The Palgrave Macmillan

DICTIONARY OF DIPLOMACY

Third Edition

G.R. Berridge and Lorna Lloyd

The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy

The authors have also drawn on the following previous works of their own:

G. R. Berridge
*TALKING TO THE ENEMY
How States without 'Diplomatic Relations' Communicate

*DIPLOMATIC CLASSICS
Selected Texts from Commynes to Vattel

BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY, 1583 TO THE PRESENT
A Study in the Evolution of the Resident Embassy

*DIPLOMACY
Theory and Practice (*Fourth Edition*)

*THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN DIPLOMACY AND OTHER ESSAYS

Lorna Lloyd
DIPLOMACY WITH A DIFFERENCE
The Commonwealth Office of High Commissioner, 1870–2006

**from the same publishers*

The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy

Third Edition

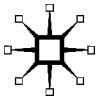
G. R. Berridge
Emeritus Professor of International Politics, University of Leicester, UK

Lorna Lloyd
Reader in International Relations, Keele University, UK

The first two editions of *A Dictionary of Diplomacy* were written by G. R. Berridge and Alan James

Editorial consultants
Sir Brian Barder, Ambassador Laurence E. Pope, and Ambassador Kishan S. Rana

palgrave
macmillan



Softcover reprint of the hardcover 3rd edition 2012 978-0-230-30298-3

First published 2001
This edition published 2012 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN 978-0-230-30299-0 ISBN 978-1-137-01761-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137017611

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

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

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

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,

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

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.

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

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

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

*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

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

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.

agréation. *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 '*agréation*', 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

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

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