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# THE MAIN FORMATS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

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## ABSTRACT

A comprehensive study of the formation and development of the institute of multilateral diplomacy, as well as the mechanisms and methods of its implementation, is becoming particularly relevant at the present stage. Due to the increasing complexity of global political processes and the formation of a new world order, many scientists, public figures and politicians today dispute the value of multilateralism, which negatively affects the development of its institutions. The purpose of this article is to study multilateral diplomacy in the context of revealing the main formats of international interaction within the framework of this type of diplomacy. In theory, multilateral diplomacy is guided by some key principles of international order. In practice, multilateral diplomacy is the main instrument of cooperation in the search for agreed solutions, as well as the implementation of the political goals of certain participating States. This kind of diplomacy requires a serious modernization of diplomatic structures, tools and methods.

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## KEYWORDS

Multilateral Diplomacy, Diplomacy, International Organizations, Conferences

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## Introduction.

Multilateral diplomacy is now the main tool for finding and agreeing on international solutions that require cooperation among countries. By working together, countries can find solutions that are more effective, efficient, and sustainable than those pursued bilaterally. Multilateral diplomacy also promotes dialogue and understanding among nations, which can help to reduce tensions and prevent conflicts.

The level of complexity in this case is much higher than in bilateral diplomacy, as well as the level of skills needed to manage this complexity. It can be based on multilateralism or have multilateralism as a goal, can be reduced to formal and procedural points and can be opposed to unilateral and bilateral formats. Dynamics of multilateralism are certainly becoming increasingly important in the international realities of today. By focusing on practical applications rather than theoretical foundations, the dynamics of multilateralism helps to understand how the practice of multilateral diplomacy has been influenced by changes in the processes and procedures of international organizations, as well as the role of multilateralism in the transformation of the international governance system and the transition to the emerging new global order.

Originated in ancient times and practiced to a greater or lesser extent in all subsequent epochs of the history of international relations, multilateral diplomacy was especially widely developed in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This was because after the Second World War, international relations began to acquire a global, global character, which manifested itself in the creation of the United Nations and many other international organizations that dealt with problems affecting all countries of the world. During this period, conferences of global importance began to gather more often. The interdependence of all countries has increased in the face of new, global threats and challenges

Thus, the Dictionary of Diplomacy, edited by J. Berridge and Jameson, gives the following interpretation of this concept: "Multilateral diplomacy is diplomacy conducted by three or more states through conferences; it is a special type of diplomacy, different from bilateral diplomacy, based on interstate contacts" (Berridge & James, 2001). Multilateral diplomacy, as a separate and peculiar type of diplomatic activity, can be applied in the following areas: 1. Diplomacy of international congresses and conferences. 2. Diplomacy of multilateral negotiation processes on specific international issues. 3. Diplomatic activity within the framework of international organizations. These directions can be implemented in different formats.

At the same time, each of the varieties includes bilateral diplomatic work and bears all the features of bilateral diplomacy. An important distinguishing feature of multilateral diplomacy is bringing to a common denominator many positions, the interaction of which can give a completely unexpected result when the prevailing point of view is not the strongest participant or the strongest group of negotiators.

### **What is diplomacy?**

In modern conditions, the word "diplomacy" is used most often in a broad sense, i.e. to denote the designation of a model of interaction between States in the field of international relations (MO). It is characterized by the rejection of violent measures in the realization of national interests and the achievement of the foreign policy objectives of the States. Thus, diplomacy is the antipode of another model of interaction between sovereign states – a model that is based on the use of violence and coercion.

In other cases, the word "diplomacy" is used to denote a means, or method, of implementing a State's foreign policy. Diplomacy as a "means of implementing foreign policy" includes a set of non-military practical measures, techniques and methods applied considering specific conditions and the nature of the tasks being solved. The definition of diplomacy as a means of realizing the foreign policy objectives of the state most accurately reflects the content of the term diplomacy.

The narrower interpretations of the word "diplomacy" include the concept of diplomacy as a function, i.e. a functional activity for the implementation or management of bilateral or multilateral relations. At the national level, as a rule, this function is assigned to ministries. It is carried out by professional diplomats working both within the country and abroad.

Another narrow interpretation of diplomacy is the notion of "diplomacy" as one of the peaceful instruments of foreign policy. However, there are discrepancies here too. Some researchers combine under the word diplomacy with the entire set of peaceful means of influence at the disposal of the state, while others, on the contrary, under diplomacy, understand the establishment of formal contact between states for conducting dialogue / negotiations.

Among the narrow interpretations of "diplomacy" is also the definition of diplomacy as a technique for carrying out foreign policy tasks. In this case, the emphasis is on the process of diplomacy implementing its function. For example, in many international organizations (The UN, in particular) there is a certain procedure for accreditation, participation in the work of bodies, decision-making, the process of fulfilling obligations and decisions, etc.

The concept of diplomacy as an instrument of politics is associated with the art of negotiation to prevent or resolve conflicts, compromise and mutually acceptable solutions, and expand and deepen bilateral or multilateral cooperation. Diplomacy is also often identified with the art of negotiation itself, i.e. the skillful application of a set of tactical methods and techniques, as well as knowledge of the subject of negotiations, aimed at achieving specific goals that are links in the implementation of strategic goals (in this case – foreign policy objectives).

The role of diplomacy is growing from decade to decade as the international situation becomes more complex, its tasks and functions expand, and its forms and methods of activity enrich. I think that in the coming times, diplomacy and diplomats will face an even more difficult mission, namely, the creation of a multipolar, reliable and sustainable world, and a system of universal security.

In democratic States, diplomatic activity with all its laws, rules, conventions and attributes, including diplomatic protocol and ceremonial, has ceased to be the exclusive prerogative of professional diplomats, foreign ministers and embassies. Millions of people, often having nothing to do with public service, have been involved in foreign policy activities in one form or another. New terms have appeared: "economic diplomacy", "public diplomacy", "cultural diplomacy", even "military diplomacy", etc.

Diplomacy is an activity carried out based on the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961. There are several forms of diplomacy: cultural, military, and economic.

Cultural diplomacy is a public institution that allows for the temporary transfer of values to other countries to promote peace and mutual understanding between peoples. One of the most traditional forms of cultural diplomacy is the World Exhibitions, which are held in different cities every few years. Many countries present their achievements in the fields of arts, crafts, agriculture and industry.

Economic diplomacy - involves diplomatic service activities focused on increasing exports, attracting foreign investment, and participating in international economic organizations, i.e., actions focused on confirming the economic interests of a country at the international level. Military diplomacy is an important component of real state policy.

Military ties are seen as an important complement to diplomatic efforts aimed at preventing armed conflict, primarily in relations with neighboring countries. Military diplomacy is designed to promote the modernization of the armed forces.

Public diplomacy involves the promotion of the interests of the state through the formation of a positive image in the foreign public consciousness. This type of diplomacy involves a dialogue with society, in which not only representatives of countries, business communities, governmental and non-governmental, scientific and cultural organizations, but also a wide variety of categories of citizens can participate.

Paradiplomacy, or regional diplomacy, is associated with the participation of regions of different countries in international organizations and other associations, as well as with their participation in various types of cooperation: cross-border, interregional and transregional. Regions of countries are increasingly involved in solving both their own and national problems, and their activities do not threaten the sovereignty of participating states, because it is aimed at cooperation (for example, twinning relations between cities). The development of paradiplomacy has become a consequence of integration processes, which strengthen cooperation between regions located either at the intersection of transport and trade routes or having borders or stable contacts with other countries and regions. Such diplomacy is based, as a rule, on factors dictated by the similarity of geographical conditions, economic development, opportunities for the exchange of resources, technologies, experience, and exchange of qualified personnel.

Electronic diplomacy, conducted through electronic means of creating, transmitting and exchanging information, is also a new type. Hanson is an analyst at the Brookings Institution (USA) and a researcher at the University of International Politics. Lovie (Australia) defines e-diplomacy as "the use of the Internet and information and communication technologies (ICT) that contributes to the achievement of diplomatic objectives". He also notes that the Ministries of Foreign Affairs face a difficult task - to adapt to the information environment and introduce new technologies into diplomacy. To solve this problem, the foreign ministries of various countries have adopted relevant programs, such as "The Art of Statecraft in the 21st Century" at the US Department of State, "Digital Diplomacy" at the UK Foreign Office and "Open Politics" in Canada. The subspecies of electronic diplomacy are very diverse and are called "twiplomacy", social media diplomacy, Internet diplomacy, etc. Videoconferences and electronic negotiation systems are also being increasingly used. The government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of different countries have their official websites, accounts on the social networks Facebook, as well as on Twitter, YouTube and Flickr. In fact, the official accounts and websites of the diplomatic services can already be considered as the country's representation in the virtual space. Thus, electronic diplomacy, on the one hand, implies that many different actors interact with each other through electronic means of communication connected in networks of various levels; on the other hand, electronic diplomacy operates in a fundamentally new, virtual environment, the main value of which is information.

Significant changes have also taken place in the field of traditional diplomacy, which is handled by ministries of foreign Affairs, embassies and other diplomatic agencies. With the increase in the number of sovereign States, the diplomatic map of the world has expanded and become more complex. At the same time, none of the new states is in a hurry to abandon the classical forms of diplomatic work. States maintain certain relations with each other, using for this purpose the activities of diplomats, that is, people whose task is to assist States in seeking mutual agreement. In this understanding, diplomacy manifests itself and is carried out primarily in the system of relations between two countries and is called bilateral diplomacy: one state encounters another by sending its diplomatic mission there. Such missions can be temporary or permanent; in the latter case, a diplomatic mission is called an embassy. Bilateral diplomacy meets the desire of the two States to constantly maintain and improve relations with each other. At the same time, it is obvious that States are not only interconnected in the implementation of their interests, but also increasingly dependent on each other. When faced with such interdependence, only bilateral relations are not enough. There is a need to establish multilateral relations designed to initiate, direct, accelerate and complete a series of joint actions that

can be successfully completed only with the agreed participation of many parties. The forms of multilateral diplomacy vary. Success in negotiations between States is becoming more stable.

With the increase in the number of sovereign States, the diplomatic map of the world has expanded and become more complex. At the same time, none of the new states is in a hurry to abandon the classical forms of diplomatic work. At the same time, the sharply increased volume of bilateral diplomatic relations is complemented by the development of multilateral diplomacy at the interstate, parastatal and non-governmental levels. Multilateral diplomacy is a promising and irreversible process. In essence, it reflects globalization and the multipolarity of the modern world (Mahbubani, 2020).

### **The main stages of the formation of multilateral diplomacy.**

The era of classical European diplomacy began with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and from that moment the "history of the European Congresses" begins. The signing of the Peace of Westphalia ended the Congresses of Munster and Osnabrück, the results of the war of Louis XIV and the countries of the Augsburg League were consolidated by the Congress of Riswick, and at the Congress of Karlowitz (1698-1699) the end of the war with the Turks was declared. These congresses marked the first attempts at diplomatic negotiations within the framework of multilateral diplomacy (Кунина, 2019). The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) occupies a special place in the process of formation and establishment of multilateral diplomacy. Lord R. Castlereagh's concept of periodically convening pan-European congresses, oddly enough, turned out to be constructive and successful. Based on the carefully balanced balance of power of the leading Powers, a new system of international relations was established. Pentarchy, an alliance of great powers, has become an effective mechanism for maintaining political balance. This was a special case when, with the termination of allied relations, the victorious states began to make political decisions within the framework of the "concert of states", which provided Europe with a relatively peaceful century. The Vienna Congress was the first forum to bring together specially delegated representatives of the participating States. Much of what is inherent in conference diplomacy today was established at the Vienna Congress. A little later, Europe returned to the practice of conference diplomacy at the level of foreign ministers. The Paris Congress of 1856 not only put an end to the Crimean War but also codified a significant amount of international law. The "Oriental" and "African" issues were resolved at conferences in Berlin in 1878 and 1884-85. The conference in 1839, which ended with the emergence of the independent state of the Kingdom of Belgium, caused a great international and public outcry. During the time of Restoration and the Second Empire, the name of the conferences was assigned to more representative multilateral diplomatic forums. Gradually, multilateral diplomacy is institutionalized on an ongoing basis. The Paris Congress created the International Commission on the Danube; and accordingly, the Vienna Commission on the Rhine in 1815. The International Telegraphic Union was also established. In 1874, the General Postal Union was established. This format of multilateral diplomacy has begun to bear fruit. In this regard, the Hague Peace Congresses should be particularly noted, during which conventions on the peaceful settlement of international disputes were adopted and signed, and the foundation of international humanitarian law was laid (Зюнова, 2003). The end of the First World War was marked by the Paris Peace Conference, which brought multilateral diplomacy to a new level of development. A new format for coordinating decisions in the field of international relations has emerged, which has also been entrusted with the function of maintaining a certain political balance. International organizations have become a new subject of international relations, as well as a vehicle for solutions within the framework of multilateral diplomacy. During the First World War, Lord Bryce and a group of British scientists and politicians created the League of Nations Society. A similar version of this organization was being developed in the USA. Later, French deputies joined this work. The final product, the League of Nations, was introduced to the world community in 1919. It was a new type of organization, of a universal nature, whose goal was collective security. However, this format became more widespread after the end of World War II, when a conference in San Francisco in 1945 decided to establish such a universal organization as the United Nations. Multilateral diplomacy of international organizations began to use the form of representative offices. The mechanisms of multilateral diplomacy within this format have brought novelty to diplomatic practice. Thus, in addition to international organizations of a universal nature, regional and sub-regional organizations began to appear in the international arena. Military and political alliances also began to appear, which caused the block confrontation during the Cold War. In the modern period, the number of active actors in the international arena has increased significantly, and the interaction between them has changed significantly - it has become more complex and denser. As a result, the agenda of international and interstate policy has changed in accordance



with changing circumstances. Increasing attention is being paid to the role of non-State actors and new forms of diplomacy, which are influenced by the processes of globalization.

Over time, the multilateral system has expanded to include specialized agencies, regional organizations, and international agreements reflecting the collective will to address the common challenges of an interconnected world.

### **The main formats of multilateral diplomacy.**

It is carried out between various international actors (more than two), mainly at the venues of international organizations and conferences. It reflects the evolution of interstate relations and the increasing complexity of the structure of their systems. Its forms are interstate, regional and sub-regional organizations, intergovernmental conferences and meetings, and summits. Permanent missions of States to international organizations and State delegations are involved during multilateral interstate contacts. The expansion of multilateral diplomacy is associated with the intensification of interstate communication. The major political and socio-economic shifts that have taken place in the world because of globalization are largely due to the acceleration of the scientific and technological revolution, which has created an objective need to unite the efforts of all States to solve a growing number of global problems. In comparison with bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy has several features; it can be carried out through public discussions, the work of its forums is usually regulated by an established procedure, and their decisions are formalized in the form of resolutions, declarations, final acts, conventions, protocols, etc.

The following formats of multilateral diplomacy can be distinguished:

1. Parliamentary diplomacy is one of the main formats of multilateral diplomacy. Within the framework of this format, two priority areas can be identified: the international activities of national parliaments and the work of parliamentarians in international organizations.

While diplomats largely determine a country's foreign policy, elected members of national parliaments also play a crucial role in influencing policy priorities, holding governments accountable, and providing a stronger democratic foundation for advancing peace, cooperation, and human rights around the world. Through the parliamentary assemblies of organizations that play a crucial role in ensuring international peace and security — the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) parliamentarians can promote national interests in the international arena.

2. Collective diplomacy is the joint action of several States within the framework of an international association related to the development and implementation of basic principles and methods of conducting a particular type of policy. The diplomacy of the EU and Latin American countries can serve as vivid examples of the development of collective diplomacy.

3. Summit-diplomacy – any meetings and contacts at the highest level. Top-level diplomacy is not a new means of international relations, and its origins should be sought in the earliest history of diplomacy. However, this was a rare occurrence until the last century. The origins of summit diplomacy can be found in a few earlier diplomatic events, including infrequent meetings of monarchs in the Middle Ages and early modern times, congresses that began to be held in the seventeenth century, and meetings of political leaders of Great Powers in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. This format of diplomacy is relevant today.

4. Associative or regional diplomacy, which implies relations between States within the framework of international regional organizations, between various regional groupings and associations, as well as between States, on the one hand, and international regional organizations, on the other. The phenomenon of associative or regional diplomacy took root in the system of international relations in the post-war period, but only the further multifunctional development of international regional organizations predetermined the introduction of this concept into scientific circulation in the mid-1990s. This concept is found in the works of the famous researcher of diplomacy R. Barston, who believes that relations between states within international regional organizations, between various regional groupings and associations, as well as between states, on the one hand, and international regional organizations, on the other, occupy a separate place in modern diplomacy. Moreover, in the second case, States should not be members of this international regional organization. (Barston, 2019, p. 108).

An example of such diplomacy is the EU's cooperation with non-member countries within the framework of various dimensions and programs. One of these dimensions is the Eastern Partnership.

5. Conference diplomacy is not only one of the most effective methods of a multilateral approach to the peaceful settlement of disputes and the establishment of political balance in post-conflict situations. Currently, it is also an important tool in solving global problems and in searching for innovative methods that allow us to

turn to fundamentally new revolutionary strategies. Depending on their objectives, international conferences can be advisory (at which non-binding recommendations are presented to Governments or decisions are made that contain guidelines or instructions from the secretariat of an international organization), legislative (at which the text of an international treaty is discussed and adopted) and informational (at which materials for international information exchange are offered). Examples include the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, and more recently - The Geneva I Conference and the Geneva II Conference, which sought to end the civil war in Syria.

6. Ad hoc diplomacy in the form of delegations participating in international congresses and conferences is the most frequent way to implement this type of diplomacy. For many centuries, diplomacy has been fulfilling its goals through temporary missions, which were used during the first contacts between communities or States (Bonciog, 1997, p. 129). According to the doctrine, temporary missions exist in the form of ad hoc diplomacy or special missions. The term ad hoc diplomacy was first used in 1960. By the UN Commission of International Law in the framework of the discussions of the VI Commission of the General Assembly. There are different models for the implementation of this form, starting with delegations led by heads of State and ending with delegations consisting of representatives of the sending State who are already accredited in the host country as permanent diplomats.

7. Diplomacy of the commissions. In recent decades, high-level groups and commissions have become a very vibrant second-tier diplomatic industry. Since the 1980s, more than thirty commissions have come and gone, using the collective ideas of more than five hundred individual commission members and panelists to present reports on security, development, and overall governance. The range of influence of the commissions and groups under consideration varied significantly. Some of them have radically changed the terms of discussion of international politics, while others have sunk into oblivion completely without a trace. A striking example of this format of multilateral diplomacy is the World Commission on the Environment, established within the framework of the United Nations in 1983 (Nazaria, Pynzar, 2006, pp. 70-72). Another significant format of multilateral diplomacy is international organizations. Thus, with the emergence of the United Nations in the world of multilateral diplomacy, the term organization began to be preferred. The structural model of this organization was the "Scheme", which was developed in 1462 by the advisor to the Bavarian king Antoine Marini. The "scheme" is the European League of Sovereign Rulers. The league was to consist of four sections: French, Italian, German and Spanish. The central body was the General Assembly, a kind of congress of ambassadors representing their rulers. Each member of the section had one vote. Special attention was paid to the voting procedure. A joint army was created, the funds for which were extracted from taxes on the state. The League could print its own money, have its own stamp, archives, and numerous officials. The League was supposed to have an International Court of Justice, whose judges would be appointed by the General Assembly (Зюхова, 2003).

Thus, organizations are a format of interaction between States that have their own structure and permanent operational bodies. For example, military-political associations such as NATO, ATS, SEATO, and SENTO also belong to the organization category. Some organizations have an institutional organization in the form of councils, such as the Council of Europe, the Nordic Council, and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Integration organizations such as the European Union, the Union of Independent States, and the Arab League should also be noted. Another format of multilateral diplomacy in the category of a supranational organization is communities. An example is the European Economic Community.

The diplomatic activity of States and their representatives within the framework of international organizations (as well as at international conferences and diplomatic negotiations) differs from the diplomatic activity of States carried out on a bilateral basis. One of the most significant features of the activities of States in international organizations and at international conferences is the multilateral nature of these activities, and the participation of a significant number of States in them. At the same time quantity in this case turns into quality, changing the nature of the relationship between the member States of the organization within it, while the problems considered by the organization also have an impact. Looking ahead at the future of multilateral diplomacy, the world's leading policymakers, including key world leaders, face an acute dilemma in dealing with it. With the shrinking of the globe, the demand for multilateral diplomacy is likely to increase by leaps and bounds. On the other hand, as already mentioned, the supply of multilateral diplomacy is beset with many inherent problems. To resolve this dilemma the world needs to take a step-by-step approach to ensure that the processes of multilateral diplomacy will be available and at hand when the world turns to them to resolve acute global and regional problems.

## Conclusions

Summing up, I would like to refer to the words of the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, who, in his speech at the American Academy of Diplomacy, speaking about the change in the style and essence of diplomacy, stressed "that diplomacy has expanded its powers, going far beyond bilateral political relations between states, becoming a multilateral, multifaceted enterprise that covers almost everything spheres of human activity". As practice shows, classical studies, for the most part, were devoted to bilateral diplomacy. However, modern trends in the development of globalization have justified the process of transformation of political institutions, including the states themselves, because of which there is a qualitative change in the international environment itself, the importance of multilateral cooperation is growing, acquiring new properties, forms and methods. When talking about multilateral diplomacy in the context of globalization, first, they mean official diplomacy, which has traditionally been engaged in establishing and maintaining interstate relations. Nevertheless, diplomacy, in particular multilateral diplomacy, will remain the main instrument for managing international processes. The accumulated experience of diplomacy in strengthening interstate dialogue will serve the state and other new actors in the international arena in shaping a new, safer and more predictable world in the 21st century.

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