

**Committee:** Special Conference on Conflict Resolution in a Changing World

**Issue:** Addressing the challenges of preventive and non-official diplomacy in conflict resolution

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## INTRODUCTION

Half a century ago, the second Secretary-General (SG) of the United Nations (UN), Dag Hammarskjöld, spoke about one new branch of diplomacy, which he and his Secretariat-cabinet members had come up with.

SG Hammarskjöld bearing in mind the clash of interest of the superpowers during the Cold War and how little the UN could do during such unprecedented events, proposed the idea of preventive diplomacy, a branch of diplomacy still in much use today.

Non-Official Diplomacy or Track II Diplomacy was first presented by the United States (US) Department of State (DoS) employee, Joseph V. Montville, in 1961. Montville spoke about a second kind of diplomacy, rather than the usual communication between appointed officials (Track I), and named it Track II Diplomacy.

Montville, together with another DoS employee, published a book entitled "Foreign Policy According to Freud," in which the idea behind Non-Official diplomacy was discussed. In the book Montville and Davidson mention what that new kind of negotiation is and how governments should use it; however, they did not mention if there could be any problems with it.

These two kinds of diplomacy both have a common goal, conflict resolution. Both were created in order to do something that negotiation sometimes failed to. Diplomats, and even Heads of States, hoped that such alternative ways of discussion could deliver results that would satisfy all parties involved.

Throughout the years, both preventive and non-official diplomacy have shown some challenges during the use of them that have made the government question if these two are as effective today as they used to be fifty years ago. The UN has conducted multiple research projects and drafted reports in order to ensure that preventive diplomacy reaches the level of success expected by UN officials.

## DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

### Diplomacy

Diplomacy is “the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations.”<sup>1</sup>With the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 diplomacy became the official way of negotiations between representatives of states and a framework as well as methods were provided.

### Preventive Diplomacy

Preventive diplomacy is any “diplomatic action taken in advance of a predictable crisis to prevent or limit violence.”<sup>2</sup> Since its introduction more than 50 years ago, preventive diplomacy has been used by various organizations such as the UN, multiple Non-Governmental Organizations, and, sometimes, even governments.

### Non-Official Diplomacy (Track II Diplomacy)

“Track II diplomacy involves almost entirely unofficial contacts. These unofficial contacts can include dialogues and exchanges between influential non-governmental actors from different countries, designed to build trust and increase communication.”<sup>3</sup>

### Conflict Resolution

“Conflict resolution is the process by which two or more parties reach a peaceful resolution to a dispute.”<sup>4</sup>

### The Charter of the United Nations

“The Charter of the United Nations is the constitutive instrument of the United Nations. It sets out the rights and obligations of Member States and establishes the United Nations' principal organs and procedures.”<sup>5</sup> It sets the whole framework of the UN and the other organizations governed by it. It is the oldest UN treaty still in use today.

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<sup>1</sup> “Diplomacy.” Merriam-Webster, Merriam-Webster, [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/diplomacy](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/diplomacy).

<sup>2</sup> “Preventive Diplomacy.” The Free Dictionary, Farlex, [www.thefreedictionary.com/preventive+diplomacy](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/preventive+diplomacy).

<sup>3</sup> SFCG Team. “Track II Diplomacy.” SFCG, [www.sfcg.org/track-ii/](http://www.sfcg.org/track-ii/).

<sup>4</sup> Doyle, Alison. “Here Are Some Examples of Conflict Resolution Skills in the Workplace.” The Balance Careers, [www.thebalancecareers.com/conflict-resolutions-skills-2063739](http://www.thebalancecareers.com/conflict-resolutions-skills-2063739).

<sup>5</sup> “UN Charter | Academic Impact.” United Nations, United Nations, [www.academicimpact.un.org/content/un-charter](http://www.academicimpact.un.org/content/un-charter)

## **Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)**

“A Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) is a non-profit, citizen-based group that functions independently of government.”<sup>6</sup>

## **Oslo Accords of 1993**

“This agreement establishes the general guidelines for the negotiations to come and lays the foundations for a Palestinian Interim Self-Government in the West Bank and Gaza.”<sup>7</sup> The Oslo Accords set the foundations which led to the fulfillment of Palestinians’ dream of self-determination.

## **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

### **The establishment of Preventive Diplomacy**

The UN has been interested in the idea of preventive diplomacy since the moment it was presented by SG Hammarskjöld, a little more than fifty years ago. According to Article 99 of the UN Charter, preventive diplomacy was enforced. That article allowed the UN SG to present before the Security Council (SC) potential threats to international peace as well as security.

Preventive diplomacy was first put in use during the Cold War, as an alternative was discussed between state representatives. Dag Hammarskjöld used this kind in order to discuss any clash of interest the then superpower might have had and try to resolve it. At the same time, he stated that he would use any opportunities that might arise in order to resolve conflicts between other countries not involved in the Cold War. He would also try to prevent the rise of any other conflicts and issues with the potential to affect global politics and peace negatively.

The Secretariat-cabinet of Hammarskjöld is the one that has set the very own fundamentals of preventive diplomacy; most of them still in use today. Even though it is suspected that Hammarskjöld was the one to decide whether or not preventive diplomacy was a success, UN officials never confirmed such allegations. In order for the SG not to publicly appear, representatives of his office undertook special positions when discussing it.

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<sup>6</sup> Folger, Jean. “What Is an NGO (Non-Governmental Organization)?” Investopedia, Investopedia, 18 Feb. 2020, [www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/13/what-is-non-governmental-organization.asp](http://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/13/what-is-non-governmental-organization.asp).

<sup>7</sup> “Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (Oslo Accords) | UN Peacemaker.” United Nations, United Nations, [peacemaker.un.org/israelopt-osloaccord93](http://peacemaker.un.org/israelopt-osloaccord93)

Hammar skjöld had in mind the creation of a global ring of representatives working around the establishment of his idea as an official means of negotiations.

The vision of Hammar skjöld was not put in use as a means of negotiation until the 3<sup>rd</sup> SG, U Thant of Burma, moved forward with it. The Cuban Nuclear Confrontation, and its prevention, is among the most successful outcomes of using preventive diplomacy and, at the same time, one of its first-ever achievements.

More accomplishments followed when other SGs took office. Preventive diplomacy began being used regularly during times of crisis. SG Javier Pérez de Cuéllar was the one that officially established communication between the Officer of the Secretary-General and the Clerk of the Security Council in an effort to regenerate the presentation of international threats before the Council.

In January 1992, the first-ever summit meeting of the SC took place, and the Council asked the then SG Boutros Boutros-Ghali to draft a report regarding the future of the UN and how preventive diplomacy could contribute in the later years when talking about conflict resolution. The SC also asked Boutros-Ghali to explain his idea on how to use preventive diplomacy after the deployment of peacekeepers of the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP).

The most recent examples of the use of preventive diplomacy by the UN are during the chairmanship of the Secretariat by Ban Ki-Moon. Reports drafted by Ki-Moon were mostly about climate change and how this kind of diplomacy could help solve that issue. Lastly, many of his reports were also submitted to the UN General Assembly (GA). One of the most notable on is the one numbered as S/2011/552 (Report on "Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results")<sup>8</sup>, in which SG Ki-Moon explained some of the United Nations' accomplishments achieved with the use of preventive diplomacy.

### **The creation of Non-Official Diplomacy**

In 1981 a DoS employee, Joseph V. Montville introduced a new way of negotiations to the diplomatic corps named Track II Diplomacy (Non-Official), a variant of the usual kind of discussion, known to people up until that year.

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<sup>8</sup> "S/2011/552. Report on 'Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results' | UN Peacemaker", *United Nations*, United Nations, [www.peacemaker.un.org/node/631](http://www.peacemaker.un.org/node/631)

Montville, together with another DoS employee, William D. Davidson, published a book entitled "Foreign Policy According to Freud".<sup>9</sup> In the book, the two of them elaborate on Sigmund Freud's beliefs about foreign policy and diplomatic relations between nations. In the book, the writers also introduce to the people the creation of a new discussion method, Track II Diplomacy.

The book contains the definitions of Track I and II in order for the people to fully understand what each one should do and the differences between the two of them. Track I is being explained as the usual way of negotiating, where formal discussions between appointed diplomats occur. On the other hand, Track II is being referred to as efforts towards conflict resolution done by not officially appointed diplomats, but on the contrary Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) representatives and theorists.

In 1986 two political analysts, John McDonald and Diane Bendahmane, wrote a book entitled "Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy" in which experienced people from both Tracks of diplomacy expressed their beliefs on how the system works and if it is as functional as it should. The US DoS denied the book's publication for eighteen months as executives didn't want the people to know the US's techniques regarding conflict resolution and negotiation. Finally, in 1987 the book was published. The book mentioned that the US Government promotes Track II Diplomacy as a means of negotiation and that it was well-funded. Also, government analysts should understand how history, society, culture, and psychology interact with each other to improve their abilities.

The most remarkable and well-known example of the use of Non-Official Diplomacy is the discussions that led to the signing of the Oslo Accords of 1993 between the State of Israel and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Negotiations began between the two parties and a Norwegian scholar, in the role of a mediator. Moving on, the negotiations changed from Track II to Track I when the two sides decided to start having meetings with UN diplomats.

### **The Cuban Missile Crisis**

The Cuban Missile Crisis (also known as the Caribbean Crisis) was a confrontation that lasted thirteen days (October 16<sup>th</sup> – 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962) between the US and the Soviet Union. These thirteen days are often considered as the closest mankind has ever been

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<sup>9</sup> Davidson, William D., and Joseph V. Montville. "Foreign Policy According to Freud." *Foreign Policy*, no. 45, 1981, pp. 145–157. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/1148317](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148317).

to full-scale nuclear war. At the same time, it is considered the most significant success of preventive diplomacy.

In 1961, the Soviet Union came to an agreement with Cuba to place nuclear weapons on the island to protect the island nation if a threat was to appear. In July 1962, Cuban leader Fidel Castro met secretly with Soviet Communist Party Chairman Nikita Khrushchev and discussed creating a nuclear facility on the island.

When US President John F. Kennedy was informed about the situation, he called for a meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) and five extra members. This became known as the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (EXCOMM). After discussions, the Council concluded to the creation of a blockade by the US Navy in order for more missiles not to reach Cuba. During a press briefing about the issue, President Kennedy also stated that the Council demands the immediate removal of the nuclear weapons from Cuba.

UN SG Thant believed that the UN had to take quick measures in order for the crisis, not further escalate. SG Thant stated that the fate of mankind is at stake as war was about to begin next to a nuclear facility. He called for negotiations to begin immediately to resolve the matter at hand. Invitations were sent to all directly affected parties accompanied by some urgent appeals. Soviet Union was to stop any shipments made to Cuba while the US had to ban the blockade in the area completely. Both parties agreed to the appeals, and the UN Secretariat was informed. Following that event, Thant called Castro and informed him about the updates as well as instructed him to suspend any action taken to create a nuclear facility.

Following the diplomatic success, Thant traveled to Cuba a week later and met with the island nation's politicians. He believed that it was an excellent opportunity to mitigate tension and, at the same time, get to know local leaders after such an averted crisis.

### **The United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)**

The United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) was established to replace the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the then Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). It was established through Security Council Resolution 983 on March 31st, 1995. UNPREDEP was created to monitor and report any developments that occurred in the region and maintain stability there. Also, one of the tasks was to prevent any kind of conflicts from happening by using the method of preventive diplomacy. Orders were given to members of this force to gather government officials in the threat of a conflict in order to ensure that it would not happen and harm the stability in FYROM. It is considered

one of the most successful cases of the use of preventive diplomacy to prevent instability and violence towards the country's population. The force was shut down on February 28th, 1999, after it was last extended with SC Resolution 1186 when China vetoed its renewal at the end of 1999 because FYROM recognized Taiwan, then a part of China, as an independent nation.

### **The conflict of Kashmir (India – Pakistan)**

The conflict of Kashmir is a territorial dispute between the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, with the People's Republic of China having an observatory role during the discussions. The dispute first started in 1947 when British India gained its independence from the British Empire and ended up divided into two different countries, India and Pakistan, and both claimed an area then known as the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir.

China came into the conflict when, in 1963, an agreement (Sino-Pakistan Agreement) was signed between Pakistan and China, establishing the border between the two nations. The Agreement is not recognized by India, which claims sovereignty over a part of the land mentioned in it. Thus, the bond between China and Pakistan became stronger during the Cold War when Pakistan and the US's relationship stopped being a friendly one.

While having a conflict over the sovereignty of the autonomous region of Kashmir, India and Pakistan decided to try negotiations via using Track II Diplomacy. Stakeholders and entrepreneurs were brought to discuss with each other the economic prospects of the region. The use of non-official diplomacy had a good outcome at the time and became an important example of the good this kind of diplomacy can provide the society.

People believe that tensions will escalate again and believe that non-official diplomacy will, for once more, help find a solution. It is also believed that a good outcome might occur if the negotiations were to take place in the areas of conflict.

### **The Challenges of Preventive Diplomacy**

The UN and countries have come across a number of challenges while trying to negotiate by using preventive diplomacy. There are two main areas of concern when discussing if preventive diplomacy functions as it should. Diplomats should find out this idea will still be useful in the long-term, and if preventive diplomacy has the necessary requirements to respond immediately to a crisis.

One of the challenges is that attention is most of the time being given to "highly visible emergencies, actual war, and violence. It always attracts much greater attention and a

bigger share of the available resources.”<sup>10</sup> Most of the time, crises not falling under the aforementioned categories are not being treated as emergencies; thus, allowing them to grow bigger.

Another important challenge that the UN or governments might face is the sometimes limited access to intelligence. As a result, this situation has early warnings not being sent and analysis not being done on the time needed. Even though analysis might be conducted, sometimes “are often not matched with proposals for feasible and promising preventive measures.”<sup>11</sup>

One more challenge that might be faced is in regard to the lack of coordination as well as communication between the parties involved and the people who would implement preventive measures.

## **MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED**

### **People’s Republic of China (PRC)**

The government of the People's Republic of China often uses Non-Official Diplomacy as a means of negotiations. However, in China, Track I Diplomacy has a link with Track II. The link between these two is the fact that when Track II is being used, there is always an appointed diplomat close by to monitor the discussions.

### **Republic of China (Taiwan)**

The Republic of China (Taiwan) is one of the countries that have taken the idea of alternative ways of negotiation very seriously. Taiwan has created a unique way to use Non-Official Diplomacy, think tanks. During these think tanks, citizens of Taiwan (that applied to participate) have the opportunity to interact with appointed diplomats or politicians and discuss various topics that affect their country.

### **United States of America (USA)**

The USA is known for using alternative ways of discussions when possible. Not a few times, the Federal Government of the US decided to discuss a crisis while practicing preventive diplomacy. The country mainly tries to prevent a crisis from growing bigger after it has already begun while aiming to stop it.

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<sup>10</sup> “The Challenges of Preventive Diplomacy.” ACCORD, 10 Feb. 2020, [www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-challenges-of-preventive-diplomacy/](http://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-challenges-of-preventive-diplomacy/).

<sup>11</sup> “The Challenges of Preventive Diplomacy.” ACCORD, 10 Feb. 2020, [www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-challenges-of-preventive-diplomacy/](http://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-challenges-of-preventive-diplomacy/).



## TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Date	Description of Event
October 16 <sup>th</sup> , 1962	The Cuban Missile Crisis began – The first official use of preventive diplomacy
October 28 <sup>th</sup> , 1962	The Cuban Missile Crisis ended
1981	Joseph V. Montville speaks about Track II Diplomacy for the first time
1981	Non-Official diplomacy is officially introduced to the public through a book published by Montville and William D. Davidson
January 31 <sup>st</sup> , 1992	First-ever UN Security Council summit meeting takes place
March 31 <sup>st</sup> , 1995	The UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) was deployed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)
September 13 <sup>th</sup> , 1993	The Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization were signed.

## UN INVOLVEMENT: RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

Throughout the years, the UN has been very much in favor of using alternative ways of discussion when trying to resolve a conflict. Nonetheless, no principal organ of the organization has passed any resolution neither about preventive nor non-official diplomacy. However, many SGs and especially Ki-Moon have drafted reports that talked about the effectiveness of the aforementioned diplomacy kinds.

Ban Ki-Moon stated that his “reports examine the opportunities and the challenges the United Nations and its partners currently face in conducting preventive diplomacy in a changing political and security landscape.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> “Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results.” *United Nations*, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/undpa/sites/www.un.org.undpa/files/SG%20Report%20on%20Preventive%20Diplomacy.pdf>

## **POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS**

### **Promoting Preventive and Non-Official Diplomacy**

NGOs can promote the use of preventive and non-official diplomacy in times of crisis as an alternative way to find a solution. This promotion can target countries inviting them to adopt these two kinds of diplomacy and making them official means of negotiation when discussing conflicts and trying to find solutions.

### **General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions**

The UN GA and SC could pass some binding resolutions, which would instruct member-states to adopt the two kinds of diplomacy in order to have more ways of discussion. These resolutions shall include how the aforementioned types of diplomacy should be adopted and used within the diplomatic system of every government. Furthermore, the resolutions should include the advantages as well as disadvantages that the representatives of the member-states believe these two types will end up having, in order for the governments to be informed about everything regarding them.

### **Up to date Intelligence**

Countries should be equipped with modern technology in order for them not to have intelligence collection problems. Ensuring good intelligence, analysis of information will become easy as well as communications between nations.

### **Task Forces**

For countries not to put all of their attention on the highly visible emergencies, some Task Forces should be created to establish good communication and cooperation.

### **Inclusion of knowledgeable groups**

Diplomats believe that if non-official diplomacy was to put in use more groups (such as NGOs), than just the parties affected by the dispute, it could be included in the negotiations. These groups should include people with knowledge on the matter at hand in order to be able to deliver solutions but, at the same time, not be appointed diplomats.

### **Negotiations in areas of conflict**

Many appointed diplomats have stated that moving negotiations from government buildings, NGO offices, or embassies might help them run smoother and provide a better outcome than expected. It is widely believed that discussing the issue where everything is happening might be proven worthy of the solution of the issue discussed every time.

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