points in the text, the sources are my own earlier writings or works listed in 'Further reading' that should be fairly obvious. When listing books here and in the 'References' at the end, I note only the first place of publication; it is also an idiosyncrasy of mine that I put the name of the publisher before place of publication, because I find this intuitive and because publishers have been doing the same thing on the title pages of their books for well over half a century.

(Students, beware! You will probably incur the wrath of your tutors if you follow my example.)

For valuable observations on parts of the text of this edition, I am grateful to Katharina Höhne, Milan Jazbec, Larry Pope, Kishan Rana, and Max Schweizer. Shim Yangsup, the first-rate translator of the previous edition into Korean, also helped me greatly to clarify the text of this edition at numerous points. The responsibility for remaining blemishes is mine alone. In the production process, I am grateful for the assistance of Hannah Kaspar at Palgrave Macmillan and the staff of Newgen Knowledge Works in Chennai. As usual, I compiled the Index.

# Online Updating

For each chapter in the book there is a corresponding page on my website. These pages contain further reflections and details of recent developments on the subject in question. Among other things (including a free PDF of my latest monograph), the website also has a page on resources for students of diplomacy, reviews of recent books, and suggestions for dissertation topics. Please visit http://grberridge.diplomacy.edu/

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ABM | anti-ballistic missile |
| AU | African Union [formerly Organization of African Unity] |
| BDOHP | British Diplomatic Oral History Programme |
| BZ | Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs) |
| CAT | Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment |
| CHOGM | Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting |
| DCM | Deputy Chief of Mission |
| DWA | deportations with assurances |
| EC | European Community |
| EU | European Union |
| FAC | Foreign Affairs Committee [British House of Commons] |
| FAOHC | The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the [US] Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training |
| FCO | Foreign and Commonwealth Office |
| FDI | foreign direct investment |
| *FRUS* | *Foreign Relations of the United States* |
| G7/8 | Group of Seven/Eight ['G7' when Russia is cold-shouldered; 'G8' when not] |
| G20 | Group of Twenty ['major advanced and emerging economies'] |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GCHQ | Government Communications Headquarters [British] |
| GRU | Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye [Russian – formerly Soviet – military intelligence] |
| IAEA | International Atomic Energy Agency |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| ILC | International Law Commission |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| ISC | Intelligence and Security Committee [British] |
| LE | locally engaged |
| MIRV | multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle |
| MoU | memorandum of understanding |
| NGO | non-governmental organization |
| NPT | Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty |

| | |
|---|---|
| NSA | National Security Agency [US] |
| OAS | Organization of American States |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OGDs | other government departments [i.e. other than the foreign ministry] |
| OIG | Office of Inspector General [US State Department] |
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| P5 | Permanent 5 [on the UN Security Council: Britain, France, PRC, Russia, United States] |
| P5+1 | P5 plus Germany |
| PLO | Palestine Liberation Organization |
| PNGed | declared *persona non grata* – no longer welcome |
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| QDDR | Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review [US] |
| SALT I | Strategic Arms Limitations Talks [first negotiations, 1969–72] |
| SIAC | Special Immigration Appeals Commission [UK] |
| SIGINT | signals intelligence |
| SIS | Secret Intelligence Service [British; aka MI6] |
| SMEs | small and medium-sized enterprises |
| SVR | Sluzhba Vneshney Razvedki [successor to the KGB – Russian External Intelligence Service] |
| TPO | trade promotion organization |
| TRNC | Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus |
| TTIP | Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership [EU–USA] |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNMOVIC | UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission |
| UNSCOM | UN Special Commission |
| USIA | United States Information Agency |
| USINT | US Interests Section Cuba |
| VCCR | Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (1963) |
| VCDR | Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) |
| WMD | weapons of mass destruction |
| WTO | World Trade Organization [formerly General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] |

# Introduction

Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and, well resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. It achieves this mainly by communication between professional diplomatic agents and other officials designed to secure agreements. Although it also includes such discrete activities as gathering information, clarifying intentions, and engendering goodwill, it is thus not surprising that, until the label 'diplomacy' was affixed to all of these activities by the British parliamentarian Edmund Burke in 1796, it was known most commonly as 'negotiation' – by Cardinal Richelieu, the first minister of Louis XIII, as *négociation continuelle*. Diplomacy is not merely what professional diplomatic agents do. It is carried out by other officials and by private persons under the direction of officials. As we shall see, it is also carried out through many different channels besides the traditional resident mission. Together with the balance of power, which it both reflects and reinforces, diplomacy is the most important institution of our society of states.

Diplomacy in its modern form has its immediate origins in the Italian peninsula in the late fifteenth century AD. Nevertheless, its remote origins are to be found in the relations between the 'Great Kings' of the Near East in the second, or possibly even in the late fourth, millennium BCE (Liverani: Introduction; Cohen and Westbrook: 1–12). Its main features in these centuries were the dependence of communications on messengers and merchant caravans, of diplomatic immunity on codes of hospitality, and of treaty observance on terror of the gods under whose gaze they were confirmed. However, although apparently adequate to the times, diplomacy during these centuries remained rudimentary. In the main this would seem to be because it was not called on very often

and because communications were slow, laborious, unpredictable, and insecure.

In the Greek city-state system of the fourth and fifth centuries BCE, however, conditions both demanded and favoured a more sophisticated diplomacy. Diplomatic immunity, even of the herald in war, became a more entrenched norm, and resident missions began to emerge, although employing a local citizen. Such a person was known as a *proxenos*. In medieval Europe, the development of diplomacy was led first by Byzantium (the Eastern Roman Empire) and then, especially, by Venice, which set new standards of honesty and technical proficiency. However, diplomacy remained chiefly in the hands of special envoys, limited by time and task.

It was in the Italian city-states system in the late fifteenth century AD, when conditions were particularly favourable to the further development of diplomacy, that the recognizably modern system first made its appearance. The hyper-insecurity of the rich but poorly defended Italian states, induced by the repeated invasions of their peninsula by the ultramontane powers after 1494, made essential a diplomacy that was both continuous and conducted with less fanfare. Fortunately, no great barriers were presented by language or religion, and although communications still depended on horsed messengers, the relatively short distances between city states made this less of a drawback. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was this period that saw the birth of the genuine resident embassy; that is to say, a resident mission headed by a citizen of the prince or republic whose interests it served. This Italian system, the spirit and methods of which are captured so well in the despatches of Niccolò Machiavelli, evolved shortly into the French system that, in the middle of the twentieth century, was praised so highly by the British scholar-diplomat Harold Nicolson. This was the first fully developed system of diplomacy and the basis of the modern – essentially bilateral – system (see Chapter 8).

In the early twentieth century the French system was modified but not, as some hoped and others feared, transformed. The 'open diplomacy' of *ad hoc* and permanent conferences (notably the League of Nations) was simply grafted onto the existing network of bilateral communications. As for the anti-diplomacy of the Communist regimes in Soviet Russia and subsequently in China, this was relatively short-lived. Why did diplomacy survive these assaults and continue to develop to such a degree and in such an inventive manner that, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, we can speak with some confidence of a world diplomatic system of unprecedented strength? The reason is that the

conditions that first encouraged the development of diplomacy have for some decades obtained perhaps more fully than ever before. These are a balance of power between a plurality of states, mutually impinging interests of an unusually urgent kind, efficient and secure international communication, and relative cultural toleration – the rise of radical Islam notwithstanding.

As already noted, diplomacy is an important means by which states pursue their foreign policies, and in many states these are still shaped in significant degree in a ministry of foreign affairs. Such ministries also have the major responsibility for a state's diplomats serving abroad and for dealing (formally, at any rate) with foreign diplomats at home. It is for this reason that this book begins with the foreign ministry. Following this, it is divided into three parts. Part I considers the art of negotiation, the most important activity of the world diplomatic system *as a whole*. Part II examines the channels through which negotiations, together with the other functions of diplomacy, are pursued when states enjoy normal diplomatic relations. Part III looks at the most important ways in which these are carried on when they do not.

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# 1
# The Foreign Ministry

It is difficult to find a state today that does not have, in addition to a diplomatic service, a ministry dedicated to its administration and direction. This is usually known as the ministry of foreign affairs or, for short, foreign ministry. It is easy to forget that this ministry came relatively late onto the scene. In fact, its appearance in Europe post-dated the arrival of the resident diplomatic mission by nearly three centuries. This chapter will begin by looking briefly at the origins and development of the foreign ministry, and then examine its different roles.

Until the sixteenth century, the individual states of Europe did not concentrate responsibility for foreign affairs in one administrative unit but allocated it between different, infant bureaucracies on a geographical basis. Some of these offices were also responsible for certain domestic matters. This picture began to change under the combined pressure of the multiplying international relationships and thickening networks of resident embassies that were a feature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first of these trends increased the possibilities of inconsistency in the formulation and execution of foreign policy, and this demanded more unified direction and better preserved archives. The second trend – foreign policy execution by means of resident missions – increased vastly the quantity of correspondence flowing home. This added the need for attention to methods of communication with the missions, including the creation and renewal of their ciphers. It also meant regard to their staffing and, especially, their financing – including that of their secret intelligence activities, because separate secret service agencies did not appear until very much later (see Chapter 10). All of this demanded better preserved archives as well, not to mention more clerks and messengers. In sum, the rapid increase abroad in what was called 'continuous negotiation' by Cardinal Richelieu, the legendary

chief minister of the French King Louis XIII, required not only continuous organization at home but also one bureaucracy, rather than several in competition.

It has often been assumed that it was in France that the first foreign ministry began to emerge when, in 1589, Henry III gave sole responsibility for foreign affairs to one of his secretaries of state, Louis de Revol, an administrative innovation that – after some regression – was confirmed by Richelieu in 1626. But there might well be other candidates, within and beyond Europe, for the title of first foreign ministry. Moreover, the office of the French secretary of state for foreign affairs in Richelieu's time was little more than a personal staff: it was not even an outline version of a modern foreign ministry, with an organized archive and defined bureaucratic structure. This had to wait until the last years of the reign of Louis XIV at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Picavet: 39–40).

Indeed, it was only during the eighteenth century that a recognizably modern foreign ministry became the general rule in Europe, and even then the administrative separation of foreign and domestic business was by no means watertight. Britain came late, having to wait until 1782 for the creation of the Foreign Office. The US Department of State was established shortly after this, in 1789 (Box 1.1). It was the middle of the nineteenth century before China, Japan, and Turkey followed suit.

*Box 1.1* 'Department of Foreign Affairs' to 'Department of State'

A Department of Foreign Affairs was established by the Continental Congress on 10 January 1781. This title was also initially employed for the foreign ministry of the United States itself under legislation approved by the House and Senate on 21 July 1789 and signed into law by President Washington six days later. In September, the Department was given certain *domestic* duties as well, which subsequently came to include management of the Mint, fulfilling the role of keeper of the Great Seal of the United States, and the taking of the census. No longer charged solely with *foreign* tasks, it was for this reason that, at the same juncture, the department's name was changed to 'Department of State'. Despite surrendering most of its domestic duties in the nineteenth century, the Department found itself stuck with the name.

Even in Europe, however, it was well into the nineteenth century before foreign ministries, which remained small, became bureaucratically sophisticated. By this time, they were divided into different administrative units on the basis either of specialization in a particular function (for example, protocol and treaties), or – more commonly – geographical regions. In addition to the foreign minister, who was its

temporary political head, the typical foreign ministry had by this time also acquired a permanent senior official to oversee its administration. As time wore on, this official also acquired influence over policy, sometimes very great. Entry into the foreign ministry increasingly demanded suitable educational qualifications, although the pool from which recruits came was limited to the upper reaches of the social hierarchy until well into the twentieth century.

The foreign ministry still had rivals for influence over the formulation and execution of foreign policy in the nineteenth century. Among these were the monarchs or presidents, chancellors or prime ministers, who felt that their positions gave them special prerogatives to dabble in this area, as also the war offices with their nascent intelligence services. Nevertheless, if the foreign ministry had a golden age, this was probably it. It did not last long. Distaste for both commerce and popular meddling in foreign policy was entrenched in most foreign ministries, which were essentially aristocratic in ethos, and this soon put them on the defensive in the following century. World War I itself was also a tremendous blow to their prestige because it seemed to prove the failings of the old diplomacy over which they presided. Much of the growing dissatisfaction with the way ministries such as these were staffed and organized, as well as with the manner in which they conducted their affairs, focused on the administrative (and in some instances social) divisions within the bureaucracy of diplomacy.

Despite the intimate link between those in the foreign ministry and the diplomats serving abroad, both their work and the social milieux in which they mixed were very different. Persons attracted to the one sphere of activity were not, as a rule, attracted to the other, and they were usually recruited by different methods. Foreign ministry officials had more in common with the civil servants in other government ministries than with their own, glittering diplomats, whom in any case they rarely met and had good grounds for believing looked on them as social inferiors. They also tended to develop different outlooks. American diplomats, who closed ranks in the face of frequent ridicule at home (notably in the Middle and Far West), developed a particularly strong 'fraternal spirit' (Simpson: 3–4). The result was that, except in small states, it became the norm for the two branches of diplomacy – the foreign ministry and its representatives abroad – to be organized separately and have distinct career ladders. Between them there was little if any transfer. It was also usual for the representatives abroad to be themselves divided into separate services, the diplomatic and the consular – and, later on, the commercial as well.

*Box 1.2* Foreign ministries: formal titles making a point, and some metonyms

Most foreign ministries are loosely described as the 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs', but in their formal titles many of them add some words in order to advertise a priority of the moment, acknowledge a recent merger with another ministry, or make some other point. For example, in March 2007 the Austrian ministry was renamed 'Federal Ministry for *European* and International Affairs', which signalled that Vienna did not regard other EU members as foreigners, and, in March 2014, its title was changed again, to 'Federal Ministry for Europe, *Integration* and Foreign Affairs', thereby providing a standing reminder of Austria's enthusiasm for the European project. For analogous reasons, the Senegalese ministry for a time added 'African Union' to a title already signalling a priority: 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Union and Senegalese Abroad'. It is reassuring, if – on the face of it unnecessary – that the word 'Cooperation' should be introduced by so many, as when in 2009 the South African ministry replaced altogether its former title, 'Department of Foreign Affairs' (see below). For short, some foreign ministries are often referred to by the names of buildings or streets with which they are associated (metonyms). The following list illustrates the variety of titles given to foreign ministries at the time of writing (2014), together with some metonyms:

| | |
|---|---|
| Afghanistan: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* |
| Australia: | *Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade* |
| Austria: | *Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration, and International Affairs* |
| Belgium: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Development Cooperation* |
| Benin: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Integration, la Francophonie and Beninese Abroad* |
| Botswana: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation* |
| Brazil: | *Ministry of External Relations ('Itamaraty')* |
| China, People's Republic of: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* |
| Croatia: | *Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs* |
| France: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development ('Quai d'Orsay')* |
| India: | *Ministry of External Affairs ('South Block')* |
| Italy: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs ('Farnesina')* |
| Japan: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs ('Gaimusho')* |
| Malaysia: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs ('Wisma Putra')* |
| Mauritius: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade* |
| Senegal: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Senegalese Abroad* |
| South Africa: | *Department of International Relations and Cooperation* |
| Spain: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation* |
| Syria: | *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates* |
| United Kingdom: | *Foreign and Commonwealth Office ('Foreign Office' or 'FCO')* |
| United States of America: | *Department of State ('Foggy Bottom')* |

The gradual unification during the twentieth century of the bureaucracy of diplomacy, including that of the diplomatic and consular services (see Chapter 9), no doubt played its part in enabling the foreign ministry to resist the later challenge to its position that came from advances in telecommunications. Freedom from the conservative reflexes likely to have been produced by close relationships with powerful domestic interests also assisted the foreign ministry by making it easier to adapt to changing circumstances (Hocking and Spence: 6). There is no doubt, however, that it is the continuing importance of the tasks discharged by the foreign ministry that has ensured its survival as a prominent department of central government in most states. What are they?

## Staffing and supporting missions abroad

The efficiency of the *administrative* departments that carry out the numerous tasks falling under this sub-heading is of great importance, not least in foreign ministries where the traditional glitter of the diplomatic career has been tarnished and the loss of experienced staff in mid-career is a constant risk. These tasks include the following:

- Providing the personnel for the state's diplomatic and consular missions abroad, including posts at the permanent headquarters of international organizations. This means not only their recruitment and training, sometimes in a fully-fledged diplomatic academy such as the Rio Branco Institute in Brazil, but also the sensitive job of selecting the right persons for particular posts, which is of special importance in the case of mini-embassies (see pp. 128–9).
- Supporting the diplomats and their families, especially when they find themselves in hardship posts or in the midst of an emergency. Because of the murderous attacks on its embassies in recent decades, the US Department of State has had to devote considerable energy and resources to giving them greater protection, and now even has to have an Office of Casualty Assistance.
- Providing the physical fabric of the missions abroad, which means renting, purchasing, or even constructing suitable buildings; and then providing them with equipment and furnishings, regular maintenance, guards, and secure communications with home.
- Performance measurement of missions against stated objectives, including periodic visits of inspection. The reports that follow such visits are usually valuable, provided they are conducted by persons

commanding professional respect. The *Semiannual Reports* of the Department of State's Office of Inspector General (OIG), which has a hotline for whistleblowers, are available on the Internet. These are unclassified summaries of detailed individual reports of inspections, although some of the latter – rightly in parts redacted – are also available. Among the most recent is an audit of the emergency action plans for the US missions in Pakistan. By contrast, the *quantitative* performance measurement popular in recent years is generally worse than useless: not only is it unsuited to judging missions' core functions of policy advice and implementation but it also tends to frustrate staff and magnify the importance of their commercial and consular services simply because they are more amenable to measurement (FAC 2011: 9, 31, 48–51).

## Policy-making and implementation

The foreign ministry has traditionally had the main role in policy-making, issuing the appropriate instructions to missions, and ensuring that they are carried out. However, communications technology now allows missions to contribute more to policy, and some argue it should be their responsibility alone (Advisory Committee: 68). The foreign ministry should certainly engage its missions abroad in lively dialogue on the bilateral relationships in which they are at the sharp end (Browne: 78), but it is important that it should not surrender too much influence to them. If it does, it risks foreign policy being infected either by localitis, a resident mission's adoption of the host state's point of view, or clientitis, the sacrifice of objective reporting to what some important client in its own metropolis wants to hear, a tendency made more likely by the ease with which missions can now join electronically in debates at home (Smith 2009: 849–51).

It is in regard to policy advice that what are sometimes known as the 'political departments' come in. Most of these are arranged either along geographical or functional lines, although in an acute crisis a special section within the ministry might take over (Box 1.3). *Geographical* departments normally concentrate on regions or individual states of particular importance, while *functional* departments (sometimes called 'subject' or 'thematic' departments) deal typically with high-profile general issues such as climate change, drugs and international crime, human rights, and energy security.

*Box 1.3* Crisis management

The foreign ministries of states that have to deal regularly with crises with national security implications tend to have a crisis section that is permanently operational. In the Israeli foreign ministry, for example, this is called the 'Situation Room', while in the US Department of State its name is the 'Operations Center'. Significantly, both are located within the office with overall coordinating functions within their ministry, the Coordination Bureau and the Executive Secretariat respectively. Most states handle crises of this sort by means of temporary arrangements, for which they have more or less precise plans, although increasing numbers have permanent units ready to respond to consular emergencies abroad.

Historically, the geographical departments dominated foreign ministries and so, until relatively recently, had more prestige. Among those in the British Foreign Office, the Eastern Department was for many years before World War I the most prestigious and aristocratic; it covered the Ottoman Empire and its predatory Russian neighbour, and was thus much absorbed with the famous 'Eastern Question' (whether to prop up or carve up the Ottoman Empire). In the US Department of State, an attempt in the 1950s and 1960s to give more prominence to functional departments at the expense of the regional bureaus was made more difficult by personnel distinctions remaining from the pre-Wriston reform era: the functional departments were staffed by civil servants, while the geographical ones were staffed by diplomatic officers (Simpson: 19).

Even issue-oriented functional departments, however, had some historical pedigree. The British Foreign Office's Slave Trade Department, for example, which was its first department of this kind, was created in the early nineteenth century and for many years was actually its largest. Departments such as these concentrate technical expertise and advertise the fact that the foreign ministry is seized with the current international problems of greatest concern. (Hiving off a major function, such as development aid, from the foreign ministry and making it the subject of a separate ministry is an even better way of doing this, but can lead to problems of coordination.) More in harmony than geographical departments with the concept of 'globalization', functional departments now tend to be at least as prominent, and usually more so.

It is, however, highly unlikely that functional departments will replace the geographical departments completely and – except on the part of small, poor states with very limited bilateral ties of any importance – it would be a mistake to pursue this course. Apart from the fact that the

disappearance of geographical departments would weaken the case for a separate foreign ministry (since the international sections of 'other government departments' – OGDs – might be regarded as capable of taking over their functional work), there are two main reasons for this. First, the conduct of bilateral relations with an important individual state or region by half a dozen or more functional departments, each with a different global agenda, is hardly likely to be well coordinated. Second, functional departments inevitably have little – if any – of the kind of specialist knowledge of the languages or history of the world's regions essential for judicious policy advice; an internal FCO report laid much of the blame on country ignorance for the failure of British policy in Iran prior to the fall of the Shah in 1979 (Browne: chs 10, 11; FAC 2011: 11, 68–70; *Seventh Report*).

It is chiefly for one or both of these reasons that, in the late 1970s, major reforms in the French foreign ministry restored administrative divisions on geographical lines after decades of advance by the functional principle; that geographical departments still actively jostle functional departments in the FCO; and that the State Department's six regional bureaus remain 'the heart' of its operations, even if they might look 'a mere bump on its impossibly complex and horizontal wiring diagram' (Pope: 20). It is also reassuring that, even among small states, it is not difficult to find foreign ministries where geographical departments are prominent in their structures; Botswana and Mauritius are good examples. With the rise in importance of international organizations, most foreign ministries now have *multilateral* departments as well, some of which also have a geographical focus in so far as they deal with regional bodies such as the African Union (AU).

Some foreign ministries also have departments known by names such as 'intelligence and research' or 'research and analysis'. These specialize in general background research and in assessing the significance of information obtained by secret intelligence agencies (see Chapter 10). Although chiefly a consumer of the product of these agencies, the foreign ministry sometimes plays a key role in its assessment in high-level inter-departmental committees.

If policy is to be well made and implemented properly, the foreign ministry's institutional memory must be in good order. This applies especially to the details of promises made and received in the past, and potential promises that have been long gestating in negotiations. This is why such an important section of even the earliest foreign ministries was their archive (later, 'registry') of correspondence and treaties, as well as maps, reports, internal memoranda, and other important documents.

Before separate foreign ministries were created, such archives were kept by other secretaries of state or palace officials. They even existed in the palaces of the Great Kings of the ancient Near East (Meier: 212). Preserving securely, organizing systematically, and facilitating rapid access to their archives by indexing are key foreign ministry responsibilities. A related task in some foreign ministries is determining carefully what sensitive documents – and parts of sensitive documents – can be released to the public upon application under freedom of information legislation. Many foreign ministries also have a small historians' section that is responsible, among other things, for selecting and publishing periodically hitherto secret documents of historical interest. In America, under the title *Foreign Relations of the United States* (*FRUS*), these have appeared since 1861.

Since foreign policy should be lawful and, sometimes, be pursued by resort to judicial procedures, and since agreements negotiated by exhausted diplomats need to be scrutinized for sloppy language, internal inconsistencies, and incompatibility with existing agreements, legal advice and support is always necessary – although whether it is taken is another matter. In some states, it has been traditional to provide this from a law ministry (or ministry of justice) serving all government departments. Nevertheless, the predominant pattern is now for a major foreign ministry to have its own legal (or treaties) division, headed by an officer usually known as the legal adviser or, in French-speaking states, *directeur des affaires juridiques*. It is also now more common for the members of this division to be lawyers specializing in this work and not diplomats with a legal education who are rotated between the legal division and general diplomatic work in posts abroad. It is interesting, and perhaps hopeful for the strengthening of international law, that since the end of the 1980s informal meetings of the legal advisers of the foreign ministries of UN member states have been held on a regular basis at the organization's headquarters in New York.

The foreign ministries of the developed states, and a few others, also have a policy planning department. Very much a product of the years following World War II, this was a response to the frequent criticism of unpreparedness when crises erupted and was inspired in part by the planning staffs long-employed by military establishments. It is no accident that the State Department was given its first planning staff when a former soldier, General George C. Marshall, became secretary of state after World War II (Simpson: 23, 79, 85), and that its Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) – the first of which was completed at the end of 2010 – is modelled on the Pentagon's Quadrennial Defense Review. The best planning units – in