

Предисловие

Настоящее учебное пособие по английскому языку предназначено для студентов бакалавриата, обучающихся по направлению подготовки «История», изучающих историю международных отношений. Пособие выполнено в соответствии с требованиями Федеральных государственных образовательных стандартов высшего образования, разработанных для преподавания иностранного языка с учетом профессиональной направленности обучения.

Материалом данного пособия послужили произведения современных англоязычных ученых. Предлагаемые в пособии тексты посвящены истории международных отношений от античности до наших дней. В них рассматриваются актуальные для истории международных отношений проблемы, касающиеся места дипломатии в современной системе международных отношений, достижения «старой» дипломатии. Международные отношения между Востоком и Западом, неоднозначно развивавшиеся на протяжении веков, особенности европейских и американских международных отношений, изменения в политике международных отношений, вызванные революциями, начиная с Французской 1778 года, являются темой ряда текстов настоящего пособия.

Системный подход, необходимый для развития речевых умений и навыков профессионально-ориентированного языка, которые могут быть применены в реальных жизненных ситуациях, лег в основу построения данного пособия.

Данное учебное пособие состоит из двенадцати уроков, каждый из которых посвящен конкретному этапу развития истории международных отношений. Упражнения каждого урока направлены на формирование и развитие навыков чтения, письма, аудирования и говорения. На основе упражнений студенты отрабатывают лексико-грамматический материал, развивая языковую и профессиональную компетенции, что оптимизирует обучение английскому языку для специальных целей студентов-историков. При работе с лексикой особое внимание уделяется терминологии. В пособии содержатся упражнения, посвященные грамматическим сложностям

английского языка. Предложенные упражнения позволяют проверить понимание прочитанного и приобрести навыки перевода профессионально-ориентированных текстов.

В результате освоения данного учебного пособия студент должен развить языковые компетенции в области чтения и перевода специальной литературы, устной речи и восприятия профессионально-ориентированной информации.

Данное учебное пособие, предназначенное для студентов-историков, обучающихся в высших учебных заведениях по программе бакалавриата, может быть использовано широким кругом лиц, изучающих английский язык и интересующихся историей международных отношений.

Unit 1

Nature of diplomacy

by Stephen P. Duggan

In an everyday sense, diplomacy may simply be defined as «tact, skill or cunning in dealing with people». Such attributes are certainly of value to professional diplomats, but the definition is too vague to provide a guide for academic study. In the United States «diplomacy» is also frequently used as a synonym for «world affairs» or «foreign policy». This is the sense in which it is used in Henry Kissinger's study, *Diplomacy*, which is really a history of international relations since the Congress of Vienna. But the value of this usage is diluted by the very fact that it confuses diplomacy with something much broader. Another former US secretary of state, George Shultz, gets nearer to the mark when he writes that «diplomacy is the method – some might say the art – by which relations between nations are managed. It is the manner, as distinct from the content, of foreign policy». The Oxford English Dictionary defines it more fully as «the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business of art of the diplomatist; skill ... in the conduct of international intercourse and negotiations». Surprisingly, it was only first used in this sense by Burke as late as 1796.

Diplomacy is «the art of managing the intercourse and adjusting the relations between states by negotiation». It is usually studied as the handmaid of international law, but it is in greater conformity to the facts of history to state that international law is the resultant of the working of diplomacy. Were international law to be entirely swept away, diplomacy would still survive, for states must have relations with one another. The attitude adopted by one state to another or to others during negotiations is determined primarily by self-interest. It is the duty of the diplomat always to keep the security and dignity of his state in the forefront of negotiations and to enable it to attain legitimate ambitions by every justifiable means. If a state has a settled national policy in foreign affairs his activities must look to the maintenance of that national policy. The diplomat labors under the consciousness that every foreign diplomat

with whom he negotiates, labors with an aim in view similar to his own. The diplomat works in a field where the unforeseen may modify conditions at any moment, but he is nevertheless held responsible for results. He is not a free agent. If he is a representative of his country abroad, his actions and decisions may be influenced and even determined by orders from home, however much against his will. If he is in the Foreign Office at home, he works in the knowledge that he must carry the legislature or its Committee on Foreign Affairs with him when he is part of a parliamentary regime, or carry the Senate with him if he is part of the American system. This may compel him to follow a policy and agree to decisions for which he personally has no liking.

«Open diplomacy» is one of the most important reforms. The complaint is made that diplomats bring negotiations to a conclusion without keeping the public informed or without consulting the representatives of the people who have little to do with the conduct of foreign policy except to ratify whatever decisions are placed before them. Such criticism neglects to take into consideration the fact that in foreign affairs one country is dealing with matters that do not concern it alone. It frequently deals with secrets which it must share with other countries. A premature disclosure might result in the breaking off of negotiations altogether by another power, for that other power may follow methods wholly at variance with freedom of discussion and unrestrained publicity. Diplomatic negotiations are frequently of a delicate nature, involving national predilections which cannot be overlooked. To attempt to discuss everything in public would often offend national pride, arouse international antagonisms and render impossible the give-and-take so necessary to the successful conclusions of negotiations, for both sides have rights to guard and national points of view to realize. A wise diplomat may render during negotiations the greatest service to the public interest by ignoring popular clamor for full information even when voiced in the legislature. It must not be forgotten that in many cases diplomatic negotiations have to do with subjects a knowledge of whose technical details requires special information or which would have little interest for the general public, or in which many sources of valuable information would dry up entirely were publicity given to them.

It is certainly true that a ministry which neglects to obtain the support of public opinion whenever possible loses an immense force in securing the adoption of its foreign policy. The real statesman is he who will constantly seek to instruct public opinion in his international policy so as to carry it with him in time of crisis. Statesmen and diplomats are at least partially informed on international affairs. There would be little profit in turning from them to an ill informed public opinion for leadership. Moreover, it is a question whether popular assemblies are more likely to keep the peace than statesmen and diplomats. It is a question whether even on the grounds of theory, «open diplomacy» in the extreme sense would affect the conduct of international affairs for the better. Most governmental systems of today afford the representatives of the people fair opportunity if they wish to use it, to see to it that the international relations of the country are carried on not only to advance the national interests but in accordance with good faith and honorable conduct.

*(The History and Nature of International Relations;
edited by Edmund A. Walsh; BiblioBazaar, 2009; pp. 1–4)*

Tasks

1. Read the text. Mark the following statements true or false.

1. Diplomacy may be defined as «tact, skill or cunning in dealing with people».
2. Law is «the art of managing the intercourse and adjusting the relations between states by negotiation».
3. Were international law to be entirely swept away, diplomacy would not survive.
4. If a state has a settled national policy in foreign affairs his activities must look to the maintenance of that national policy.
5. A premature disclosure might result in the breaking off of negotiations altogether by another power.
6. The diplomat works in a field where the unforeseen may modify conditions at any moment.

2. Give Russian equivalents for the following phrases.

To adjust the relations; states must needs have relations with one another; foreign policy; the attitude adopted by one state to another; to attain legitimate ambitions; to uphold the policy; to maintain the integrity of; the unforeseen may modify conditions; diplomatic service; ill informed public opinion; to be informed on international affairs; attributes; to keep the peace; national policy; on the grounds of theory; diplomatic negotiations; representatives of the people; to advance the national interests; good faith.

3. Give English equivalents for the following phrases.

Внешняя политика; взаимодействие; установить отношения между государствами; отличительная черта; искусство общения; служанка международного права; отношения одного государства к другому обусловлены выгодой; представитель своей страны за рубежом; краеугольный камень; достигнуть установленных целей; безопасность и достоинство страны; государственная политика; поддерживать мир; народные избранники; непродуманное соглашение; получить поддержку общественности; народное собрание; основываясь на теории; добросовестность; международные дела, требование масс; внешняя политика.

4. Make up a story of your own, use as many words and phrases from the text as possible.

5. Match the words and their definitions.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. diplomacy | a. typical of a class, group, or body of opinion |
| 2. publicity | b. make thinner or weaker by adding water or another solvent to it |
| 3. representative | c. one's personal interest or advantage, especially when pursued without regard for others |
| 4. dilute | d. dealing with or relating to other countries |
| 5. self-interest | e. notice or attention given to someone or something by the media |
| 6. foreign | f. the profession, activity of managing international relations, typically by a country's representatives abroad |

6. Arrange the following in the pairs of synonyms.

a) diplomacy; antagonism; peace; seminal; public; profit; law; courageously; assembly; neglect; esteem;

b) creative; benefit; meeting; bravely; hostility; amity; general; respect; jurisprudence; world affairs, foreign policy; disregard.

7. Fill in the text with the words from the box. Translate the text. Retell it in English.

negotiation(s); diplomacy; world; international; ambassadors; contacts; states

Before Burke, ... was usually referred to as «...» and, while today this gives too narrow an idea of what ... involves, there is no doubt that the promotion of international ... is part of the diplomat's role. International ... is itself part of a process, a relationship between different entities. In the modern ... the entities are generally ..., but the term also includes ... organizations and protagonists in civil wars. ... is most likely to be successful when relationships have been carefully nurtured, which takes us back to the role of ... and envoys, summits and state visits in promoting ... and understanding.

8. Expand on the following.

- Diplomacy as the handmaid of international law;
- diplomacy as «the process and machinery by which negotiation is carried out»;
- «Open diplomacy»;
- the Congress of Vienna;
- diplomatic negotiations;
- Realpolitik.

9. Read the text. Discuss it in the dialogue with your fellow students.

Harold Nicolson, in his seminal work *Diplomacy* of 1939, also recommended the Oxford English Dictionary definition, though he used the term «diplomatic practice» to differentiate his focus on the methods and structure of diplomacy, from foreign policy in general. Geoffrey Berridge, one of the leading contemporary experts, makes the definition in a rather different way: «diplomacy consists

of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment». This has the advantage of differentiating it from the use of force, propaganda and law in the international sphere. It also leads on, as does the Oxford English Dictionary definition, to the study of the methods of communication in the international sphere. These include the use of foreign ministries and diplomatic services, the employment of ambassadors and envoys, and the official contacts between governments either bilaterally or multilaterally, including via international organizations. The levels involved can range from the lowest official in a diplomatic post up to the head of state.

10. Translate the following text into Russian.

The study of diplomatic practice has been growing in Europe and North America in recent decades, with a few journals now dedicated to it. Much of the focus has been on contemporary developments, such as the increasing role of non-governmental organizations in international discourse and the growth of «public diplomacy», whereby international actors seek to influence the press and popular opinion. There are several works on the changing role of foreign ministries, diplomatic services and ambassadors since the Cold War. Yet diplomacy still forms only a small part of the study of international relations, where the focus tends to be either on the nature of international relationships and general explanations of its interactions, or on the processes of foreign policymaking.

Nonetheless, it is sometimes seen as highly significant. Hans Morgenthau, for example, as a key writer of the «Realist» school, emphasized the importance of states and power in the international system; but the closing chapter of his seminal work, *Politics among Nations*, was dedicated to diplomacy. Here there was a message of hope, in that «the ultimate ideal of international life – that is, to transcend itself in a supranational society – must await its realization from the techniques of persuasion, negotiation and pressure, which are the traditional instruments of diplomacy». Where Morgenthau believed that an international «society» had yet to be created, others have argued that transnational elements like trade, domestic factors and moral concerns have already created such a society. Here the significance of diplomacy is obvious.

11. Insert the article wherever necessary. Retell the text.

Members of ... «English School» effectively adopt ... constructivist» approach to this question, accepting that states are ... primary actors in ... international field, but arguing that these ... «construct» their interests from interacting socially with ... one another: «... state does not know how to act because it is ... state; it acquires its identity through interaction with ... other states». Viewed in this light, ... diplomacy, like ... balance of power and ... international law, is ... primary institution of ... international society, ... significant factor in ... way states interact but also ... way in which they are ... «socialized». Embassies are set up in ... other countries because this reflects ... fact that ... state is part of ... international society and is recognized by ... others as such; their very existence helps to reproduce ... international system or ... society.

12. Insert the propositions wherever necessary. Retell the text.

Machiavelli's advice, given ... Raffaello Girolami ... the latter's departure to become ambassador ... the court ... Charles V ... Spain ... October 1522, may seem odd ... light ... the Italian's reputation as an exponent ... realpolitik, and it stands ... sharp contrast ... Henry Wotton's infamous description ... an ambassador as «an honest man sent to lie abroad ... the good ... his country»; but it is easily forgotten that the author ... The Prince, like other great literary figures such as Geoffrey Chaucer and Philippe de Commines, spent part ... his career as a diplomat and knew that envoys could not build success ... the back ... dishonesty. Humphrey Trevelyan, one ... Britain's most successful postwar ambassadors, emphasized to junior staff the need ... honesty ... dealings ... both their own government and those ... which they were accredited; any diplomat who tried to fool others would soon forfeit their respect and lose their confidence. Truth was also the first ... the seven qualities Harold Nicolson wanted to see ... his «ideal diplomatist», the others being accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty and loyalty. Even Paul Gore-Booth, who rose to be permanent under-secretary, felt it difficult to live ... to such a demanding list.

13. Translate the following text into English.

Несмотря на то, что дипломатия существует не одно тысячелетие, однозначного определения данного термина до сих пор не существует. Отсутствие бесспорного толкования понятия дипломатия осложняет трактовку его производных, таких как «дипломатическая служба», «дипломат», «дипломатические отношения». Согласно Д. Вуд и Ж. Серре «Дипломатия – это искусство разрешения международных разногласий мирными средствами. Дипломатия – это также техника и мастерство, гармонично воздействующие на международные отношения и подчиняющиеся правилам и обычаям. Дипломатическая деятельность всегда носила ярко выраженный ритуальный характер. В процессе развития международных отношений происходят становления интересов государств, правительств и международных организаций, поэтому их представители и дипломаты, выполняя указания своих правительств, используют традиционные методы в стремлении найти взаимоприемлемые для различных сторон решения, если необходимо, и интересы национального престижа».

14. Discuss the following with your group mates.

How modern diplomacy originated, of what its essential nature consists, whether its methods are calculated to realize its aims, how far its agents can be held responsible for results and whether its defects are so obvious as to suggest proper methods of reform.

15. Summarize the text orally or in writing.

16. Write a composition on one of the topics.

1. The definition of diplomacy.
2. The interrelation of diplomacy and international law.
3. Diplomacy forms only a small part of the study of international relations.

Unit 2

Diplomacy as the servant of war

by Stephen P. Duggan

Diplomacy was originally the servant of war when war was the normal state of international relations. It was an agency to secure without fighting the ends for which war was waged. Today the positions are reversed, and war, when it takes place, is the outcome of diplomacy. The present status of diplomacy is the result of an evolution in which is discernible a movement away from a condition in which falsehood, chicane, and excessive formalism prevailed in international relations, to one characterized by honorable conduct among the negotiators. Diplomacy is one of the products of the Renaissance. Relations between nations existed, of course, from time immemorial; but diplomacy dates from the rise of permanent embassies. Feudalism had little place for diplomacy, but the Italy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries anticipated, in miniature, Europe of the nineteenth century. Intense rivalry existed between the little states into which northern and central Italy were divided, and self-preservation alliances and ententes were necessary to maintain the balance of power. This object could not be accomplished by temporary embassies, such as those of the Middle Ages, which were sent to accomplish some specific purpose and were disbanded immediately afterward. Permanent representatives were necessary who were to be «the eyes and ears» of their states at the foreign courts. Of all these early Italian states Venice had most at stake and it was natural that she should first establish permanent embassies and develop a professional diplomatic class. Her example was followed in course of time not only by all the Italian states but by the national states that slowly developed in Western Europe such as Spain, France and England, and by the Empire. The permanent embassy had become the normal agency of international relations by the middle of the sixteenth century. But it was looked upon as a necessary evil. At first, Venetian ambassadors were sent for short terms of three or four months, and the term was only gradually lengthened to three years, at which it remained until the Republic was abolished by Napoleon. Moreover, from the very founding of the permanent embassy Venice laid down rules to be followed

by its ambassadors abroad and required them to make comprehensive reports to the Senate for their observations and activities.

The suspicion with which foreign ambassadors were viewed at first is well illustrated by the practice of the three great monarchs of the Renaissance, Charles V, Francis I and Henry VIII of interpreting the phrase «ambassador near the court» to keep ambassadors as far as possible away from the court. Nor did these monarchs doubt to open and examine the correspondence of foreign ambassadors. The diplomats had early earned a bad reputation, but it is questionable how justifiably. The prudent suggestions made by Machiavelli in «*The Prince*» for the guidance of statesmen accurately reflected the spirit of the times though they frequently were much overstepped in actual practice by ambassadors. Sir Henry Wotton's definition of an ambassador, «an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country» is fairly descriptive of the attitude of his day, that of James I. The Father of International Law, Grotius, whose great work «*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*» was published in 1625, viewed the permanent ambassador with scant sympathy and maintained that he had no right of existence. The growth in the importance of the office, however, is well illustrated by the statement of Vattel whose «*La Droit des Gens*» was published in 1758.

The eighteenth century was the period *par excellence* when dynastic interests controlled international relations. The ambassador, as the personal representative of the sovereign, occupied a place in the affairs of the day second only in importance to that of the sovereign himself. The ceremoniousness emphasized in official life by Louis XIV, and copied from Versailles throughout Europe, demanded certain qualities in an ambassador such as smooth and attractive manners, shrewdness and the art of using personal influence in managing men. As these could be acquired best at court, the practice arose of young men of rank becoming attached to embassies for the express purpose of learning the art of diplomacy. Diplomacy became an aristocratic profession. At the same time it became a hierarchical profession. Down almost to the sixteenth century no distinction of rank existed among the diplomatic representatives at a court though various titles were used in referring to them. But the desire of the rulers of big states to be differentiated from those of little states caused a distinction between Ambassador and Resident

to develop during that century. The process of differentiation determined not by questions of function but of dignity continued down to the Congress of Vienna of 1815, when regulations were adopted which were confirmed at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1818 dividing diplomatic agents into four classes:

1. Ambassadors, legates, nuncios.
2. Envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary.
3. Ministers Resident accredited to the sovereign.
4. Charges d'affaires accredited to the Foreign office.

As these ranks have only ceremonial value, and do not affect either the functions or powers of diplomatic representatives, the United States ignored them and accredited all its principal diplomatic agents as ministers plenipotentiary, i. e., ministers of full power and authority. In 1893 Congress enacted legislation whose practical effect was to authorize the President to conform to the practice which prevailed among other nations. During the nineteenth century the heartburnings formerly caused by the question of precedence among diplomatic agents were extinguished by the simple rule of seniority of appointment and in the case of signatures to treaties by an appeal to the alphabet.

The French Revolution with its emphasis upon the political principles of nationality and democracy had a profound influence upon the qualities demanded of a diplomat. The ambassador no longer represents a sovereign to a sovereign but a nation to a nation. Moreover, the nineteenth century has been one of great international congresses in which the duty of considering the common interests of Europe or of the world has become a function of diplomacy. A knowledge of history, geography, international law and political psychology became of greater importance in the ambassador than the personal qualities of suavity and astuteness, though these are by no means negligible even now. Again, the Industrial Revolution, emphasizing the place of the economic element in the affairs of men, has resulted in the need in the diplomat of a knowledge of such subjects as the laws and conditions of trade and the general principles of international finance. It must not be overlooked that the commercial purposes of diplomacy tend constantly to become more prominent. These qualities demanded by modern conditions were seldom to be secured by the choice of a diplomatic agent dictated by favoritism or politics. Hence in nearly all the great

countries of the world the management of international relations has passed into the hands of a trained diplomatic class. At first the method of training was that of apprenticeship, but this gave way later to university preparation followed by examination.

(The History and Nature of International Relations; edited by Edmund A. Walsh; BiblioBazaar, 2009; pp. 4–9)

Tasks

1. Read the text. Mark the following statements true or false.

1. Diplomacy has never been the servant of war.
2. Italy of the 13th and 14th centuries anticipated Europe of the 19th century.
3. Diplomacy is one of the products of the Renaissance.
4. Herodotus was the Father of International Law.
5. Diplomacy has always been an aristocratic profession.
6. The management of international relations has passed into the hands of politicians.

2. Give Russian equivalents for the following phrases.

Self-preservation alliances; chargé d'affaires; to represent a sovereign; the common interests of Europe; honorable conduct among the negotiators; temporary embassies; diplomatic agent; permanent representatives; develop a professional diplomatic class; national states; a necessary evil; to make comprehensive reports; a hierarchical profession; shrewdness and the art of using personal influence in managing men; ceremonial value; authorize the President; seniority of appointment; the political principles of nationality and democracy; It must not be overlooked that...; a trained diplomatic class.

3. Give English equivalents for the following phrases.

Чрезвычайный посланник и Полномочный министр; поверенный в делах; нормальное состояние международных отношений; словесные хитрости и уловки; постоянные посольства; после выполненной миссии посольства упразднились; поставить на карту; Республика, упраздненная Наполеоном; делать исчерпывающий доклад; замечания эксперта; папский

посол, нунций; дипломатический представитель; представлять суверена; недоброжелательство, вызванное вопросом прецедентности; управление международными отношениями перешло к профессионалам.

4. Make up a story of your own, use as many words and phrases from the text as possible.

5. Match the words and their definitions.

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. chargé d'affaires | a. the official residence or offices of an ambassador |
| 2. nuncio | b. are pleasant things that someone says to another person in order to persuade them to do something |
| 3. polity (polities) | c. an accredited diplomat sent by a state as its permanent representative in a foreign country |
| 4. embassy | d. a papal ambassador to a foreign court or government |
| 5. blandishments | e. a form or process of civil government or constitution |
| 6. ambassador | f. is a person appointed to act as head of a diplomatic mission in a foreign country while the ambassador is away |

6. Comment on the following.

Documents found in Egypt in 1887 CE, consisting of about 350 letters from the mid-fourteenth century BCE between the Egyptian court of the Eighteenth Dynasty and other states of the ancient Near East, some independent but most vassal, indicate the interdependence of the great powers of the period, and also provide evidence of a wide-ranging diplomatic network with a sophisticated level of dynamics and formalities. The correspondence relates to status, ranking and prestige, both in absolute terms, vis-à-vis Egypt, and in relative terms, vis-à-vis each other relative to Egypt. The root metaphors involved gift-exchange and family/blood/kinship ties, and, although these reciprocities ideally symbolized equality, in reality they did not, not least because the fundamental marriage tie was asymmetrical in favour of Egypt, in a ranking lubricated by prestige considerations. Again there are instructive comparisons with later periods of diplomatic activities. Moreover, royal marriage was to be a theme of abiding central importance for international relations until the nineteenth century.

7. Fill in the text with the words from the box. Translate the text. Retell it in English.

relations; diplomacy; gift; inscriptions; records; apparatus; envoys; cuneiform; diplomatic; correspondence; millennium; treaties; valuable;

In prehistoric periods, ... exchange in various forms suggests personal ... projected through objects, but ..., and thus diplomats, probably required a state ..., which would usually go with writing. Thus there are ... and iconography, for example from Egypt and Mesopotamia, that are highly indicative. The first historical ... of organized polities exchanging ... date back to the third ... BCE, to the ... civilizations of Mesopotamia. The excavated ... archive of the king of Mari on the Euphrates contains letters from other rulers in the early second ... BCE, and diplomatic ... of the Egyptian and Hittite empires include ... and treaties among kings. The Amarna Letters, a remarkable cache of ... documents found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, reveal intensive and sophisticated ... among the polities of the Ancient Near East in the fourteenth-century BCE. The Hittite ... of the thirteenth-century BCE constitute another ... source. The Ancient Near East is the earliest well-documented epoch of ...

8. Read the text. Discuss it in the dialogue with your fellow students.

Diplomacy, understood in the sense of the peaceful management of international relations can certainly be traced to Antiquity, where it owed much to political contexts that were similar in some respects to those seen with the development of permanent representation in 1440–1550 CE (Common Era or AD), first in Italy and then in Western Europe. This latter development dominates the literature on diplomacy, but it is instructive to consider the earlier situation. In particular, the numerous states in a small area found in fifteenth-century Italy, especially northern Italy, could also be seen in the city states of ancient Sumer from about 2400 BCE, as well as in Greece prior to (and after) Macedonian domination in the late fourth century BCE. It was important for these states to manage relations with each other and to try to advance their interests. It could also be useful for them to cooperate in order to confront external

challenges, as some of the Greek states did when threatened by major attacks in 490 and 480 BCE by the Persian Achaemenid Empire, which stretched to the Indus and included Egypt and Anatolia. In contrast to their own self-image, the Persian practice of diplomacy was presented by hostile Greeks as employing threats and blandishments in order to ensure compliance with their hegemonic pretensions and their expansionist intentions. Acceptance of Persian pretensions was seen as a means of pursuing this expansion. In practice, however, the Persian demand for «earth and water», a demand for submission, appears to have been accompanied by a subtle diplomacy that in 480 BCE brought over many of the Greek states.

9. Translate the following text into Russian.

Alongside an imperialist outlook, Persia also had a subtler kind of diplomacy, a combination that was also relevant for later empires, such as those of China as well as nineteenth-century Britain. Nevertheless, to European commentators of the Renaissance and later, the Ottoman Turks, who conquered Constantinople in 1453 CE, and, both earlier and thereafter, expanded into the Balkans and eventually Central Europe, posed a threat that could be given a parallel and historical validation by comparison with the Persians of Antiquity. Indeed, the Persian demand for the symbolic surrender of the essentials of life, one fulfilled when the states that submitted sent embassies literally carrying earth and water, provided an appropriate note of menace. In turn, diplomacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could be dignified as a defence of civilization against the barbarians, not least by reference to the Classical Greeks. Indeed, looking back to Greek co-operation against the Persians, and continuing medieval patterns, notably, but not only, those associated with the Crusades, the negotiation of peace between Christian powers could be seen as a way to prepare for conflict with the non-Christian outsider, more specifically the Turks. Moreover, the stereotypes of Antiquity accepted by and from the Renaissance – of peaceful and cultured Greeks, malevolent Persians, and noble Romans – took precedence over the more significant but mundane differences that did exist, for example in degrees of centralization of state (as opposed to personal) interest, as well as in the extent

of *laissez-faire* ideology. These differences were not the ones harped on in later centuries by those with their own axes to grind and their potent cultural assumptions.

10. Put the verbs in the proper form. Translate the text into Russian. Give the gist of it in English.

During the first millennium BCE, China, India and the Greek city-states (to develop) complex patterns of communication and diplomatic practices. They all (to display) a pattern of a number of roughly equal independent polities and a shared linguistic and cultural infrastructure. In contrast to the Greek city-states, however, both the Indian and Chinese systems (to look) back to an idealized empire uniting all the fragmented territories. Confucius (to have) some experience of diplomatic negotiations: as a government official, around 500 BCE, he (to go) with Duke Ting of Lu to meet Duke Ching of Ch'i. He evidently (to absorb) some of the attributes required by an ambassador and these (to prove) valuable when he later (to travel) around China, visiting several states. The study of government (to remain) important to him as a teacher of philosophy, as (to do) the understanding that, when studying any subject in detail, it (to be) first necessary to grasp the background.

11. Insert the missing articles. Give the gist of the text in English.

All ... oriental religions remained purely national. ... gods of ... different oriental monarchies were friendly to ... their nation only and enemies of all ... other nations. ... Assyrian chief god was ... sworn foe of ... Egyptian Aramon and ... Persian Auramazda, religious sanction had but little binding force and ... decisive word was spoken by ... force of arms. Periods of ... «balance of power» were under ... these conditions based on ... correlation of ... armed forces and military resources only. Morals and... religion had no ... real importance. ... Persian Kingdom seemed to have created ... lasting peace for ... world in uniting all ... oriental states under ... rule of one King. But ... plans of ... Persian Kings met with ... stubborn resistance in ... corner of ... ancient world where they hardly expected it. From ... ruins of ... old Aegean civilization ... system of petty and proud Greek city-states arose around ... Aegean sea, on ... Balkan peninsula, on ... islands, and in ... Asia Minor. Each of ... these states

created ... its own community, had its own gods, ... its own institutions, its own laws and magistrates. They all claimed ... full independence and were ready to die for it. Better to be exterminated and sold in ... slavery than to submit to ... rule of a foreigner. This land and this nation took up ... inheritance of ... oriental world, adopted its forms of ... international relations and ... diplomatic intercourse, but introduced in all these forms ... new spirit, ... new conception, which led to ... conditions, out of which arose not only ... international relations, but ... real international law.

12. Insert the missing prepositions. Retell the text.

Byzantine diplomacy had a more lasting impact. ... its efforts to avoid war, Byzantium used a broad range ... methods, including bribery, flattery, intelligence-gathering, misinformation and ceremonial manifestations of its superiority. ... repeatedly saving the empire ... invasion and ... attracting many pagan peoples ... the orbit ... Greco-Roman civilization and Christendom, Byzantine diplomacy was extremely successful. As a result ... the close relationship ... Byzantium and Venice, Byzantine diplomatic traditions were passed ... to the West.

Renaissance Italy is generally considered the birthplace ... the modern system ... diplomacy. The most important innovation was the introduction ... permanent embassies and resident ambassadors. ... the sixteenth century, the diplomatic techniques and ideas that emerged ... northern Italy – ... medieval as well as Byzantine origins – spread across the conflict-prone European continent, as sovereigns found the use ... complex diplomacy essential ... their statecraft.

13. Discuss the following text with your group mates.

The ancient Indians talked of kings holding a «triple power» of physical strength in money and arms, the knowledge that comes from good counsel and intelligence, and endeavour, by which they meant bravery and effort. But they were also well aware of the significance of diplomacy for dealing with enemies. In the Pancatantra, the king of the hares drives away a herd of elephants, not by threatening force, but by sending an experienced negotiator, Vijaya, to persuade them to leave. The tale, though short, contains a number of insights into the best way of conducting diplomacy. These include

the importance of speaking with care, being succinct and adhering to instructions, if diplomatic missions are to be successful: «For an envoy can build an alliance, so also can he split allies apart». The tale also underlines the wisdom of rulers respecting the inviolability of envoys if diplomacy is to function: «Envoys only repeat what they have been told. Kings must not kill them». The modern world may be much more complex, with the rights of embassies now enshrined in the 1961 Vienna Convention, but the same basic truths remain.

14. Translate the following text into English.

На Древнем Востоке возникает целый ряд процедур, активно применявшихся в практике международных отношений на протяжении последующих нескольких тысячелетий. Древний Восток, например, стал родоначальником международных договоров как особого типа соглашения субъектов политики, заключающего в себе фиксированный набор соответствующих обязательств сторон, несоблюдение которых влечет за собой введение силовых и иных санкций и ограничений в отношении нарушителя договора. Средствами своего рода дополнительной «страховки», в большей или меньшей степени гарантировавшей соблюдение соответствующих международных договоров, стали династические браки и институт заложенничества (сохраняли значимость на протяжении всей истории Древнего мира и Средних веков). В некоторых случаях договорные обязательства одновременно скреплялись и династическим браком, и выдачей заложников. Древний Восток ввел в практику в целом соблюдавшийся на протяжении тысячелетий и закреплённый позднее среди основных норм международного права обычай обеспечения неприкосновенности послов и посольств.

15. Summarize the text orally or in writing.

16. Write a composition on one of the topics.

1. The art of diplomacy.
2. Diplomacy as the servant of war.
3. Diplomacy as a product of the Renaissance.

Unit 3

International relations in the ancient world

by Mikhael I. Rostovtseff

The system of the modern European States is in no way a creation of the Middle Ages. Most of the modern European States are nothing but a development of the provinces of the Roman Empire. The natural frontiers of Spain, France, Italy, even Britain of today are the ancient frontiers of Italy and the western Roman provinces during the Roman Empire. Modern Germany covers the territory of the Roman province, Germania, as it was planned by the genius of Caesar and Augustus. Austrian territory before World War I coincided with the boundaries of the Roman Danube provinces. On the other hand the foundations of civilized life in modern Europe were laid during the classical period. The modern world inherited from the ancient a large stock of ideas and institutions.

Ancient society grew from conditions totally different from those influencing modern society. Civilized life formed for a long time small islands in the ocean of barbarism. Thus, for an ancient civilized state, neighbor was equivalent to foe. The ancient state evolved through the process of integration of petty political formations and this process assumed the form of ever-renewed wars. To this is due the constant state of war between the different civilized states, even of the same nationality. The general idea of war as the natural status influenced the forms of international relations and shifted from one focus of civilization to another. In this way the general principle took firm root, although the actual state of things was very often in contradiction to this main idea, as theory is often in contradiction with the real state of things.

The fundamental conceptions of international relations in the ancient and in the modern world are utterly different. The modern world considers the natural condition of life in our society to be the state of peace. War is nothing but a temporary suspending of this natural condition and is regarded as an abnormal state. Free intercourse between different nations is normal; restrictions and limitations of the rights of foreigners are abnormal and require serious reasons. Such are our ideas as they developed during centuries of existence of the family of European nations. But in the ancient

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