

## Foreword

Johan Kaufmann's anthology "The Diplomacy of International Relations" is welcome for many reasons. It appears at a time when there is clearly a need for a new multilateralism in line with globalization and other changes in the world economy. Quite specifically, there is a need to redefine and re-establish the role of the United Nations as an essential part of the new multilateralism that is required. It is difficult to think of anyone more qualified than Johan Kaufmann to help in this task. He can speak both as an insider and yet at the same time as a detached outsider. He is an insider having been Dutch Ambassador to the United Nations both in Geneva and in New York, and also as the author of two essential publications on the subject. (*How United Nations Decisions Are Made*, with John Hadwen, in 1958 and *Conference Diplomacy* in 1987). He played a direct part in many of the discussions and events which he describes and yet there is no need for him to be defensive or self-justificatory since he was not a staff member of the international organizations whose evolution he describes. Those who were pioneers and direct participants in the years of crucial formation of the multilateral system belong to a generation that is now dying out. So their contribution at this time is particularly significant and welcome.

A key feature of this book is indicated in the title of the third contribution – it is an "integral analysis". It combines practice and theory and is based on a wide knowledge of the relevant literature and documentation. Much of the latter is now buried in the archives of the various organizations. Hence oral history by those directly concerned is one way of preserving and passing on the experience gained, in addition to archival research which is also needed at this stage. Thus, the analysis is integral in the sense that it does not neglect the many psychological, cultural, political and personal aspects influencing international conferences. As a title of one of the articles indicates, the psychology of international relations is a neglected issue, as much or more than the merits of the direct points under discussion. There are many more examples of this in this volume, quite apart from the chapter specifically dealing with this. The author correctly points out the scarcity of "objectively correct material" on international negotiations, as well as material which does justice to confidence factors and the other dimensions essential for an integral analysis of international organizations. It is to be hoped that those now and in future involved in the process of international negotiations will not fail to consult Johan Kaufmann's contribution for the lessons which it may contain for them.

While an essential part of the history of the UN and the role of international negotiations, the book is also forward-looking, in helping in the search for a new world order, and looking at some unsolved problems.

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Several of the articles are directly devoted to such a forward look. They illustrate the often quoted truth that "those who ignore history are condemned to repeat it". The book illustrates that in the past there were many "road blocks in the search for a new world order" (the specific title of one of the articles) and many cul-de-sacs. The author's experience not only describes them but could help us to avoid them in the future.

It is not surprising that someone representing an integral approach to international negotiations should also advocate the need for an interdisciplinary approach in development thinking and formulations of trade strategies. This need is also both explicitly and implicitly discussed and emerging in this book.

This foreword like the book itself has concentrated on the international negotiation issues, the UN system, a new international economic order and trade policy which form the core of this contribution. But the reader will find that some extras are being thrown in especially relating to the European Economic Community. There is thus a rich menu to pick from and the readership need not be limited to those concerned with improving multilateral agreement and global management. But even the latter category is really another way of saying: "All of us". We all should be concerned by the issues raised by Johan Kaufmann.

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