October 2018, Volume 9,
Number 1 (16)

EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES

International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives

EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES

International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives

EDITOR: Milan Jazbec

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Nataša Šuštar B.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Matej Accetto (Católica Global School of Law, Portugal) • **Dennis Blease** (University of Cranfield, UK • **Vlatko Cvrtila** (University of Zagreb, Croatia) • **Vladimir Prebilič** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) • **Albert Rakipi** (Albanian Institute for International Studies, Albania) • **Erwin Schmidl** (University of Vienna, Austria) • **Vasilka Sancin** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) • **Uroš Svete** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) • **Gorazd Justinek** (Center for European Perspective) • **Katja Zajc Kejžar** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) • **Jernej Zupančič** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) • **Mitja Žagar** (Institute for Ethnic Studies, Slovenia) • **Jelica Štefanović Štambuk** (University of Belgrade, Serbia)

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Murat Bilhan (Istanbul Kultur University, Turkey) • **Erhard Busek** (Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe, Austria) • **Mustafa Cerić** (University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) • **Victor Jackovich** (Jackovich International, USA) • **Jacques Rupnik (**Centre for International Studies and Research, France) • **Goran Svilanović** (RCC, Bosnia and Herzegovina) • **Savo Kentera** (Centre for International Relations, Montenegro)

EDITORIAL OFFICE ADDRESS

European Perspectives is a peer-reviewed international scientific journal, published twice a year (in April and October) by International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies – IFIMES. Views expressed in contributions are those of authors and do not represent views of their respected institutions, unless specified otherwise.

IFIMES has Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council ECOSOC/UN since 2018.

International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies - IFIMES, Vošnjakova ulica 1, P.O.Box 2795, SI-1001 LJUBLJANA, Slovenia, E-mail: ifimes@ifimes.org, www.ifimes.org

More information about the journal on website:
www.europeanperspectives.org

Manuscriptis should be forwarded to the Assistant Editor by email on office@europeanperspectives.org.

Indexed in: International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)

ISNN 1855-7694

contents

EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES

International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives

Volume 9 Number 1 (16) October 2018

Letter from the Editor

GUEST VIEW

Policy Thought in Turbulent Times
Ernest Petrič

ARTICLES

Public Diplomacy – A Modern Tool in International Activities of Small Countries – The Case of the Republic of Macedonia
Dancho Markovski

Espionage and Its Relation to Diplomats and Intelligence Officers
Aljoša Komljenović

What Kant Preaches to the UN: Democratic Peace Theory and "Preventing the Scourge of War"
Bekim Sejdiu

Intercultural Aspects of Global Competition
Zijad Bećirović

Isaac Asimov's Foundation Trilogy and its Perception of Diplomacy: *Envoys, Protocol, Talks*
Milan Jazbec

BOOK REVIEWS

Business as Art of Living
Mića Jovanović de Bozinoff
Petra Trkov

The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Democracy
Mirko Pejanović
Polona Dovečar

General Submission guidelines

Letter from the Editor

With the closing of the year 2018 this journal comes back to its respected readers and followers. As the majority of you for sure have noticed, there was a break in our appearance. That was the time of a transition during which the journal arrived from the previous publisher to the current one.

Center for European Perspective as the former and IFIMES – The International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies as the latter, agreed that this journal will continue to be published by IFIMES. This agreement that entered into force during summer time enabled the editorial board to continue with the journal's mission. This is the fact that is for us all the most important one.

The current issue – October 2018 – basically follows the so far editorial outlook. We did not change neither the editorial policy nor the journal's features. So we still aim to present, discuss and bring experiences from the European integration process primarily, not only to the region of the Western Balkans but broadly as well as to promote young authors.

This issue brings five articles and two book reviews. Hopefully you would be pleased with the academic offer this issue brings on your desk or screen.

The first article focuses on public diplomacy, the still current trend in diplomatic practice, but also theory. This in particular, since the respected author, a career diplomat and academician, devotes his attention also to social media and fake news. To contemplate this in a manner that relates to the scientific journal, is not that often.

Our second contribution discusses the ever present, though changing relation between diplomacy and espionage. The ardent author points out subtle, but clear frontiers between the two professions and elaborates on those characteristics that bring both activities together. At the end of the day, both are inseparable linked to the nation state.

The third contribution brings innovation in discussing the phenomena of the UN: Kant at the East River. What can, maybe also should, the UN learn from the great author of the great essay on perpetual peace, still current as it was centuries ago when written? With one word, democracy is the nexus that should fulfill the diplomatic agenda not only of the universal international organization.

The fourth one dwells on various intercultural aspects of global competition, where culture could be a criteria for open, proactive and fruitful cooperation. Culture as one of the most determining starting points for an individual as well as for the society has the potential to enhance competition. But as the same time it also brings into it more understanding and interconnectedness.

Also the last piece of examination is innovative: the author looks at the diplomatic aspects and facets in the outstanding, astonishing work of science fiction guru Isaak Asimov. His Foundation Trilogy does not lack diplomatic *esprit* and points out varies understandings of diplomacy, both contradictory as well as complementary.

The first book review uncovers a unique handbook for achieving business success, stemming from the real experience of a branded personality, and the second one difficult, demanding, but the only correct of Bosnia and Herzegovina – its further democratization, coming from the desktop of a renowned academician.

Last but not least, the recent Guest View encourages us all to carry on our mission in spite of all that can happen on walking such a long – hopefully not to windy – road towards cooperation, complementarity and a responsible future.

After all, quite interesting, perhaps also a picturesque reading, while we enter into the next, for us already the tenth year. See you then.

Ljubljana, October 2018 M. J.

Policy Thought in Turbulent Times

Ernest Petrič

European Perspectives – International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives
volume 9, number 1 (16), pp 7-11, October 2018

Policy Thought in Turbulent Times

Ernest Petrič[1]

It is my great pleasure and honour to write the Guest View for this issue of the renowned international scientific journal *European Perspectives*. The journal is entering its tenth year, which is an important achievement. Its publication begun – symbolically – upon the twentieth anniversary of the end of the Cold War.

During this time it has published numerous views, analyses and commentaries of various international events. All this time the journal has fulfilled its basic mission: presenting the Western Balkans region with its problems and achievements and promoting its EU and NATO integration. The journal has another important role: it has published high quality articles written by young and less known authors, especially from the Western Balkans.

It should be noted that each article published in *European Perspectives* goes through double blind peer review procedure, which ensures a high scientific level and impartiality. The journal has been included in various index databases, which makes it an even more interesting medium for publishing original views on international topics.

This year the journal passed into the hands of a new publisher: the internationally known and renowned IFIMES Institute (International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies). I am convinced that this will further strengthen the reputation of *European Perspectives* in the academic world. At the same time, the journal will reach a wider response among the political circles, especially in the regions covered by the IFIMES Institute, bearing in mind that the latter has a wide network of connections even at the highest political levels. On the other hand, with the *European Perspectives* IFIMES will gain additional academic reference, which is all the more important in view of the Institute's

1 Dr. Ernest Petrič, Professor of International law, diplomat, Vice-President of IFIMES Advisory Board, former President of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia and member of the International Law Commission.

empirical research activities. Thus, the journal and its new publisher represent a very good combination, which is expected to bring about many synergies.

It should also be stressed that the journal's previous publisher Centre for European Perspective (CEP) accomplished a very important task of introducing a high quality journal into international academic circles with an enthusiastic and original approach in terms of the range of topics and authors. Therefore I am glad that CEP remains associated with the journal. This will enable cooperation at a high-quality level, which is so very important in today's international political arena, where large-scale and far-reaching results can only be achieved through integration and cooperation.

The situation in modern multipolar international community is complicated and full of new challenges. The emergence of new centres of power brings along new possibilities for well-being and development as well as new problems, in addition to those that have hampered international relations for several decades. Although swift technological development has enriched our world, it has not ensured more safety and justice. It is rather our hope than expectation that those, who are based on their political, economic, financial, technological and military power, are most responsible for peace, welfare, development and justice in today's world and, even more importantly, in the world of the next decades, will be willing and able to respond to the old and new challenges through the multilateral dialogue and in the interest of all mankind. Those challenges include many spheres, such as environmental and climate changes, discrimination and human rights violations, demographic imbalances, massive illegal migration, poverty and wealth inequalities, safety risks and crises that could be triggered by nationalistic, imperialistic and hegemonistic ambitions of the superpowers as well as of some smaller states. I do not agree with sceptics, who claim that in the multipolar world with several centres of power it is more difficult to face international problems than it was in the bipolar world. However, I am afraid that in the next decades the risks for global peace may increase, especially if those who are most responsible put their national interests before the interest of all the mankind, and if unilateralism prevails over multilateralism, which means cooperation, mutual agreement and shared responsibility.

A question of special importance for us is the future of our part of the world – Europe, the West and the transatlantic community. At least at the time being it is still the safest part of the world with the highest levels of well-being, human freedom and freedom of creativity, social security with best access to health and education, rule of law, and freedom to make life choices. How are we going to preserve all this and at the same time contribute to more safety, wealth, freedom and justice in the rest of the world? And how are we going to regulate our relations with Russia, our big eastern neighbour, which had once been a special part of our Western world until it was cut away by Bolshevism? How are we going to preserve our values and our identity, our Western world that we inherited from Hellenic and Roman times? How are we going to work with others to ensure co-existence, welfare and safety on our planet? All these questions will represent important challenges for the future generations.

Despite all open questions one thing is clear: we have to work together, united in Europe and also with the other side of the Atlantic. European integration and security cooperation on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean are *sine qua non* of our safety and welfare. Also Slovenia can only be safe and successful in a safe and successful European Union, or whatever the name of this European alliance might be in the future. If we are to remain each on his own, we are exposed to winds and storms coming from all sides, like our forefathers were throughout the past.

The IFIMES Institute and the *European Perspectives* journal dedicate special attention to problems in the region to the south-west of Slovenia, i.e. the Western Balkans, and the Middle East. Both these regions are characterised by long years of instability and, consequently, lagging in development, weak democracy and inefficient rule of law, dissatisfaction and a sense of futurelessness among the (especially young) population. The international community seems unable and often also unprepared to seriously tackle the problems in those regions. The rise of ISIS and radicalisation of Islam in the Middle East are the consequence of decades of unresolved problems and conflicts in the region and of inadequate and inappropriate action by the international community. External actors involved in this region mostly follow their own interests rather than pursuing peace and resolving the problems.

For the Western Balkans region there is still hope that it will not become an area of instability and a threat for peace. However, almost a

quarter of a century after the tragic and bloody Balkan wars that raged most brutally through Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, this region is still waiting outside the EU's door. The tensions, lack of prosperity and pessimism about the future are increasing, especially in areas, where the war was most destructive also for the relations between the local population. There is too little development, democracy and rule of law and too much hatred and mistrust with insufficient attempts to achieve reconciliation and rehabilitation. Europe only offers empty words and promises with little understanding and action that would enable the countries in the region to move forward on their way to their European future. It is not surprising that in this deadlock with a very remote European perspective, especially for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia, ideas are emerging about new solutions that would lead to stability and European accession. One such increasingly popular idea is that the road to the EU should lead through changing the borders rather than through realising the demands and conditions for the Europeanization of those states. Recent wars in this part of Europe were led because of the borders, the ideas of Greater Serbia, the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the statehood of Kosovo which is still not recognised by some, and the clashes of various nationalisms. A careful consideration of the increasing tensions that are further exacerbated by external efforts to maintain instability, shows that the attempts to change the borders will inevitably lead to further conflicts and instability, and not to final solutions and Europeanization. As it is very disputable where the new borders would run, the ideas on border changes would definitely fuel nationalistic demands that may lead to the creation of Greater Albania, the undermining of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multinational state and the risks for other borders. Being very familiar with the situation in this part of the world, I dare advise those, who find it so easy to change the borders to think again of the possible consequences of their policies and actions.

Nevertheless, the "name agreement" concluded between Macedonia and Greece has proven that it is possible to resolve peacefully severe disputes also in this part of Europe. Like any other compromise, the agreement to use the name of North Macedonia and other solutions contained in the Prespa Agreement are not ideal. The aim of any compromise is not to reach a perfect solution for one party but to resolve the dispute in the interests of both parties in order to enable their co-existence, cooperation and, ultimately, friendship. In order to achieve a compromise both parties have to make some sacrifices. A

compromise requires political maturity on the part of state leaders and their nations. The Macedonian and Greek people and their leaders showed such maturity. The door to future partnership between Greece and North Macedonia in NATO and EU is now open.

In any event, both the IFIMES Institute and *European Perspectives* will continue to provide scientific, fair, impartial and critical views of the situation in the Middle East and the Western Balkans. Especially we will lend a critical eye towards the role of political elites and their irresponsibility, incapacity and misuses as well as corruption, which represents a big or perhaps the major source of problems of the countries in the region.

We will continue to pay special attention to the role of the Republic of Slovenia in the Western Balkans as well as to its role in Europe and the world in general. With numerous initiatives and activities Slovenia has made an important contribution to the prevention of conflicts. At the beginning it was the only EU and NATO state from the Western Balkan region to provide help to other states in the region in their accession process.

In the end, it should also be noted that the international scientific journal *European Perspectives* ensures promotion of Slovenia, its foreign policy and diplomacy. This provides an excellent proof that even small nations can find their niche in the increasingly demanding and complicated area of international politics.

I am also pleased to state that this year the IFIMES Institute was granted a special consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). This is an important achievement for the Institute and also a good reference for the journal. It also strengthens the role of IFIMES as an international actor, who contributes to better understanding of international relations and influences international politics with its activities. The consultative status within the UN confirms the importance of the IFIMES Institute and the *European Perspectives* journal.

As the Vice-President of IFIMES Advisory Board I would like to take this opportunity to wish *European Perspectives* and its new publisher a lot of journalistic and academic success and to wish the Institute to continue its work with plenty of enthusiasm, persistence, innovation and scientific excellence.

articles

Public Diplomacy – A Modern Tool in International Activities of Small Countries – The Case of the Republic of Macedonia
Dancho Markovski

Espionage and Its Relation to Diplomats and Intelligence Officers
Aljoša Komljenović

What Kant Preaches to the UN: Democratic Peace Theory and "Preventing the Scourge of War"
Bekim Sejdiu

Intercultural Aspects of Global Competition
Zijad Bećirović

Isaac Asimov's Foundation Trilogy and its Perception of Diplomacy: *Envoys, Protocol, Talks*
Milan Jazbec

European Perspectives – International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives
volume 9, number 1 (16), pp 15-35, October 2018

Public diplomacy – a modern tool in international activities of small countries
Case of the Republic of Macedonia

Dancho Markovski[1]

ABSTRACT
The purpose of this paper is to clarify the significance of public diplomacy which has become an integral part of the work of the diplomats of modern states. In this direction, an attempt has been made to show the positive sides that this modern method, especially in the information technology era, offers in the international communication and cooperation of the international subjects. Special emphasis is placed on the diplomacy of small states, bearing in mind their limited human and financial potentials. The text also deals with the emergence of fake news in terms of the way the public diplomacy can unmask and prevent them. In the end, the case of the Republic of Macedonia is presented during the period 1991 - 2016. The views of this state given by the world's media are tasked to draw our attention to create a concrete strategy that will produce a positive image for the country.

KEY WORDS: public diplomacy, foreign relations, fake news, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

POVZETEK
Namen prispevka je predstaviti pomen javne diplomacije, ki je postala sestavni del diplomatskih aktivnosti sodobnih držav. Članek v tem smislu predstavlja poskus pokazati pozitivne strani te moderne metode, še posebej v informacijski dobi, ki jo ponuja za mednarodno komunikacijo in sodelovanje. Poseben poudarek je posvečen diplomacijam malih držav, upoštevaje dejstvo, da imajo omejene človeške in finančne vire. Besedilo se tudi ukvarja s pojavom lažnih novic, in sicer v smislu, kako jih javna diplomacija lahko razkriva in deluje preventivno. Predstavljena je tudi študija primera Republike Makedonije za obdobje 1991– 2016. Pogledi svetovnih medijev nanjo so uporabni za oblikovanje konkretne strategije, ki naj bi zagotovila pozitivno podobo države.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: javna diplomacija, zunanje zadeve, lažne novice, ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve

1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Dancho Markovski, PhD, former Ambassador of Macedonia to Croatia, (2008-2012), carrier diplomat in Libya, Turkey, Sweden, PR China and Assistant Professor of International law and Diplomacy at the University American College Skopje. Currently Charge d'affaires of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Albania. Email: markovskidancho@gmail.com

Introduction

The end of the Second World War and the established peace in the world announced the beginning of transformation of the classical diplomacy. The process of change was not only about the establishment of a multilateral diplomacy, along with the predominant bilateral diplomacy, but also about the adoption and application of new modern forms and methods in its action. In the period from the 1960s to the present days, several methods of diplomatic activity have been adopted and applied in various fields of interest of the international subjects in their international communication the political relations, economy, trade, science, culture etc. Depending on the area in which these diplomatic methods were applied, they also received appropriate names. Thus, in the diplomatic dictionary we can find the notion of cultural diplomacy, economic or trade diplomacy, virtual or internet diplomacy, and, of course, public diplomacy, which is discussed in this article.

But what do we mean by public diplomacy?

According to Nicholas J. Cull (2007) phrase, public diplomacy was first publicly used by the London Times newspaper, in January 1856. The article criticized the views of the US President Franklin Pierce, who, according to the Times, was trying to impress the English, but also his own citizens, including with some examples, those of public diplomacy.[2] The use of the term began to spread during the First World War in order to describe the new way - a cluster of diplomatic practice. In 1928, the reporter of Christian Science Monitor Reporter, J. Roscoe Drummond, in his award-winning essay, the public diplomacy era, emphasized the moral duty of the informative media to report on international affairs accurately and impartially, in order to reduce tensions.

Cull further states that the use of the term gradually takes its place, especially after the end of World War II. Until 1950, the use of the term public diplomacy significantly shifted to the realm of international information and propaganda. "It was not so important that the term is used differently, but that the practice of diplomacy and understanding were understood differently, and the key diplomatic events were now explicitly recognized as matters of public performance."[3]

2 Cull J., N.,'Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of A Phrase, *uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/gullion.pdf.*

3 Ibid.,

In the positive context of the application of public diplomacy, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, spoke in his speech in 1958, highlighting the following: "The value of public diplomacy in the United Nations will depend on the crucial measure of how far the responsible spokesman will find an opportunity to rise above the narrow tactics of the politics of international life, and to speak as a man of the aspirations and hopes that are all of humanity."[4]
As to its definition in literature, we can find many definitions that from a different perspective represent the notion, meaning, goals and holders of public diplomacy. It seems that such an approach is also the most rational.

For example, the authors Charles Wolf, Jr. and Brian Rosen (2004), as one of the most responsive to the issue of public diplomacy, cited the following definition: "The US State Department defines public diplomacy as government-sponsored programs with the intention of informing or influencing public opinion in other countries."[5]

For its part, Murrow Center,[6] in one of its early published brochures, describes public diplomacy as follows: "Public diplomacy ... deals with the influence of public opinion on the establishment and execution of external policies. It covers the dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by the governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with one another; reporting on foreign affairs and its impact on politics; communication between those whose work is communication, as well as between diplomats and foreign correspondents, and the processes of intercultural communication."

Professor Henrikson (2005) defines public diplomacy simply as: "Behavior in international relations by governments through public communication media and through deals with a wide range of non-governmental actors (political parties, corporations, trade associations, trade unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, ethnic groups, and so on, including influential individuals) in order to influence the policies and activities of other governments."[7]

4 Cull J., N.,'Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of A Phrase, *uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/gullion.pdf.*

5 Wolf, Jr. C. and Rosen, B., 2004. *Public Diplomacy How to Think About and Improve It*, RAND Corporation.

6 Edmund A. Gullion, (former diplomat), Dean of the FletcherSchool, March 1966. http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitions.

7 Henrikson, K. Alan. 2005 Professor of Diplomatic History, http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitions.

The USIA Director, Stanton H. Burnetta,[8] who defines the term "public diplomat" also deserves attention: "The public diplomat is above all a diplomat. When we are the best, we must not differ from the good old definition of the diplomat. The adjective public does not apply so much to the way of work, but to the audience to which we address it. Stanton points out that "the public diplomat is not aimed at a diplomat from his rank in the foreign ministry, but his activity is aimed at the public of that state."

The wide range of possibilities for acting enabled public diplomacy to come out from the overcoat of the bloc division of the world (US and USSR) and become an indispensable element in the foreign policy strategy of a significant number of modern states in the last three decades. It has become a very important tool in international communication, which enables the achievement of the desired goals of a state in its relations on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Its application finds a suitable place in the activities of international organizations too.

Before continuing with further elaboration, we need to make a parallel between public diplomacy and propaganda, bearing in mind the criticism of some theorists, who equate public diplomacy with propaganda or consider it to be its surrogate. For this purpose, I will use several facts: The term propaganda comes from the notion Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,[9] meaning the Assembly of the Roman Curia, a missionary organization founded by the Pope in 1622, whose jurisdiction and action in the name of Catholicism was above the missionary territories and related institutions.

Propaganda[10] means highlighting the elements of any information that supports the positions of the one who dispose it, and suppress or exclude those who do not do it. It also means giving misleading statements even lies that can be used to create the desired effect on public opinion.

The term propaganda in Webster Dictionary is also defined as the spread of ideas, information or rumors in order to help or hurt an institution, cause, or individual. Therefore, propaganda is a material that is intended to convince or change public opinion. Although often varies in its form and technique, it always serves the same purpose. Propa-

8 Staar F., R. ed. *Public Diplomacy, USA Versus USSR*, Stanford, California: Cover Institution Stanford University, p. 81

9 www.meriamm-webster.com/dictionary/propaganda.

10 Ibid.,

ganda is a communication aimed at persuasion.[11] Hence, the negative connotation that is most often tied to this notion,[12] which in not necessarily always the case. . For these reasons, the term public relations is increasingly used today.

Edward Murrow,[13] the first director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), defined the difference between public diplomacy and propaganda as follows: "Public diplomacy is a more creative, open form of communication that is based on the idea of pluralism, while propaganda has a different structure - it deliberately narrows the possibilities for the other party." In other words, "while propaganda represents a unilateral form of communication, public diplomacy in the dialogue includes the other party, because the process involves a certain degree of listening, and not just infiltrating information to the target group in the foreign public."

Jan Melisen[14] (2009) in his book "The New Public Diplomacy" in the section related to the separation of public diplomacy from propaganda says: "There are two key characteristics of propaganda, its historical baggage and publics. In general, propaganda is conceived as a concept with extremely negative connotations, amplified by memoirs of Nazi and Communist propaganda, the Cold War tactics, and more recently with so-called psychological operations in conflicts after the Cold War... A category such as propaganda simply cannot affect the contemporary diversity of relations between diplomatic practitioners and the growing awareness of the foreign public."

Establishing public diplomacy in practice

The process of acceptance, use and application of the term public diplomacy completes in a way with the formation of the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy in 1965, and the establishment of the United States Information Agency - USIA. With this, public diplomacy received an institutional relationship, which marks the beginning of the period of application of this method in the activities of contemporary diplomacy.

11 http://library.thinkquest.org/C0111500/whatis.htm

12 It received negative connotations in the 20th century when totalitarian regimes (mainly Nazi Germany) used all means to distort the facts and spread only lies. http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/propaganda

13 Mojzes Vrabec, Z., *Public Diplomacy and the Media*, p. 181.

14 Milissen, J., 2009. *The New Public Diplomacy: soft power in international relations*, Prosvetno delo, p. 42.

Call in his essay "Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase", presents the introduction of the term public diplomacy as follows: "The reason why the term public diplomacy was launched in 1965 was the existence of a real need for such a concept in Washington. After ten years of its existence the US Information Agency, was in need of an alternative neutral - acceptable term for information against the hated term for propaganda as a new twist on the phrase upon which one could build new benevolent meaning. With the term public diplomacy Gullion has covered every aspect of the activity of the USIA and a number of cultural exchanges and functions, jealously guarded by the State Department. The phrase gave a solid identity to the career USIA diplomat, which was a step towards his isolation from the "vulgar" realm of public relations. Its use, together with the term "diplomacy", explicitly contains USIA's activities together with the State Department, as a legitimate body of US foreign relations."

However, the widespread use of public diplomacy, as a special segment of contemporary diplomacy, began with the democratic changes in the world caused by the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, that is, the collapse of the Warsaw bloc and disintegration of the Soviet Union and the pronounced technical and technological development of the world.

Said Saddiki (2006) emphasizes that "The previous hard-power policy characteristic of the block-division of the world began to be replaced by a so-called soft power. Instead of demonstrating military power, radio, film, television, scientific exchanges, study trips and stays, culture, art and sports were increasingly used in international relations."[15] Any of the listed means aimed to achieve greater impact on the citizens of the state to which the activity of public diplomacy was targeted. At the beginning, the role of "special" radio stations was significant, such as "Voice of America", "Radio Free Europe", "BBC", "Radio Moscow – Говорит Москва", whose programs aimed to communicate and convey the ideals and achievements of governments to which they belonged. Following the radio, television has caused a real revolution in the mass media. With the formation of global broadcasters like CNN, NBC, BBC, Euro News, capable to "cover" every point of the Earth and directly – "live" to carry significant events in a specific country or territory, fi-

15 Saddiki, S., 2006. Alternatives, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 4, Number 5, www.alternativesjournal.net/volume4/numb5 The main instruments in the implementation of the public diplomacy of the US State Department are publications, feature films, cultural exchanges, radio and television.

nally, an interaction was created between mass - media and diplomacy. Reporting on the spot about events - developments, such as social unrest, demonstrations, massive human rights violations, military actions or terrorist acts, has prevented non-democratic regimes from hiding their activities, while causing condemnation general public and a pressure from the international community.[16]

Eytan Gilboa's[17] (2002) thesis on the CNN effect is based on "the assumption that the news can make a policy, or at least contribute to shaping the environment to create a political decision. The most important impact of new ICT, particularly the television channels, is a result of their broad coverage that has the following five characteristics: 1. It is broadcasted 24 hours a day; 2. It is transmitted in real time, 3. It is transmitted from any place in the world; 4. The title dominates; 5. It is oriented on live events."

In addition to the radio and television, scientific and educational exchanges, study trips and stays, culture, film art, sports, as well as specialized representative offices in the form of cultural information centers play an important role as means of action of the public diplomacy.

However, the most important place in the implementation of public diplomacy has been the Information Communication Technology (ICT) through the web portals, the Internet and the emergence of social networks, Face book, Twitter, etc., which created even greater opportunities for its operation. ICT has a special significance for the diplomacy of the small states, enabling them to use public diplomacy, which will be discussed in the further part of the paper.

But if we have presented the means by which public diplomacy is conducted, it is also necessary to define its goals in terms of its application by the diplomacy of modern states.

The American theorist and author of the famous work "Soft Power - The Measures to Success in the Word Politics", Josheph S. Nye, (2004)[18] emphasizes the importance of non-military expressions and more subtle use of soft power, because they are the ones that are usually mani-

16 In this period, the term "CNN effect" appeared.

17 Gilboa, E., 2002. *The Global News Networks and US Policymaking in Defense and Foreign Affairs,* Working Paper, Harvard University, The Joan Shorenstein Center, http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol/Research_Publications/Papers/Working_Papers/2002_6.pdf. p.99.

18 Nye, J.S., 2004. *Soft Power: The means to success in the world politics*, New York: Public Affairs, pp. 6-7.

fested in the diplomacy, which, at nonetheless, embodies and expresses much more than a force. Political leaders have long understood the power that comes from attracting."

Mark Leonard,[19] (2002) director of the Center for Foreign Policy, in his book Public Diplomacy states: "In essence, public diplomacy has a function to establish relations; to understand the needs of other countries, cultures and nations; to communicate our views, to correct misconceptions; and to look for areas in which we can find a common cause. The difference between the public and traditional diplomacy is that public diplomacy involves a wider group of people on both sides and wider interest groups that exceed the current interests of the government"...Further on the author presents "Hierarchical influence that public diplomacy can achieve in the following order:

- To increase people's awareness of a country (to encourage them to think about it, to update the images, to change negative opinions).
- To increase respect for a country (to create positive perceptions, to achieve others from the same perspective to consider issues that are of global importance).
- To get people interested in a country (to strengthen ties - from educational reforms to scientific cooperation, to encourage people to see the country as an attractive destination for tourism, study, online learning, encourage them to buy our products, to encourage them to understand and accept our values).
- To influence people (to encourage companies to invest, to address the public support for our positions or politicians, to turn to us as a partner).
- In order for public diplomacy to achieve these goals, governments should be clear that it cannot be the one-dimensional process of transferring messages.
- One way of conceptualizing public diplomacy is to present it as Reactive, which implies reaction to current events at times when they occur, in a manner that is in line with our strategic goals; Proactive, creating an agenda of events through activities and events that are so designed to reinforce essential messages and influence perceptions; and building long-lasting relationships with overseas populations in order to gain recognition of our values and traditions, and to learn from theirs."

19 Leonard, M., 2002. *Public diplomacy*, The Foreign Policy Centre, pp. 19-21

As for the holders of public diplomacy, they can be formally divided into two groups:
The first is made up of state officials under the jurisdiction of the country's foreign policy, which includes the presidents of the states, prime ministers, foreign ministers, ambassadors, diplomatic-consular representatives, other officials, who with their statements and foreign political activities in the international community promote national interests, safeguard the security of the country, build the profile of their country and contribute to creating mutual trust; and, The second group is made up of the representatives of civil society, where we meet NGOs, civil associations, prominent individuals from science, business, culture, arts, sports and others who with their status of new actors in international relations turn, through their actions, the attention of the world public or the public of a particular country on current issues of social, environmental, human rights, humanitarian and other spheres.[20]

Their common denominator is the activities that should enable the implementation of the so-called soft power of the country, which implies building its reputation - image and values and providing appropriate positions in the international community. Hence, their interdependence emerges - a connection during the preparation and implementation of the state strategy for public diplomacy.

The role of public diplomacy in the international activities of small states

If at the beginning public diplomacy was a "privilege" for the great states, over the past thirty years, this modern method is increasingly taking its place in the diplomacy of the small states. In the organizational structure of the ministries of foreign affairs, special units are formed that, in cooperation with the prime ministers and presidents offices devise, coordinate and implement the activities of the public diplomacy of the state.

According to the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "the main mission for small and medium-sized countries is to be visible, to say that they exist and what values are important for them, and public diplomacy is closely related to the foreign political activities and it helps to create such a state profile. Small states also have to deal with another prob-

20 There are numerous examples in everyday life when the name of a State is bound - associated with a well-known athlete, artist or actor.

lem, which is limited financial and human resources, even for public diplomacy activities. The solution is to specialize and to focus all available resources on only one or several topics. This means that their volume or width of messages and images should be very limited. At the outset, the legitimacy of public diplomacy of the small states is high, given the limited resources of their power, that is, they are not in doubt about their ambitions, ideas or intentions-intentions are considered cooperative.[21]

According to Josef Bator, "public diplomacy for small and medium-sized nations is an opportunity to provide influence and shape the international agenda in a way that goes beyond their limited sources of power (such as size, military, and economic strength)."
But, until the achievement of the desired reputation - the image of the country, a number of preparatory activities and their holders from several sectors of society are needed, as well as carefully defined goals transformed into a generally accepted strategy of action. It is this formula that can be read from the official page of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2006, under the then leadership of Minister Jonas Gahr Støre, the Norwegian Forum for Public Diplomacy was established as one of the key recommendations in the final report presented by the Public Diplomacy Committee. In his address, Minister Støre outlined the following: "How does the rest of the world see Norway today? What kind of reputation do we have in the future? A beautiful country with large areas of untouched nature, a nation rich in oil, or a facilitator of peace who wants to make the world a little better? Good reputation is important for a country, and it can create consecutive effects that have consequences for everything from trade and tourism to investment and influence. A good reputation will enhance our chances of attracting tourists in Norway, will improve access for Norwegian companies in the market, will provide acceptance for our political views and presentation of Norwegian culture. A strong image is important for Norway's cultural, economic and political influence abroad. The forum aims to encourage debate and dialogue between the authorities, business sector, academia and other stakeholders, on how and in which areas we can develop an organized strategy of public diplomacy."

Of particular importance for the implementation of public diplomacy is the application of the principle of partnership in the co-operation

21 http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/peterkova/8.

between the state and the private sector that encompasses non-governmental organizations, associations and individuals. The involvement of other entities implies the decentralization of the state's activities in public diplomacy and at the same time incorporates the public in the creation and implementation of the foreign policy strategy. The absence of these couple-diplomatic participants generally makes it difficult to implement the process itself.

The use of public diplomacy in unmasking the fake news

In recent years, we have witnessed a new phenomenon in the information field called Fake News. It is about fictitious information with false content aimed at grossly distorting current events, personalities, or news. One of the definitions reads: "Fake news is news, stories or hoaxes created to deliberately misinform or deceive readers. Usually, these stories are created to either influence people's views, push a political agenda or cause confusion and can often be a profitable business for on line publishers. Fake news stories can deceive people by looking like trusted websites or using similar names and web addresses to reputable news organizations".[22]But what needs to be emphasized is that Fake news contains three basic elements. According to Martina Chapman (Media Literacy Expert) these are: mistrust, misinformation and manipulation.[23]

Fake news is a serious problem, whether it's about some important question, an event or an occurrence inside a country in order to discredit or disrupt the stability of the current government or to defile the reputation of the state beyond its borders. The possibilities and the speed that the Internet offered through social networks and the huge number of portals, this news makes them highly resistant and tough. During the US presidential election held two years ago, Macedonia became the focus of the spread of false news against Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton, who after the elections blamed that they had an impact on the outcome of the vote. Face book owner, Mark Zuckerberg, told CNN that in 2017 they found many false profiles from Macedonia from where false news have been spread, testifying before the US Congress over the abuse of personal data by millions of users on that social network. He undertook some of the responsibility as to the safeguards measures, by announcing improvement of the whole con-

22 https://www.webwise.ie/teachers/what-is-fake-news/

23 Ibid.,

cept of work, which could have a positive impact on public diplomacy of states from the dangers of Fake News that have a negative impact on major political processes, for example elections or referendum as in The United State of America, now in Macedonia, etc., as well as on the image of the states.

The measures of confrontation taken by individual states like China, Russia, Iran, etc., in the form of censorship or closing cannot give the desired results. On the contrary, such measures may also have a counter effect of "forbidden fruit". The fight against Fake News is necessary to be guided through well-developed education system for the wider population, especially among young people who need to gain the necessary level of critical thinking and check the source of this news. Of course, the most important role should play the states through the legal regulation of this phenomenon.

A particular problem arises when Fake News is used by certain undemocratic regimes for achieving political goals, as was the example with the previous Macedonian Government (2006-2016). The previous government did all of that and one of the tools were government advertising and government propaganda, on which it spent vast sums of money from the citizens, to propagate their truth. Chief Editors were being appointed by a political dictate and the news was being edited from one political center. On the other side, opposition had a terribly limited access to traditional media, and censorship was present everywhere.

As for the role of the public diplomacy it is expected adequate mobility and efficiency not only in the "coverage" of Fake news, but also in their interception. This requires the creation of special departments in the Foreign Ministry and the creation of professional diplomats trained for rapid and independent action in the diplomatic network of the country. After all it is required by the new state in the world of the Internet. Consultations i.e. guidelines for certain issues need to be performed in the same moment, without waiting for the diplomatic mail as earlier. On the other hand, access to the websites of the foreign ministries, international organizations, embassies, consulates and cultural information centers, where official opinions, announcements or adopted international documents are published, enables taking them without the physical presence of diplomats. It is necessary to update them daily.

This requires a well-designed state strategy and a modus operandi system for the operation of professional diplomats trained, inter alia, with knowledge in the field of public relations (PR), as well as individuals who will be in charge of social networks. To them, it is necessary to include other representatives who communicate with the public.

The necessity of application of public diplomacy in the Republic of Macedonia

After proclaiming its independence, the Republic of Macedonia[24] faced several issues of vital importance for its further social and political development: international recognition, the establishment of international organizations, diplomatic representation and above all ensuring the national security of the country. In front of the Macedonian diplomacy, there was a challenge for representing and profiling one's own state in the international community, something that the Yugoslav Federation was doing on its behalf. Implementation of this agenda was not easy at all for us if we take into account the initially restrained attitudes of the international community towards the process of recognition of the former Yugoslav republics, the insufficient information of the interlocutors, and the open opposition to the establishment of our country by certain Western countries. To this, we should add the limited financial and staffing opportunities that Macedonian diplomacy initially faced.
The general picture of the new Macedonian state comprised of external and internal political factors in the period 1991 - 2015 was perceived as follows:
At the international level there were negative attitudes and propaganda of some of our neighbors as to our national and identity features (people, language, culture), based on great national - chauvinistic ideas reaching even to the territorial integrity of our country thus slowing the integration process of the country into the international community.

Internally, the absence of state maturity of the political actors and their deep division along ethnic, religious and ideological affiliation dominated, causing frequent political crises which were being resolved by international facilitators, thus putting into question the functionality of the state itself and its necessary progress.
As a result, the perception that the world's information houses (BBC, CNN, Euro news), the CIA, or the search engines had about the Republic of Macedonia was not positive.

24 At a referendum held on September 8, 1991.

For example, the Encyclopedia Britannica will state: "If the Republic of Macedonia is able to successfully meet its economic challenges, maintain good relations with the Albanian minority, and resolve the name dispute with Greece, it will prove that it is possible a true multinational state in the Balkans to be created."[25]

BBC in the country profile section will state: "Macedonia has seen steady economic growth since independence, but remains one of the poorest countries in Europe with a high unemployment rate. Although Macedonia was confirmed as an EU candidate country in December 2005, the name issue continues to slow down its progress towards full EU membership."[26]

CIA: "Regardless of the fact that Macedonia became an EU candidate in 2005, the country still faces challenges, including full implementation of the Framework Agreement, improving relations with Bulgaria, implementing democratic reforms, and stimulating economic growth and development.[27]

CNN: "Given that it is still a relatively young country, the number of Macedonians who have left their mark on the world stage is relatively small."[28]

The negative external and internal conditions culminated in the last ten years (2008 - 2016), a period in which the state faced a full partisation of the state and local government, causing the effect of a captured state. As a result, a process of quiet international isolation took place. This situation has dramatically changed with the democratic changes in the political scene in 2016.The new political authority began to resolve open issues with its neighbors, concluding the Treaty of Friendship with Bulgaria and the Agreement to resolve the name dispute with Greece, opening the possibility of finally fulfilling the national strategic goals - membership in NATO and the EU.

In such constellations, the need for applying a strategically well-thought-out, nationally accepted and organized public diplomacy becomes imperative in the following period. But in order to successfully

25 http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/354223/Macedonia/42788/Economy,

26 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17550407,

27 https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mk.html,

28 http://edition.cnn.com/2011/09/30/world/europe/macedonia-country-profile/index.html?iref=allsearch

implement it, it is necessary to consider a number of issues, of which the most important ones are: What is the state of public diplomacy in the Republic of Macedonia? What are the reasons that hinder the achievement of the desired level of implementation of this important segment of the work of our diplomatic service? And, what is needed to improve the performance of the Macedonian diplomacy?

The situation in which the public diplomacy is as follows: Its implementation is under the authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its diplomatic consular network, and according to the scope of activities, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Science and Education, the Institute for Macedonian Language, the Agency for Tourism, the Agency for Sport, as well as budget cultural art houses, associations and associations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the carrier of public diplomacy, did not have a separate unit in charge of initiating, planning and conducting public diplomacy. This kind of activity was carried out by campaigning without any thoughtful strategy. With the changes in the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2007, for the first time a special sector for public diplomacy was established.[29]With the current Regulations on internal organization of MFA in 2013,[30] there is a Department for Public Diplomacy composed of Publications Unit and Unit for coordination of promotional activities.

According to the established tasks, the Sector is in charge of: "planning and implementation of activities in the field of public diplomacy; preparation of published materials, planning of promotional activities in individual countries and target groups, organization of tribunes and forums on certain issues of foreign policy; participation in the preparation of the performances of the Minister in terms of public relations; editing the web portal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, preparing information on certain current regional and global topics and issues, proposing elements for adequate presentation of the country's positions in international forums and media, proposals for dynamics of activities, preparation of studies, analyzes, elaborates, plans and information and other needs and tasks within the competence of units within its composition."

29 This organizational unit was established for the first time in 2007, and it has been functioning as an independent or as a part of the Directorate, functioning to date.

30 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia - Strategic Plan 2013-2015 www.mfa.gov.mk/sites/default/files/.../Strateshki-plan-2013-2015.pdf,

In the several years since the existence of the Sector, initial activities were completed in terms of setting up a web page of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassies and consulates in the world, containing some useful information about the Macedonian state, notifications of economic, consular and touristic nature, as well as external links - more important Internet addresses of interest to visitors on the site. However, the absence of their regular maintenance is obvious, except for those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which indicates that we are in the initial phase.

But the biggest problem faced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the massive partisation of its personnel. This has contributed to its capture, as were actually all institutions and the whole state in general, fact that was also noted by the European Union Commission. As a result of this situation, we received a party-political diplomacy in the classical diplomatic sphere and in what could be called public diplomacy. In fact, after only one year of the adoption of the Law on Foreign Affairs (2006), it has experienced very significant changes that disrupt the establishment of the principles of professionalism, career system, human resources policy and so on.

As a result of these changes,[31] the diplomatic consular network of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came to a dramatic change in the diplomatic composition of the Diplomatic and Consular Missions. Out of a total of 56 embassies, permanent missions, general consulates and liaison offices, about 40 were run by non-professional, politically appointed diplomats, whose mandate ends with the MFA. Moreover, the appointees were often with professions that did not have any common ground with international politics or diplomacy. But they were in function of the regime. The situation was similar with diplomats in senior positions who were without any previous diplomatic experience. The same situation was also within the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the appointment of civil servants in managerial positions, a condition enabled by the aforementioned changes in the Foreign Affairs Act.

The result of this condition follows: The level of this modern diplomat-

31 By comparison, the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia, according to the latest amendments to the Law on Foreign Affairs, are professional diplomats. In Art. 27 concerning the election of heads of diplomatic missions and consular missions shall be carried out between diplomats who have at least 14 years of working experience, that is, have at least three years of diplomatic service in a diplomatic mission or consular post. In this way Slovenia provides full professionalism to its diplomatic staff. Foreign Affairs Act - official consolidated text (ZZZ-1-UPB1, Official Gazette RS No. 113/03).

ic method compared to Slovenia, Croatia, Estonia, Denmark and other countries, leads to the conclusion that public diplomacy hardly meets the real needs of our country.

In order to overcome this situation, it is necessary to undertake a more active public diplomacy, which should become imperative in our day-to-day action in this field, with the sole aim of a complete positive change of the reputation of the country, followed by activities aimed at our recognition in the world - nation branding.

But what are the reasons that hinder the achievement of the desired level of this very important segment and how to overcome it? In particular, they are: The lack of a sound strategy that would continuously implement this type of activity; Insufficient understanding of the significance of public diplomacy in the structures that are most important for its implementation; Absence of a more meaningful dialogue and cooperation among the holders of public diplomacy and representatives of civil society and individuals in the public sphere, filled with concrete programs that would be organized in a systematic way; Reviewing the current approach of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in terms of information and communication programs for both the central service and the diplomatic network; Reorganizing the current position of the Public Diplomacy Sector by joining some of the organizational units that carry out related activities, as well as establishing operational links with the directorates for political bilateral and multilateral relations, thus obtaining the necessary role; Finally overcoming the acute problem with the financing of more significant projects and information logistics. Publishing of a dozen number of publications, as stated in the mentioned Strategy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the organization of suitable lectures on certain topics (mostly in front of the domestic public), can not by any means be a comprehensive approach to public diplomacy.

In positioning the future functioning of public diplomacy as one of the most important segments of the work of the Macedonian MFA and as a carrier of public diplomacy, it should also use and practically apply the experience of Norway. It is necessary to set in our approach the questions - the guidelines that former Norwegian Minister Jonas GahrStøre set in 2006, when setting up the Norwegian Forum for Public Diplomacy, which are: How does the rest of the world see Macedonia today? What kind of reputation do we have in the future? Encour-

age debate and dialogue between the authorities, the business sector, the academic community and other actors, on how and in which areas we can develop an organized strategy of public diplomacy.

Here is the content of the formula for success, according to which good reputation is very important for a country, and it can create ripple effects that have consequences on everything, from trade and tourism to investment and influence. A good reputation will enhance our chances of attracting tourists and it will improve the access of Macedonian companies in the market, it will provide acceptance for our political views and presentation of Macedonian culture. The strong image is important for the cultural, economic and political influence of our country abroad.

For that purpose it is necessary to train the available staff in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and establish cooperation with the specialized institutions that will be able to implement the determined strategy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its diplomatic consular network in accordance with their scope of activities will have to coordinate their activities and the activities of the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Science and Education, the Institute for Macedonian Language, the Agency for Tourism, the Agency for Sport, and the budget cultural art houses, and associations. Given the fact that Macedonia is among the small states actions of public diplomacy should be limited to a few topics.

Finally, the success of public diplomacy is in a direct correlation with the political stability of the state, raising the level of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, the freedom of expression, that is, the application of all contemporary democratic standards that determine the initial picture of one state in the international community.

Conclusion

The implementation of Public Diplomacy in everyday international activity of the states has become an integral part of the activities of contemporary diplomacy. The underlying reasons that led to its popularity and application are: First, it is a modern method of communication that is fully compatible with the development of information technology, the Internet and the emergence of social media that marked the beginning of the 21st century. Second, the opportunities it offers to

diplomatic missions of small states, which are limited both financial and in human resources in their international representation and the implementation of certain international activities and goals.

The successful implementation of this modern diplomatic method depends on several factors that every diplomatic service needs to carry out. This involves the organizational and institutional establishment of Public Diplomacy in the structure of the foreign ministries, as its coordinators and bearers as well as the creation of a professional staff task force who, in addition to diplomatic skills, will be trained to implement this type of activities in their daily work routine, until the adoption of a state strategy that will contain the goals and methods of its implementation.

The example and short analysis of the case of the Republic of Macedonia shows exactly this.

References

Alan K. Henrikson, 2005 Professor of Diplomatic History. http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitions.

Cull J. Nicholas, 'Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase. uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/gullion.pdf.

Edmund A. Gullion, (former diplomat), Dean of the FletcherSchool, March 1966. http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitions

Foreign Affairs Act - official consolidated text (ZZZ-1-UPB1, Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia No. 113/03)

Gilboa, E., 2002.The Global News Networks and US Policymaking in Defense and Foreign Affairs, Working Paper, Harvard University, The Joan Shorenstein Center. http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol/Research_Publications/Papers/Working_Papers/2002_6.pdf, p.99

Leonard, M., 2002. Public diplomacy, The Foreign Policy Centre, pp. 19-21.

Milissen, J., 2009.The New Public Diplomacy: soft power in international relations, Prosvetno delo, p. 42.

Mojzes Vrabec, Z., 2009. Public Diplomacy and the Media, p. 181.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia - Strategic Plan 2013-2015, www.mfa.gov.mk/sites/default/files/.../Strateshki-plan-2013-2015.pdf

Nye, S. J., 2004. Soft Power: The means to success in the world politics, New York: Public Affairs, pp.6-7.

Staar F., R. ed., 1986, Public Diplomacy, USA Versus USSR, Stanford, California: Cover Institution Stanford University, p. 81.

Saddiki, S., 2006, Alternatives, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 5, Number 5, www.alternativesjournal.net/volume5/numb.

Wolf, Jr. C. and Rosen, B., 2004. Public Diplomacy How to Think About and Improve It, RAND Corporation.

www.meriamm-webster.com/dictionary/propaganda

http://library.thinkquest.org/C0111500/whatis.htm

http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/peterkova/8.

https://www.webwise.ie/teachers/what-is-fake-news/

https://civilmedia.mk/spravuva-so-lazhni-vsti-na-digitalniot-samit-voskopskop/

http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/354223/Macedonia/42788/Economy,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17550407,

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mk.html,

http://edition.cnn.com/2011/09/30/world/europe/macedonia-country-profile/index.html?iref=allsearch

European Perspectives – International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives
volume 9, number 1 (16), pp 37-64, October 2018

Espionage and Its Relation to Diplomats and Intelligence Officers

Aljoša Komljenović[1]

ABSTRACT

Espionage[2] is certainly a topical area or activity, which we can claim to be present in many, if not in all areas of social activity. In this article, we will primarily be concerned with the presence of espionage as an illegal act in diplomacy. We will extend our analysis of espionage also to the field of intelligence services, as we have determined that the activities are complementary, intertwining and cooperative. We will focus on the function/ task of obtaining data and information[3].

We are interested to research the relationship between diplomacy and the intelligence service of a particular country, the need and causes of spying and last but not least, the consequences of possible detection of spying.

Both diplomacy and intelligence services are primarily established for the purpose of operations in and in relation to foreign countries, that is, in the international community. It is absolutely clear that a country as a sovereign entity in the modern world has no viability if it does not connect and does not cooperate with other countries. Integration and cooperation depends essentially on the interests of each country in the international community, which in most cases is an economic interest.

To be able to regulate international conditions and relations with other countries, they need data and information to provide them the knowledge about how to successfully regulate and implement their interests in the international community.

KEY WORDS: diplomat, diplomacy, intelligence services, spy, espionage

POVZETEK

Vedno aktualno področje oz. dejanje je prav gotovo vohunjenje, za katerega lahko rečemo, da je prisotno na mnogih, če ne na vseh področjih družbenega delovanja. V tem članku nas bo primarno zanimala prisotnost vohunjenja, kot nezakonitega delovanja v diplomaciji. Obravnavo vohunjenja razširimo tudi na področje delovanja obveščevalnih služb, saj ugotavljamo, da se dejavnosti dopolnjujeta, prepletata in sodelujeta. Osredotočili se bomo na funkcijo/nalogo pridobivanja podatkov in informacij.

1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Aljoša Komljenović, M.A. of International Relations and Diplomatic Studies. For the last decade and a half he is employed as a Casino Operation Manager. Email: aljosa.komljenovic@gmail.com

2 Illegal act of obtaining secret or confidential information in an unlawful manner and by unauthorized means

3 The article deals with the government institutions, not with individual intelligence services.

Zanimajo nas odnos med diplomacijo in obveščevalno službo določene države, potreba in vzroki za vohunjenje in ne nazadnje posledice morebitnega odkritja vohunjenja.

Tako diplomacija kot obveščevalne službe so primarno namenjene delovanju v tujini in v povezavi s tujino, torej v mednarodni skupnosti. Popolnoma jasno je, da država kot suverena entiteta v sodobnem svetu nima možnosti preživetja, če se ne povezuje in ne sodeluje z ostalimi državami. Povezovanje in sodelovanje je bistveno odvisno od interesa posamezne države v mednarodni skupnosti, ki je v večini primerov ekonomski interes.

Za urejanje mednarodnih razmer in odnosov z drugimi državami, le-te potrebujejo podatke in informacije, ki rezultirajo v znanju, da lahko uspešno urejajo in uveljavljajo svoje interese v mednarodni skupnosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: diplomat, diplomacija, obveščevalne službe, vohun, vohunjenje

Introduction

To a common reader, the world of diplomacy, intelligence services and spying represents a world of secrecy where the secrets are carefully protected. The non-professional public usually perceives and understands diplomacy as an activity without any specific effects, a ceremonial or prestige operating in "white gloves". Intelligence service is associated with action, a lot of tension and intrigue, for which the film industry is most responsible. Spying is perceived as the act of obtaining protected secrets and has a negative connotation.

Most countries have their diplomatic missions in various countries around the world established through the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, depending on their interests and needs. The activity is internationally recognized and codified. The intelligence services are also part of the state establishment and they are intended to operate in and in relation to foreign countries. In the field of operation of the intelligence services a legislation gap can be identified in international law, so the consensus on their operation in the international community has not been achieved yet. Often, the intelligence services are labelled as "espionage services", which we believe is incorrect, despite certain deviations identified within the intelligence services operations. In this context the term "espionage services" is understood as a means to draw attention.

It is diplomacy and intelligence service that make a great contribution to solving, regulating complex and demanding international relations or interests and avoiding the use of force. The article deals with both activities; primarily we are interested in the need for espionage and its presence in diplomacy and intelligence services.

For a better understanding, we will first consider and present the basic concepts and the essential differences of the activities that are discussed in this article. Then we will continue with a historical overview of the development of diplomacy and intelligence services, and finally, we will consider the topic from the legal point of view.

Terms and definitions

The term "**diplomacy**" is often used, especially in the Anglo-Saxon area, as a synonym for "negotiations". The term should not be equated

with negotiations, although the essence of diplomacy as a specific activity is the regulation of international affairs by means of negotiation. The synonymous use of the terms is understandable, but not precise (Petrič, 2010, p. 34). Diplomacy is the established method of influencing decisions and behaviours of foreign governments and people through dialogue, negotiations and other measures (Freeman, Marks, 2016). Diplomacy is the established method used by ambassadors and envoys to regulate and manage relationships (Satow cited in Jazbec, 2009, p. 19). We can describe it as a means by which the state communicates with the external world (Watson cited in Justinek, 2011, p. 26). It should be understood as a performer of foreign policy orientations and decisions, with "the ability to make tactical decisions, i.e. decisions on how to achieve the goals of foreign policy, but it does not define the goals and strategy of foreign policy" (Petrič, 2010, p. 34). From these definitions the function of obtaining data and information is not directly evident.

Intelligence is the widest concept of all the concepts used in connection with information (e.g. intelligence system, espionage, intelligence community, etc.) and it can be defined as "the result of obtaining, analysis, aggregation and interpretation of all available data concerning one or several aspects of a foreign country or operational area that is directly or potentially important for planning" (Richelson cited in Purg, 2002, p. 14) and "refers to information that the government recognizes as important for its military, foreign and security interests« (Britovsek, 2008, p. 2).

The primary function of intelligence activity is to acquire important data and to hand them over to the responsible persons who use them as an aid in the process of political decision-making, but it should be emphasized that the intelligence services do not decide on political issues, they only express their position (Milašinović, 1983, pp. 72-73). In the wider sense, intelligence can be defined as an organized acquisition of new knowledge, various information on events, phenomena, nature, society, that is, about everything that is happening around us (Podbregar, 2008, p. 23). In the narrower sense, the activity includes only the secret collection and analysis of data and their transformation into so-called intelligence information (Purg, 2002, p. 15).

The work of intelligence services today is not based on secretly obtained information, but in addition to the "special methods and means

of work", other "legal" options for obtaining data are also used. Nevertheless, they sometimes perform "dirty work" with the aim of influencing the political moves of a particular state by pressure (Purg, 1995, p. 33).

Djordjević (cited in Podbregar, 2008, p. 25) says that intelligence activity acquires the secrets of an opponent and is called the intelligence service and that it is a means of achieving domination over the opponent in a political battle. In addition to its competencies, it also performs functions of political nature, especially in the areas where and when legal political means are insufficient or inadequate (Milašinović, 1984, p. 11).

It is difficult to make a precise **definition of espionage** throughout history. It can be understood both as secret operation which is not illegal, and secret operation which is illegal. For this reason, the question of the exact definition of "espionage" arises. Who is a spy? How can we precisely define espionage?

Lukić (1982, p. 7) considers it to be difficult to give the concept of espionage a complex and precise definition. Undoubtedly, the most incorrect definition of the concept of espionage is the one which replaces the essence of espionage with the form and means by which secret information is obtained by illegal means. Such definition of the concept of espionage is more correct in terms of its technical than its contentual meaning and it is also too simplified because it does not take into account the "soul" or the essence which determines its social character which espionage holds in relation to each country.
Espionage "is the obtaining confidential information on other countries by secret and illegal means and methods for achieving the policy and objectives of the state that organizes such an activity in order to protect the security of its own country and causing damage to the interests, politics and security of other countries" (Lukić, 1982, p. 8).

If, on the basis of the Regulations or Annex to The Hague Convention IV (Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land) signed in 1907, we try to make a definition of espionage, a person can only be considered a spy when, acting clandestinely or on false pretences, he obtains or endeavours to obtain information in the zone of operations of a belligerent, with the intention of communicating it to the hostile party (Law and Customs of War (Hague IV), 1907, Article 29). The es-

pionage in the international law of armed conflicts is not prohibited, but the persons caught in espionage do not enjoy the status of a prisoner of war. They are treated in accordance with the regulations of the country which arrested them during the espionage and they cannot be punished without a previous trial (Sancin, Švarc and Ambrož, 2009, p. 145).

"Espionage means illegal obtaining of secrets, legally protected, or performing illegal activities related to intelligence activities. These are therefore unlawful activities for which the legal order of criminal law sanctions is laid down. By the intelligence activity we obtain such information and perform to that effect, illegal activities (in domestic legislation such activities of the intelligence service are legalized by a special Intelligence and Security Agency Act). Therefore, it can be said that espionage is only a part of and one of the methods of intelligence activity and that it cannot be a synonym for it in any way" (Šaponja, 1999, p. 59).

The dictionary on the website of the Slovene Intelligence and Security Agency defines the spy as "a member of the intelligence service, the police, the resistance movement or other organization engaged in secret intelligence services" (SOVA, 2018).[4] The English Oxford Dictionary defines a spy as a person employed by a government or other organization to secretly obtain information on an enemy or competitor.[5]

The US intelligence community uses the following definition of an agent: "it is a person involved in secret intelligence activities led by an intelligence organization, but he is not an operator, employee, or assigned employee of that organization" (Carl cited in Podbregar, 2008, p. 35)

History

Modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-renaissance period. Historically, **diplomacy** meant the conduct of official (usually bilateral) relations between sovereign states. By the 20th century, however, the diplomatic practices established in Europe had been adopted throughout the world, and diplomacy had expanded among other entities internationally (international conferences, parliamentary di-

4 At URL: http://www.sova.gov.si/si/povezane_vsebine/glosar/.

5 At URL: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/spy

plomacy, the international activities of supranational and subnational entities, etc.) (Freeman, Marks, 2016). Diplomacy has developed from diplomatic missions that were organized on ad hoc basis in the past and did not have resident diplomatic missions (Türk, 2007, p. 209).

The development and the establishment of international relations, which are understood as interstate relations, can be closely related to the establishment of states or "territorialized social communities" (Benko, 1987, p. 14), for which reason, in order to study the development of diplomacy, it is necessary to accept the thesis that the state is a key factor in diplomacy; consequently, the period of Ancient Greek city-states is one of the most important in the development of diplomacy (Jazbec, 2009, p. 31).

An important starting point for international relations is the interdependence between individual territorialized social communities. A specific region (country) cannot provide all material goods or conditions necessary for material production. The deficit of certain goods can be solved by provision of such goods in other territories, in two ways; firstly by co-operation and secondly by force (Benko, 1987, p.15).

At that time, the great Roman Empire did not know about equality, so they achieved their goals by the use of force. Their emissaries went to the conquered states and reported on the situation in the provinces, and the mighty Rome did not pay too much attention to other countries (Vukadinović, 1994, p. 18). Jazbec (2009, p. 32) claims that unlike Greece, Rome did not develop and upgrade diplomatic practices, the reason for which was the dominance of the Roman Empire and its occupation of the whole world known at that time.

In the 12th century, Bizanc expanded the functions of the emissaries, who were no longer just transmitting messages, but also reported on the situation in the states to which they were sent. The beginning of the so-called great chapter in the history of diplomatic activity is equated with espionage by some people who consider that every diplomat is also necessarily a "spy" (Vukadinović, 1994, p. 19).

In the Renaissance, in addition to the great social and cultural changes, the establishment of diplomacy at a different level is also important. The development of diplomacy was mainly carried out in the Republic of Venice, Milan and Tuscany. The development of Venice

into a commercial superpower and its operations around the world required a lot of information for the successful operation, which resulted in the development of diplomacy that was no longer just an occasional sending of emissaries or the reception of foreign emissaries, but a form of permanent activity with permanent envoys. The Venetian ambassadors or diplomacy were the first to use codes when sending out and receiving messages, thus effectively securing the confidentiality of the content from those who were not concerned with it (Vukadinović, 1994, p. 19-20).

The function of the Italian diplomats was to act in such a manner as to provide the best maintenance and enlargement of their state, which was later to become the fundamental characteristic of diplomacy (Barbaro cited in Vukadinović, 1994, p. 21). "A diplomat comes from the raison d'etat and strives to remain at such a level that things can be addressed in politically realistic way, at the same time recognizing and accepting that everything that is in relations between individuals ethically and morally unacceptable, in the state matters has a different connotation" (Vukadinović, 1994, p. 21). There is no need for a diplomat to doubt in his choice between moral and immoral acts; he must ask himself only one question before making decision, namely: What will preserve the power and freedom of his homeland (Machiavelli cited in Vukadinović, 1994, p. 22)? The envoys of the Italian city-states created with their personal endeavours a real spy-network, which in addition to espionage activities was dealing also with more rough activities such as political murders, which were quite common in Italy (Milašinović, 1983, p. 20).

Especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, diplomatic officials were required to spy in addition to their usual tasks. A diplomat was called "an honest spy". They were provided with material resources for bribes to influential persons in the countries of accreditation, and the act was considered "unobtrusive" to international law. Moreover, bribery in order to obtain confidential information was understood as a duty of every diplomat (Milašinović, 1983, pp. 22-23).

At the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, Europe was practically the centre of international politics. The politics were determined by five major European countries which automatically gave themselves the right to decide on the politics of small countries. This mode of operation caused inequality and the possibility of high risks. Operation

of the so-called classical diplomacy[6] was secret and was far from the public's eyes. With the entry of two large countries into world politics (the USA and the USSR), the methods of classical diplomacy began to collapse. The lack of confidence in the European institutions, in the diplomacy of the five European countries and the belief in the equality of all people, guided the American president Wilson to try to change the way and methods of operation of classical diplomacy. The new, so-called modern diplomacy[7] was supposed to be more open and not to use the methods of operation of the so-called classical diplomacy (Vukadinović, 1994, pp. 37-39). The key role in the shaping of the elements of modern diplomacy can be attributed to the diplomatic effect of the League of Nations (1920), whose activity was based on the association of nations, or general rules and principles, and further on the convening annual meetings at a specific location and at a specific time with a permanent Secretariat with qualified international experts (Jazbec, 2009, p. 39). In any case, the historical experience, especially the ineffective operation of the League of Nations, played an essential role in the founding of the next international organization with a central mission: the maintenance of international peace and security - the United Nations, which was founded after the Second World War and is still considered to be the most influential international organization (Türk, 2007, pp. 321-322).

By adopting international treaties, such as the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (1963), modern diplomacy was codified.

During the Cold War[8], activities of embassies, such as subversion or espionage, were flourishing, so diplomatic missions became centres of intelligence services. In addition to these activities, which were consistent neither with diplomatic activity nor with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, diplomatic missions became emigrant and refugee shelters and they were frequently a target of terrorist attacks. In the tense international relations during the Cold War, diplomacy could not remain indifferent. These activities, or operations, acted as a trigger for the development of counterintelligence services which were mainly concerned with foreign diplomatic missions.

6 Period from 1648 until 1920 (Jazbec, 2009, p.48)

7 Period from 1920 until 1989 (Jazbec, 2009, p.48)

8 The source of the term »Cold War« and the start of the Cold War are described in detail in Diplomacy - Strategy of Political Negotiations (Vukadinović, 1994, pp. 61–72).

After the end of the Cold War period, such forms of non-diplomatic treatment of diplomats and diplomatic missions were "certainly fewer" (Vukadinović, 1994, pp. 114-115).

In the period of modern diplomacy, the diplomacy was required to comply with the principles and rules of international law, founded primarily with the UN Charter. The operation of modern diplomacy in the framework of international principles and norms is a "significant characteristic", regardless of numerous violations (Janković cited in Milašinović, 1983, p. 34). Violations in diplomatic activities are mostly related to the intelligence service operations of diplomatic missions (Milašinović, 1983, p. 34). At the present time of the post-modern diplomacy[9], when the expansion of public diplomacy has reached its highest level so far, it is hard to believe or expect that the public will find out about any diplomatic move (Vukadinović, 1994, p. 247).

Throughout history, **intelligence activities,** as activities without an official form, have turned into a complex state institution with the function of a professional intelligence service, to which, later, other activities were added (Milašinović, 1984, p. 5). In the past, intelligence and security services were "warriors on an invisible battlefield" and were mainly concerned with obtaining information about other countries, i.e. espionage, with examples of conspiracies, assassinations, and other "dirty" transactions, resulting in a negative or derogatory image of these services (Podbregar, 2008, pp. 21-22). The intelligence service as an activity was created much earlier in the material sense than the intelligence service in the formal sense (institution) (Rodić cited in Purg, 2002, pp. 21-22). Intelligence service in its institutionalized form of operation is the innovation of the Victorian era (the second half of the 19th century) of the United Kingdom (Britovšek, Sotlar, 2014, p. 282).

In the Early Middle Ages, intelligence activity was exclusively in the hands of individual rulers, and its importance was primarily related to the needs of conducting a war. In the Middle Ages, circumstances for the development of intelligence services were not yet the most favourable. Nevertheless, in Western Europe, espionage began to be systematically used. It was in the Middle Ages that some new elements were

9 If we try to establish a dividing line between modern and postmodern diplomacy, it can be placed in the period after the end of the Cold War in view of the changed practices and the extension of the fields diplomacy is concerned with. The period since 1989 (Jazbec, 2009, p. 48).

introduced in the establishment of the intelligence service that were reflected in the increase of its use, the improvement of its methods and the development of new methods. The outstanding intelligence services of that time were, in particular, the intelligence services of the Byzantine Empire, the Papal Curia and the Catholic Church, of the Mongol conquerors and of the Dubrovnik Republic (Rodić cited in Purg, 2002, pp. 22-23).

The first conditions for the establishment of modern intelligence services emerged with strengthening the position of interests and politics of the Italian city-states (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica cited in Purg 2002, p. 24). In the 15th century, the Italian city-states began to establish permanent diplomatic missions in foreign capital cities, and Venetians in particular, began to use them as intelligence service sources. Moreover, they developed codes so that they could secretly communicate information (Purg, 1995, p. 50).

It is the end of the 19th century which is considered to be the beginning of the development of modern espionage where the English intelligence service played the leading role. In the 19th century, some new technical means were developed that served as tools for the intelligence service (e.g. Morse code, photographic camera, wireless telegraph) (Purg, 2002, p.25). The development of the English espionage was closely linked to the expansion of colonialism (Purg, 1995, p. 51). England was the first to step into the path of the capitalism development, which required both the defence of new class relations that were emerging in the developing society and the expansion to other areas and other countries for the purpose of its own strengthening. Along with expansion and development of the country, its intelligence service was also developing and strengthening. Consequently, the English intelligence service is considered to be the oldest modern intelligence service (Lukić, 1982, p. 10).

The main function of the intelligence service until the 20th century was to gather information. The greatest transformation of its functions occurred between the two World Wars as a consequence of changed relations in the international community and the needs of individual countries, especially those playing a decisive/more important role in world affairs. The most important new functions of the modern intelligence service are the psychological propaganda and other subversive activities (terrorism, diversions, sabotage, causing crises, etc.), but its

subject matter is difficult to determine in modern times (Milašinović, 1983, pp. 72-73)

The Cold War period can be characterized as the time of intelligence services, because the intelligence services of the opposing blocs became enemies and in many important countries large bureaucracies were established consisting of strongly connected and competing services, competing with each other and denying information (Purg cited in Kuhelj, 2012, p. 27).

Today, the characteristic of intelligence services is their specialization in various fields (political, military, economic etc.). Today's intelligence expert should occupy a central place in debates related to the national security policy (Purg, 1995, pp. 51-53).

Espionage is neither a new phenomenon, nor is it the product of modern man and civilization; it was created along with man and known thousands of years ago. It is known that people have always wanted to know what their neighbour, friend or enemy thinks, what he is doing or planning to do. According to this, they were directing their activities (Lukić, 1982, p. 1).

Espionage requires a lot of courage and patience. It is a solitary game. "A spy who is sent to uncover the secrets of an enemy country has troubles enough. But a spy who renounces his own country and seeks work for an alien power faces almost certain torture is almost certainly confronted with torture and death if he is discovered" (Dowswell, Fleming, 2006, p. 89). "This work requires a calm, clear person who knows how to estimate the situation and its consequences and who has balanced views" (Ben-Menashe cited in Thomas, 2010, p. 85). Popov (1973, p. 37) says that the "game" of a double agent is "a rather ugly and dangerous thing". It is enough to make just a small mistake in this business and you can "lose your head". Nobody in this game is given the opportunity to make two mistakes.

Intelligence services almost never act in accordance with moral principles, in fact, if they would, they would achieve worse results (Popov, 1973, p. 79). Although "war is not the mother of all things", it is certainly "the mother of espionage" (Barring, 1970, p. 11). At the time of Napoleon, it was believed that "a spy could not be an honest man,"

although Napoleon claimed that the spy was worth more than 20,000 soldiers (Ambler citated in Lukić, 1982, p. 359).

Further we will consider in more detail some historical examples of "espionage." We will focus on the methods of work of the so-called spies and search for contact points and similarities in the performance of work. We will not deal with the question whether espionage was an illegal act of diplomats or intelligence services, or it was an interference with state sovereignty, we will rather focus on methods of work, the status of persons who spied and searched for motives for spying. We will highlight the work of Duško Popov, who during the Second World War worked as a double agent for both the English and the German military intelligence[10], and called himself a "super-spy" (Popov, 1973, p. 35). We will also introduce Vladimir Vauhnik, as the second example, who, before the beginning of the Second World War, worked as a military attaché of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Berlin and enjoyed "diplomatic status" (Bieber cited in Vauhnik, 1972, p. 8). Both persons worked more than half a century ago, so we will look at the events from a historical distance. It seems to be important to make difference between the period of the activities when there were no international regulations and the period when legal and illegal means and methods of diplomatic practice were already established.

Popov (1973, p.11) in his true story titled Codename Tricycle claims that he does not believe in secrets, even though he was one of the most famous secret agents (double agent)[11] during the Second World War. He believes that every person has the right to information, i.e. to be informed about everything on which his destiny depends. He further claims that most of the countries have laws that impose penalties in the event of disclosure of the state secrets and considers that the secret codes (state secrets) often hide the crimes of the states (Popov, 1973, p.7). Thomas (2010, p.19) similarly writes that his sources claim that the marks or classifications "confidential" and "strictly confidential" in the intelligence circles are "sometimes only means to cover up unpleasant mistakes."

In his work, Duško Popov often used a diplomatic cover, which in-

10 The name of the German military Intelligence Service was Abwehr, and of the English it was MI6. Popov deliberately decided to betray and deceive the German Intelligence Service, so he worked on the side of the Allies during the Second World War.

11 Popov lived a triple life (as a German agent, a British agent and a Yugoslav businessman) (Popov, 1973, p. 84).

cluded his diplomatic status and related immunities and privileges[12][12], where diplomatic bag, which he used to transfer documents, also belonged (Popov, 1973, p. 205). Sending information or communication between a secret agent and a "connection" was performed using diplomatic bag (Popov, 1973).

During the Second World War, the German Military Intelligence Agency Abwehr knew that the British Intelligence Service for Yugoslavia was at the British Embassy in Belgrade (Popov, 1973, p. 42). Abwehr was also aware of the fact that the offices for the issuance of passports at British Embassies were the most common cover for the MI6 local centres (Popov, 1973, p. 48). The German Embassy in Madrid served as a diplomatic cover for about 120 Abwehr officers and 400 additional agents were infiltrated into various companies (Popov, 1973, p. 94).

At the time of his service as a military attaché to Berlin, Vauhnik called himself "the soul of the foreign intelligence service" (Vauhnik, 1972, p. 154), and military attachés "legal intelligence service" (Vauhnik, 1972, p. 12). From the report of the head of the security police to the German Foreign Minister, it is clear that Vauhnik defines the activity of military attachés as espionage in a wider sense.[13][13] Jazbec (2007b, p. 57) states that military attachés, working for military diplomacy, at first were primarily informers in uniform, and that in recent times they have been "increasingly" becoming diplomats. Part of the activities carried out by military attachés by obtaining direct and indirect information and reporting on the situation in the receiving State, "borders with intelligence activity" (Jazbec, 2007b, p. 58). Some authors treat the intelligence service function of diplomats and consuls in the same way as espionage in peacetime, calling it "legal espionage" (Milašinović, 1983, p. 105).

Both Vauhnik and Popov had contacts and connections in high positions which enabled them to access quality information. Contacts and connections in diplomatic work are of crucial importance, in fact, as Jazbec (2007a, p. 128) claims, they are the basic methods of operation of a successful diplomat. The same was claimed and described by Vauhnik who said that there was too little time in Berlin to make good

12 A new cover position was created for Popov at the Yugoslav Embassy in the United States (Popov, 1973, p. 120). For his operations in London, he used the position of the Yugoslav assistant to the military attaché (Popov, 1973, p. 199).

13 The Report of the head of the security police to the German Foreign Minister on the work of the military attaché Vauhnik (Vauhnik, 1972, p. 167).

connections with responsible persons in the General Staff, so it was difficult to get important information (Vauhnik, 1972, p. 17).

When reading Vauhnik we can come to the conclusion that direct information is very difficult to obtain, and that it is important to have knowledge in the required field (in his case, military), as well as the skill of meaningful and logical reasoning and linking of segments of data into useful information.[14] According to Lukić, this systematic and organized work can be defined as "legal" espionage.[15] "In the intelligence service, it is claimed again and again that only seemingly trivial things and findings lead to important discoveries, if you understand them correctly and pursue them carefully" (Vauhnik, 1972, p. 119).[16]

Popov also explains that "in this business", in some cases, a very small piece of information is important in order to complete a mosaic (Popov, 1973, p. 48). "It was crumbs that were sufficient to create a more or less complete picture" (Popov, 1973, p. 60).

Systematic work can lead to almost correct conclusions (e.g. about the approximate power of the German Army), and along the paths of "social espionage" a lot of important things are obtained (for example, about the intentions of the German military leaders).[17]

The terms "spy" or espionage are used by many authors in conjunction with intelligence services as legally established organizations dealing with information at the state level, which are mainly relevant to the national security of a country, constitutional settlement and defence interests. Since the work of intelligence services and diplomatic-consular missions is often intertwined and complementary (Milašinović, 1983, p. 6), i.e. it is not possible to draw a clear limit between diplomatic and intelligence activities (Milašinović, 1983, p. 18), it can be con-

14 For example: based on information on the production of boats from rubber, pontoons, aircraft production, data on stocks of certain raw materials, etc. it was possible to conclude with great certainty that Germany would attack England in the Second World War. With the data on the map where the bombing sites of England were marked, it was also possible to conclude the location of the attack (Vauhnik, 1972, pp. 73-74). For example: the name of the "African Corps" commander could led to the conclusion about the importance of African operations. "It is by the commander that the importance of the troops under his command can be judged" (Vauhnik, 1972, pp. 92-93).

15 "Legal" espionage is the acquisition of the most important data from publicly available sources, where every little thing is important, and where systematic data processing, and organized and accurate work can lead to correct conclusions (Lukić, 1982, pp. 17-19).

16 For examples, see Vauhnik, 1972, p. 119 - 120.

17 The report of the head of the security police to the German Foreign Minister about the work of the military attaché V. Vauhnik (Vauhnik, 1972, p. 172).

cluded that the work of diplomatic-consular missions is consequently related to espionage. The extent of espionage as an activity by which secured secret information is obtained, in the intelligence service operations, both Purg (2002, p.16) and Milašinović (1983, p. 64) estimate as a small proportion of intelligence service operation. According to the estimates, powerful intelligence services obtain up to 80% of information by legal channels (Milašinović, 1983, p. 137).

Legal regulation

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, provides a framework for a comprehensive and thorough **regulation of the modern diplomatic practice** (Denza cited in Simoniti, Jager Agius, 2014, p. 22), which is based on two starting points: the sovereign equality of States and the duty of maintaining international order by promotion of friendly relations among nations. The Convention defines the function of diplomacy, the protection and representation of the national interest of a sovereign state and the duty of maintaining international peace, as a fundamental principle on which the entire structure of the United Nations is based (Simoniti, Jager Agius, 2014, p. 22).

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations determined, inter alia, the functions of a diplomatic mission. We will focus on the function that is specifically related to obtaining information[18].

In the Convention, it is explicitly stated that the way of obtaining information can be only by lawful means, without precisely specifying what lawful means are considered to be. The limits of the right to information are often the cause of disputes (Bartoš cited in Bohte, Sancin, 2006, p. 98). Bohte and Sancin (2006, p. 99) point out that the violation of the right to information can become an interference with the state's internal affairs and that the obtaining of information from private persons is not tolerated and is qualified as spying. The interference with the internal affairs of the receiving State, according to Murty (cited in Mešič, 2015, p. 37) are the following acts: advising the Prime Minister in the receiving State on the basis of diplomatic communication; communicating with persons who are not authorized to communicate with diplomatic agents; acts for the purpose of coup

18 »Ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State« (VCDR).

d'état in the receiving State and espionage; giving critical statements about the government politics of the receiving state.

Milašinović (1983, p. 36) writes that in the diplomatic practice of individual countries, in addition to internationally recognized and accepted tasks or functions of diplomatic missions, there are a lot of cases when governments impose tasks to their diplomatic missions (negative functions) that are not in compliance with generally accepted rules of diplomatic behaviour. Milašinović further states that it is important to distinguish between the periods of diplomacy, when there were no international rules, from the period in which lawful and unlawful means and methods of diplomatic practice have been known.

The most frequent violations of the lawful means (permitted means) in the work of diplomats occur in connection with the intelligence activity of a diplomat. According to Milašinović (1983, p. 39), it seems that a large part of the immunity and privileges of diplomats is intended exactly for the purpose of a smooth operation in the field of intelligence services. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 precisely defined the system of diplomatic immunities and privileges, which created conditions for a smooth operation of diplomats, but it did not take into account, i.e. defined issues from diplomatic practice.[19] He believes that science has to give additional attention to such issues, and adds that "it seems" that one of the most interesting issues is the one related to the intelligence function (Milašinović, 1983, p. 40).

Diplomatic immunity is an important diplomatic institute defined and laid down in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations[20]. From the preamble to the Convention, it is evident that diplomatic mission enjoys immunities and privileges the purpose of which is not to benefit individuals but to ensure the efficient performance of the functions of diplomatic missions (VCDR, preamble). We can say that the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations extensively deals with

19 In practice, it often happens that the agreed rules are not respected and that immunities and privileges of diplomats are abused. Diplomatic practice is oriented towards action that is not in accordance with the principles and needs that are necessary for the development of good or friendly relations among countries (Milašinović, 1983, p. 40).

20 Since the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations represents a fundamental codification of diplomatic law, we primarily relay on the provisions in the cited Convention. Immunities and privileges are also laid down in the Convention on special missions, accessible at URL: http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/mednarodnaPogodba?id=UN-19691216/01M and the Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character, accessible at URL: http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/mednarodnaPogodba?id=UN-19750314/01M.

immunities and privileges[21], which reflects the importance of the institute of immunities and privileges.

Diplomatic immunity is an exception to norms or principles of the internal law of a sovereign state, and the internal law, which is otherwise used and applied by the state in a sovereign way throughout its territory, does not have jurisdiction over persons and things that enjoy the immunity. We distinguish two types of abuse of diplomatic immunity in the receiving State, namely the abuse by the sending State and the personal abuse of a person enjoying immunity. Terrorism and espionage are two typical types of abuse, the so-called political abuse[22], which occur to a smaller degree than personal abuse (illegal parking, speeding, minor thefts, etc.[23]) (Mešič, 2015).

According to Mešič (2015, p. 54), we cannot expect that the norms of the legislation will not be violated, as is also the case with international law. In addition, violations of this kind depend on many factors and circumstances in complex international relations.

Most diplomats do not abuse diplomatic immunity, while unethical diplomats abuse it most commonly on personal level, and less on political level (Večer Magazine, 2017).[24]

There are two standpoints regarding **international law in relation to intelligence service**.

The first, traditional approach takes a realistic view of intelligence service in the international context and it estimates that international law does not restrict (nor will restrict) the activities of most intelligence services. According to this approach, countries are motivated for intelligence-gathering (Brown, Metcalf cited in Deeks, 2016, p. 606).

The second approach, however, interprets the widespread interstate cooperation in espionage, where apparently, the states recognize the right to engage in intelligence activities acknowledging that such

21 Immunities and privileges are defined in Articles from 22 to 42 in the cited Convention.

22 For examples, see Mešič, 2015, p. 31.

23 Historically, the abuse of diplomatic immunities is also found in the area of serious crimes such as: rape, child abuse, murder, drug smuggling. For examples, see Mešič, 2015, p. 32.

24 For more details see URL: http://www.publishwall.si/casopisvecer/post/265638/roka-pravice-jih-stezka-doseze.

conduct complies with international law (Simmons, Neubert cited in Deeks, 2016, p. 609).

Milašinović (1983, p. 7) points out that the basic principle of international relations, which puts forward the priority of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each state and non-interference by others that should be understood as a ban on intelligence activities on the territory of another sovereign state, is obviously neglected (either intentionally or involuntarily).

So, the basic question regarding international law and intelligence activities is whether intelligence is legally permitted form of the activity of one country towards the other? In the past, the answer to the question was categorically negative. The intelligence activity was understood in the past as a "malicious and hostile" act due to its methods and means of work. The Charter of the United Nations prohibits the war as a means of resolving disputes among nations and peoples, i.e. it prohibits the use of armed forces. The Charter allows the state to take preventive measures (to have its own army, its own weapons, etc.) for the purpose of defending itself against attacks or aggression by another state, which today significantly affects interpretation or understanding of the international legal definition of intelligence activities. Lukić (1982, p. 371) considers that at this point an issue automatically arises in respect to what falls under preventive measures of defence against attack or aggression. Is it only our own army or it is also possible to include our knowledge about purposes of a potentially aggressive state among preventive measures? He concludes that it can be undoubtedly asserted that "all preventive measures, without knowing the purpose of the potential attacker, or other countries and their forces, are only weapons from which it is shot without any bullets". The intelligence activity should not be excluded as a preventive measure of defence, in fact, it is one of the more important ones.

In the International Law of Armed Conflicts, espionage is not prohibited, but since the adoption of the Rules or Annex to the Hague Convention (IV) of 1907[25], it has been considered that spies who are caught during espionage do not enjoy the status of a prisoner of war (Sancin, Švarc, Ambrož, 2008, p. 175). It is precisely defined in which

25 The basics or starting point for dealing with spies during the war were established already in 1880 in the Oxford Handbook of International Law in Armed Conflict (Lukić, 1982, p. 364).

case a person can be characterized as a spy, namely, when he acts undercover and under false pretentions (Lukić, 1982, p. 365).

Espionage is compared to or categorized as the second oldest profession (Chesterman, 2006, p. 1072). Some authors assert that there is a gap in the international law regarding espionage and that the current status of espionage in peacetime is highly vague.[26] According to Falk (cited in Radsan, 2007, p. 602), international law is remarkably oblivious to the peacetime practice of espionage. Leading treatises overlook espionage altogether or contain a perfunctory paragraph that defines a spy and describes his hapless fate upon capture.

Some authors refer to or point out the need to make difference between espionage in peacetime and espionage during the war. They consider that the international law which defines espionage in peacetime is outdated and that it does not keep pace with time. Demarest (cited in Radsan, 2007, p. 603) concludes that espionage is an "unfriendly act" and that the act does not violate international law.

Radsan (2007) divides literature that deals with espionage in peacetime, i.e. outside the established legal regulations during the war, into three groups. One group suggests peacetime espionage is legal (or not illegal) under international law; another group suggests peacetime espionage is illegal under international law and a third group, straddled between the other two, maintains that peacetime espionage is neither legal nor illegal.

Not illegal espionage

International law nowhere explicitly prohibits espionage in peacetime. Some experts believe that espionage is part of a sovereign right of a nation state (Sulmasy, Yoo, 2006, p. 628). Similarly, according to Scott (as cited Radsan, 2007, p. 604), "espionage is not prohibited under international law as an activity that fundamentally violates international law". However, the authors who consider that espionage in peacetime is not illegal, do not want to advocate or defend espionage activities (Radsan, 2007, p. 604).

In this respect, the advocates of espionage give arguments that leaders make more informed decisions based on information obtained from

26 E.g.: Demarest cited in Radsan, 2007, p. 603.

espionage (Demarest cited in Baker, 2003, p. 1094). Furthermore, espionage with regard to its historical position in terms of its acceptance or permission, is defined as a credible source of international law (Polebaum cited in Baker, 2003, p. 1094).

Illegal espionage

On the other hand, espionage is defined in most of the national laws as a criminal offense. Most of the national laws strive to prevent or to prohibit the obtaining of confidential information, on their respective territory, by foreign intelligence officers and at the same time to protect their own activity and the capacities of their states to operate and obtain confidential information abroad (Chesterman, 2006, p. 1072). Wright (2008, p.12) argues that in peacetime any penetration of the territory of a state by agents of another state in violation of the local law, is also a violation of the rule of international law. Delupis (as cited in Radsan, 2007, p. 605) argues "that espionage appears to be illegal under international law in time of peace if it involves the presence of agents sent clandestinely by a foreign power into the territory of another state".

According to Radsan there is a dilemma regarding Delupis's account, whether "clandestine" includes intelligence officers who enter a country under the false pretence of being diplomats (using diplomatic passports), or whether she would limit the definition to those who, unknown to the local authorities, sneak into the country. Delupis makes the further qualification that espionage is not by itself an international crime. Here she draws a fine distinction between behaviour that is contrary to international norms and behaviour that constitutes a crime. International crimes are acts that can be prosecuted before an international tribunal. To her knowledge, international tribunals, whether in Nuremberg, The Hague, or elsewhere, have not indicted or convicted anyone for the simple wrong of espionage (Radsan, 2007, p. 605).

Espionage is neither legal nor illegal

According to Silver and Hitz (cited in Radsan, 2007, p. 606), arguments that countries are much less tolerant when espionage is committed against them than when they are committing it, suggest that it may explain why no international treaties or conventions specifically prohibit espionage. Baker (2003, p. 1092) argues, that international law neither

endorses nor prohibits espionage, but rather preserves the practice as a tool by which to facilitate international cooperation. He further considers that espionage functionally permits states not only to verify that other states are complying with international obligations, but also to confirm the legitimacy of those assurances that these states provide. According to his opinion, states are more willing to cooperate because espionage is available as a tool by which to monitor foreign behaviour.

Radsan (2007, p. 602) says that the uncertainty in the literature dealing with peacetime espionage supports her thesis that espionage is beyond international consensus.

Conclusion

Both of the considered services or activities are intended for operation in foreign countries or in relation to foreign countries. Both services deal with the acquisition of information, especially intelligence services, which is obvious from the name itself.[27] Historically, both services have been related to the notion of secrecy. Diplomacy keeps distance from it, which cannot be said of the intelligence services. Diplomacy is internationally codified and consensus on its operation is adopted, but in the field of intelligence services we can say that there is no international consensus. We can conclude that primary task of intelligence services is gathering data and information, and in diplomacy it is just one of the tasks, which some people consider to be essential. More importantly, the norms from the international convention have been internationally adopted, i.e. a legitimate activity that is limited to the use of permitted means and methods.

The key differences between the two activities are that, unlike the intelligence services, diplomacy does not use secret collaborators, it is an internationally regulated activity, the limits of the allowed operations are clearly defined, illegal methods are not used and since 1945 diplomacy has been characterized by its public activity. It is exactly the key differences that in our opinion significantly influence or represent a manoeuvre space for the disputed action or espionage. Consequently, it is understandable that espionage is more often connected

27 One should not ignore the fact that many authors attach the greatest importance to the gathering of information by diplomats, i.e. their getting to know the situation in the receiving state (e.g. Bohte, Sancin, 2006, p. 98 and Milašinović, 1983, p. 39).

with intelligence services than with diplomacy. However, it seems that diplomatic immunity protecting a diplomat from the jurisdiction of the courts in the receiving state, is an attractive element for unethical activities, which should not be ignored.

Some high-profile cases of alleged espionage by the intelligence and diplomatic services in the last period[28], suggest that illegal means and methods are used also in modern times. The importance of data and information is shown again and again, which obviously represents added value, actually, we can say that it is power which is worth the risk and consequently, destroying international confidence[29] and increasing the conflict. As is commonly known, diplomats in the latest high-profile cases of espionage would also be exposed to it. Here, we can cite Milašinović (1983, p. 4), who says that the truth about the functioning of modern diplomacy is difficult to discover.

Espionage, i.e. the illegal activity by which the well-kept secrets of a particular country are acquired in an illegal manner and with illegal means is a reality that cannot be denied. The extent and the presence of espionage in the discussed areas or services is difficult to identify or measure, mainly due to the concept of secrecy of operation. We have concluded that the word "espionage" is much more often and more commonly used in relation with intelligence services than in relation with diplomacy. The services cooperate with each other, but in certain cases[30] they can even be said to intertwine. Intelligence and diplomacy are locked in a marriage. Not a marriage of convenience. Rather the opposite: a marriage of necessity. (Hughes, Oleson, 2016, p. 52). This is also confirmed by Milašinović (1983, p.6) who claims that diplomacy and intelligence are often intertwined and complemented, and that it is necessary to distinguish between the activities of the persons performing tasks in the framework of legal provisions and those who exceed the limits of the legal framework.

At first sight it seems that the above consideration leaves us in an ambivalent position between "pure" diplomacy and "espionage" diploma-

28 For example: the Snowden affair, Manning, eavesdropping in the case of arbitration between Slovenia and Croatia, expelled Russian diplomats from the United States, who were allegedly connected with hacking intrusions into e-mail accounts of representatives of a democratic party, etc.

29 An example of destroying trust by espionage is reflected in the "European Commission Calls on the U.S. to Restore Trust in EU-U.S. Data Flows". Available at URL: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1166_en.htm.

30 Modern and democratic countries usually register an individual diplomat or several diplomats in the receiving state for liaison with the intelligence structures of the receiving country.

cy. A detailed and precise analysis leads us to the conclusion that a large number of espionage cases in diplomacy or by diplomats is concerned with illegal activities of intelligence services, disguised in diplomatic activities, which is certainly not in favour of the reputation of diplomacy. Operating under the guise of diplomacy seems to be generally recognized and allowed by the states in »normal« circumstances, but in the event of tightening of international relations, they publicly accuse and expel the so-called intelligence diplomats, as evidenced by recent events that followed the poisoning of a former Russian spy on British territory.[31]

Even more, it is argued that every embassy in the world has spies and that there is an unwritten understanding that the receiving states are prepared to "turn a blind eye" to what goes on within embassies. At the same time, it is emphasized that the cases should not be generalized and that there are "genuine" diplomats who gather information using entirely legal methods and respect international norms, but that among these "genuine diplomats" there are some people who are listed as diplomats but are actually intelligence officers (Glees, 2018). The difference between declared and undeclared intelligence officers in the receiving state is that the legitimate ones present their credentials to the receiving state and formally share mutually beneficial information. Spies, however, appear on the embassy's list of diplomats, but they are involved in gathering other intelligence (Lloyd, 2018).

Espionage, or among others, the use of illegal or semi-legal methods of work, represents a decline from the diplomatic mission, it is risky, and in case of disclosure, it will undoubtedly cause tightening of relationships among countries. Certain circumstances (tightening of relationships between certain countries, wars, terrorism, etc.), also affect the functioning of diplomacy, which can trigger deviations from respecting internationally accepted code of operation, but in no way can it be and is not synonymous with the rule of operation of diplomacy or diplomats.

We can conclude that the practice of modern democratic diplomacy is moving away from bad, risky and illegal practices, and that it is be-

31 In March 2018, media reported information on the poisoning of former Russian spy Sergey Skripal on British territory. In the United Kingdom, Russia was accused of poisoning. Certain measures on the diplomatic level followed, and many countries expelled Russian diplomats. Among the "real" diplomats, as the US states, there are many "well-known informers", that is, those who only use diplomatic status but are in fact informers under the guise of diplomacy. See more at URL: https://insajder.com/svet/zda-bodo-izgnale-60-ruskih-vohunov-zaradi-primera-skripal.

coming increasingly public and transparent, which gives us optimism, because it means that, despite some doubts, diplomacy is a highly professional activity that maximally works within the framework of international norms and in most cases eliminates conflicts, makes compromises and regulates international relations in a peaceful manner.

It is necessary to be aware of the fact that in the international community, the participating countries have various histories, various degrees of development and various political systems, which undoubtedly results in different practices and methods (either illegal or semi-legal) of their operation in the international community and represents a major challenge in the alignment of interest. What we think is important is the "critical mass" of the countries that respect international norms and act in accordance with them, and that in case of violations by other participants in the international community, i.e. the countries for which the internationally recognized norms represent a difficulty, such actions and deviations are appropriately neutralized as they represent a potential threat to peace and security.

Regulation of international relations is a complex and demanding process; or to put it figuratively, it is a complicated game of chess. The international norms are the smallest common denominator of the international community, and the international law in most cases the "tiger without teeth". It would be nonprofessional, of course, to expect the norms of diplomatic law not to be violated. We could say that there are no legal norms which are never violated; however, individual deviations from the practice of the majority, can neither be generalized nor used as a synonym for certain activities, in our case diplomacy.

References

Baker, D. C. (2003). Tolerance of international espionage: A functional approach. *American University International Law Review,* 19, no. 5, pp. 1091-1113.
URL:http://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1176&context=auilr [20. 3. 2017]

Barring, L. (1970). *Vohuni in obveščevalci od antike do danes*. Ljubljana: Založba Obzorja Maribor za založbo Jože Košar.

Benko, V. (1987). *Mednarodni odnosi.* Maribor: Obzorja.

Bohte, B., Sancin, V. (2006). *Diplomatsko in konzularno pravo*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.

Britovšek, J. (2008). *Možnosti proučevanja obveščevalne dejavnosti.*
URL: http://www.fvv.um.si/dv2008/zbornik/clanki/britovsekj.pdf [3. 8. 2016]

Britovšek, J., Sotlar, A. (2014). Zasebna obveščevalna dejavnost.
Varstvoslovje, year. 16, no. 3, pp. 278-295.
URL:https://www.fvv.um.si/rV/arhiv/20143/04_Britovsek_Sotlar.pdf [3. 3. 2017]

Chesterman, S. (2006). *The spy who came in from the cold war: Intelligence and international law.*
URL:https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/aldrich/vigilant/v27n4-chesterman.pdf [22. 3. 2017]

Časopis Večer. (2017). Roka pravice jih stežka doseže.
URL: http://www.publishwall.si/casopisvecer/post/265638/roka-pravice-jih-stezka-doseze [26. 3. 2018]

Deeks, A. (2016). Confronting and adapting: Intelligence Agencies and International Law. *Public Law & Legal Theory Reserch Paper Series 2016-31*
URL:https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2768339 [11. 5. 2017]

Dowswell, P., Fleming, F. (2006). *Resnične zgodbe Vohuni.* Ljubljana: Koleda.

Dunajska konvencija o diplomatskih odnosih. Uradni list RS mednarodne pogodbe, št. 42/2013.

Freeman, C. W., Marks, S. Diplomacy. *Encyclopedia Britannica.*
URL: https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy [2. 9. 2016]

Glees, A. (2018). When is a diplomat really just a spy? *BBC news.*
URL: http://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-43556816 [16. 4. 2018]

Hughes, G. P., Oleson, P. C. (2016). Diplomacy & Intelligence Strange Bedfellows. *Intellinger: Journual of U. S. Inteligence Studies.*
URL: http://www.whwg.com/wpcontent/uploads/2017/01/Diplomacy-Intelligence.pdf [24. 6. 2018]

Jazbec, M. (2007). Vohun ali diplomat. 2: vojaški ataše polkovnik Vladimir Vauhnik. *Revija obramba*, no. 12, pp. 57-58.

Jazbec, M. (2007). *Vojaška in obrambna diplomacija.* Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.

Jazbec, M. (2009). *Osnove diplomacije.* Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.

Jazbec, M. (2015). *Diplomat Martin Krpan.* Ljubljana: Založba Forma 7.

Justinek, G. (2011). *Model ekonomske diplomacije Slovenije.* Maribor: Ekonomsko-poslovna fakulteta Maribor.

Kuhelj, S. (2012). *Vloga in pomen vohunov med hladno vojno.* Maribor: Fakulteta za varnostne vede.

Law and Customs of War (Hague IV), 1907. URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hague04.asp [5. 8. 2016]

Lloyd, M. (2018). Sergei Skripal poisoning: It's common practice for spies to work in embassies. So when is a diplomat a spy? In: *ABC news.* URL:http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-03-27/russia:-why-its-common-practice-for-spies-to-work-in-embassies/9594266?section=politics [16. 4. 2018]

Lukić, D. (1982). *Savremena špijunaža*. Beograd: Privredna štampa.

Mešič, A. (2015). *Diplomatska imuniteta in njena zloraba*. Maribor: Pravna fakulteta.

Milašinović, R. M. (1983). *Teror slobode; lice i naličje diplomatije*. Zagreb: Jugoart.

Milašinović, R. M. (1984). *CIA Moć i politika.* Zagreb: Birotehnika.

Petrič, E. (2010). *Zunanja politika: osnove teorije in prakse.* Mengeš: Center za evropsko prihodnost.

Podbregar, I. (2008). *Vohunska dejavnost in gospodarstvo*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.

Popov, D. (1973). *Šifra tricycle.* Zagreb: Naprijed.

Purg, A. (1995). *Obveščevalne službe*. Ljubljana: Enotnost.

Purg, A. (2002). *Primerjalni obveščevalni sistemi*. Ljubljana: Visoka policijsko-varnostna šola.

Radsan, A. J. (2007). The unresolved equation of espionage and international law. In: *Michigan Journal of International Law*. URL: http://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1170&context=mjil [13. 2. 2017]

Sancin, V., Švarc, D., Ambrož, M. (2009). *Mednarodno pravo oboroženih spopadov.* Ljubljana: Poveljstvo za doktrino, razvoj, izobraževanje in usposabljanje.

Simoniti, I., Jager Agius, I. (2014). Diplomatsko in konzularno pravo. In*: Diplomatsko pravo izbrane konvencije*/ur. Iztok Simoniti. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede. pp. 3-59.

Sulmasy, G., Yoo, J. (2006), Counterintuitive: Intelligence Operations and International Law. In*: Berkeley Law Scholarship Repository.* URL: http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1656&context=facpubs [20. 3. 2017]

Šaponja, V. (1999). *Taktika dela obveščevalnovarnostnih služb.* Ljubljana: Visoka policijsko-varnostna šola.

Türk, D. (2007). *Temelji mednarodnega prava.* Ljubljana: GV Založba.

Thomas, G. (2010). *Tajne vojne.* Tržič: Učila International.

Ustanovna listina Organizacije združenih narodov. Uradni list RS mednarodne pogodbe, no. 2/2014.

Vauhnik, V. (1972). *Nevidna fronta.* ČGP Delo.

Vukadinović, R. (1994). *Diplomacija: strategija političnih pogajanj.* Zagreb: Otvoreno sveučilišče.

Wright, Q. (2008). Espionage and the doctrine of non-intervention in international affairs. In*: Esseys on espionage and international law*/ur. Roland J. Stanger. San Francisco: Ohio state university. pp. 3-28.

European Perspectives – International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives
volume 9, number 1 (16), pp 65-84, October 2018

What Kant preaches to the UN: democratic peace theory and "preventing the scourge of war"

Bekim Sejdiu[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper exploits academic parameters of the democratic peace theory to analyze the UN's principal mission of preserving the world peace. It inquires into the intellectual horizons of the democratic peace theory – which originated from the Kant's "perpetual peace" – with the aim of prescribing an ideological recipe for establishing solid foundation for peace among states. The paper argues that by promoting democracy and supporting democratization, the UN primarily works to achieve its fundamental mission of preventing the scourge of war. It explores practical activities that the UN undertakes to support democracy, as well as the political and normative aspects of such an enterprise, is beyond the reach of this analysis. Rather, the focus of the analysis is on the democratic peace theory. The confirmation of the scientific credibility of this theory is taken as a sufficient argument to claim that by supporting democracy the UN would advance one of its major purposes, namely the goal of peace.

KEY WORDS: democracy, peace, Kant, UN

POVZETEK

Prispevek na osnovi teorije demokratičnega miru analizira temeljno misijo OZN, to je ohranitev svetovnega miru. Poglablja se v intelektualna obzorja teorije demokratičnega miru – ki izhaja iz Kantovega "večnega miru" – s ciljem začrtati ideološki recept za vzpostavitev čvrstih temeljev za mir med državami. Prispevek zagovarja hipotezo, da OZN s promoviranjem demokracije in z njenim podpiranjem predvsem prispeva k izpolnitvi svojega temeljnega poslanstva, to je preprečevati izbruh vojn. Proučuje praktične aktivnosti, ki jih OZN izvaja v podporo demokraciji kakor tudi politične in normativne vidike takšnih projektov. Osrednja analitična pozornost je posvečena teoriji demokratičnega miru. Avtor meni, da je potrditev znanstvene relevantnosti te teorije zadosten argument, da bi OZN s podporo demokraciji lahko okrepili svoj glavni namen, to je zagotavljanje miru.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: demokracija, mir, Kant, OZN

1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Bekim Sejdiu, PhD, is Judge at the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Kosovo; lecturer at the Law Faculty of the University of Prishtina. He served as Ambassador of Kosovo to Turkey and Consul General to New York. E-mail: bekimsejdiu@yahoo.com.

Introduction

When the drafters of the UN Charter mentioned "peace/peaceful" forty-seven times, they epitomized with one single word the memory as well as the aspiration of the organization. The UN Charter was intended to mark the breaking point between two eras; namely the horrors of the Second World War and the aspiration to put the final nail to the coffin of world wars. The scope of UN's work has expanded tremendously ever since. It stretches from economic sanctions of the Security Council, to illiteracy in Africa, from arts and science to non-proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, from global warming to sustainable development. Notwithstanding this overstretch of the UN, preventing member states from fighting each other remains its essential *raison d'être.*

Around one-and-a-half century before the UN was created, the renowned German philosopher Immanuel Kant expressed his believe that the republican form of government was the path to peace, as it tamed the war-prone inclination of states. Thus, Kant laid down an ideological foundation of what later became to be known as democratic peace theory. The liberal thinkers of the democratic peace theory pretend that they have identified an ideological formula for reaching the fundamental goal of peace among states. In their explanation, democracy is the strong guarantee of peace among its ranks. This means that democratic states are predisposed to enjoy pacific relations with one another, but not with non-democratic ones. This theory continues to attract huge academic and political debate. Any confirmation of the credibility of this theory would appear as a self-fulfilling prophecy to the UN. By promoting democracy and assisting democratization of its members states the UN would do the strongest investment into the foundation of world peace.

This paper investigates into the explanatory gates of the democratic peace theory. In this endeavor, it explores the conceptual tenets of this theory, the major criticism it continues to encounter as well as the empirical testing that confirms its validity.

Democratic peace theory: between scientific ambition and political stigma

The democratic peace theory establishes an inherent causality between democracy and peace by claiming that democratic states do not

go to war with one another – while they do not manifest the same peaceful predisposition towards non-democracies. This theory owes its genesis to the liberal tradition in philosophy and political sciences. Michael Doyle (2004: 2) rightly observes that in the eighteen and nineteen century, liberal philosophers started to proclaim that republics were inclined towards peace. He further underlined that this new quality of the republics contradicted the earlier thinking of Thucydides or Machiavelli, who perceived republics as war-prone and imperialistic.

Immanuel Kant is considered as the intellectual forefather of democratic peace theory. In his seminal essay *The Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, written in 1795, Kant argued that the path towards eternal peace passed through the gates of the republican form of government. Kantian republic was characterized by separation of powers, representative government and individual freedom and equality (Maoz and Russet, 1993: 4). In the ideological map of today, all these attributes find prominent place in liberal democracies. As to the " democratic zone of peace" imagined by Kant, it was to be constituted on three pillars, namely the republican form of government, free trade and international law and organizations (Oneal, 2003: 371-393). Kant did not believe that peace was a natural condition, but rather a contractual one. Only republics were capable of forging such a contractual order, by agreeing to abide by the rule of public law in their mutual relations (Covell, 1994: 28).

The proposition that democracy has pacifying effects on relations among states that embrace it as a model of governance is hailed as one of the most trustworthy scientific outcomes of the international relations discipline. For some authors, such as John Owen (1994: 87), democratic peace theory is the "closest thing to an empirical law" in international relations discipline. Along these lines of argument, Rasler and Thompson (2005: 3) underlined that the "finding that democracies do not fight other democracies has come to be regarded as a law-like cornerstone of knowledge about international politics." Even Samuel Huntington – who is known for putting culture, rather than ideology, at the epicenter of theorizing about world politics – noticed the significance of democratic peace theory. He opined that "the democratic peace thesis is one of the most significant propositions to come out of social science in recent decades. If true, it has essential implications for both, theory and policy" (cited in Brown et al, 1996: 63).

More than one century passed since Kant's "Perpetual Peace," when democratic peace theory started to get scientific scrutiny. Since the 1960s, scholars such as: Melvin Small, David Singer, Michael Doyle, John Owen, Bruce Russet, Rudolph Rummel, Zeev Maoz, engaged in theorizing about the correlation between democracy and peace.

Theoretical analysis

The general proposition that democratic states do not fight with one another is very widely accepted because of its confirmation by international political reality. However, this theory continues to face staunch intellectual roadblocks in its quest to establish itself as a scientific knowledge whose validity is beyond doubt. Even more, if this theory is broadly endorsed, this does not mean that it is easily elucidated. Obviously, it is much easier to argue that something works than to explain why and how it does so.

The proponents of the democratic peace theory put forward two general explanations to depict the causality between democracy and peace. The first explanation pertains to institutional design of democratic systems. The second argument has to do with the normative elements of political life in democratic countries.

The institutional constrains are of structural nature and they have to do with the decision-making process in democratic countries. Namely, diffusion of political power among different institutions – with the check and balances – as well as the leverage of citizens over the political decision-making complicates the decision-making process in democratic system. Consequently, the government in democratic state would need institutional as well as popular support, for any decision to wage a war against another country. This decision become much more difficult if no big national interest is at stake or if the outcome of war is not clear. A number of scholars have referred to the argument that structural factors make war less likely.[2] Thus, Sitliski (2009: 32) thinks that "the institutional structure of liberal democracies makes it hard to garner support for militarized actions, as opposed to authoritarian regimes, where decision to go to war depends, ultimately, upon the personality and the resolve of the rules." The same argument is repeated by other authors, such as Farnham (2003: 369), who claim that the complex process of decision-making in democratic states, and the

2 See for this argument, B. Farnham (2003:397); Ch. Layne (1993: 6).

leverage of public opinion over it, makes leaders of these countries inclined to seek a peaceful settlement of mutual disputes. Consequently, this creates permissive environment for diplomatic solution.

The institutional/structural explanation is sound but insufficient for establishing unequivocal causality between democracy and peace. It cannot explain why the institutional constrains make democratic states peaceful in relations only with each other, not with non-democracies? Democratic peace theory holds that democracies are inherently peaceful only in relations with other fellow democratic countries – not with non-democracies. Indeed, many authors have argued that democratic states show high propensity for conflict in dealing with non-democratic states (Gochman, 1997: 177-187). Furthermore, the argument that public opinion in democratic countries nurture peaceful perceptions toward each other has also been questioned by the opponents of the democratic peace theory.

The explanatory gap that is left by the structural argument is bridged by bringing up the normative factors, which entails the political culture that prevails in democratic countries. This political culture is construed through common norms embraced by the political actors in democratic countries. Within this ambit, peaceful expression of political divergences and competing interests is one of the fundamental norms of democratic polity. The conclusion that the advocates of democratic peace derive from this normative attribute of democratic countries is that political decision-makers in democratic countries are predisposed to rely on dialogue and peaceful accommodation to solve disputes with the fellow democratic leaders, in the same way as they do with the domestic political rivals. Conflict is one the underlying feature of democracy, and so are the rules and mechanisms for its peaceful expression and accommodation. Lipset (1960: 403) succinctly observed that "democracy requires institutions which support conflict and disagreement, as well as those which sustain legitimacy and consensus." With this claim, he echoed Alexis de Tocqueville, for whom democracy entailed a balance between the forces of conflict and consensus (Ibid). It is only within the context of democratic system that different political orientations and conflicting social interests can be expressed. This means that political rivalry and competition is the major political feature of democratic countries, but so are the norms and procedures for their peaceful expression.

This wisdom is thought to prevail among political decision-makers in democratic countries, in their encounter with political opponents within and outside. This positive perception towards other democratic countries is shared also by public opinion. At least this is what democratic peace theorists believe. In this interpretation, democratic leaders are predisposed to rely on the norms of compromise and peaceful accommodation in their mutual relations. By default, this means that democratic decision-makers expect their counterparts in fellow democracies to apply the norms of peaceful resolution of conflicts (Layne 1994: 9). Wagner (2003: 697) observes that democratic countries forge a "common democratic identity [...], which are expected to externalize their internal decision-making norms and rules in their foreign policy behavior." The belief that democratic countries create a feeling of common democratic identity – one they do not share with non-democracies – is shared by many advocates of democratic peace theory (such as Zeev Maoz, Bruce Russet, Wei He). Thus, Maoz and Russet, for example, opined that "in conflict with non-democratic states, democracies behave much more in the accord with the dictates of realism since they do not have the same expectations about how these states behave" (cited in Siverson, 1995: 482). Ronald Regan might have been disinterested in the theoretical enterprises of liberal thinkers. Yet, in his address to the UN General Assembly he stated that "governments that break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers" (The American Presidency Project, 1986).
Dispersed political decision-making as well the culture of peaceful accommodation of political competition, represent the two pillars of the explanatory framework coined by the liberal scholars of democratic peace theory. Yet they derive their strength from the empirical confirmation of their hypothesis. Before analyzing the empirical survey, it is necessary to expose the counter-arguments of the opponents of democratic peace theory.

Opposing arguments against the democratic peace theory

It is very common among its opponents to portray the democratic peace proposition as a political vehicle of the US and reflection of the Western ideological hegemony. The Indian author Atul Bharadwaj (2005: 33) stigmatizes the democratic peace theory as a tool of American foreign policy by which the world is divided in two parts – friends and foes – and through which the sovereignty of the other countries is jeopardized. Indeed, democratic peace faces most of the intellectual

challenge in the Western academic battlefield. Robert Cox (1999: 137) had once asked a rhetorical question: "for whom and for what purpose has the democratic peace theory been constructed?"

The fixation of subsequent US administrations with the idea that international liberalism and American interest are intertwined – at least since Wilson's "fourteen points" – have constantly kept democratic peace theory with one leg on political and another on academic terrain. The prominent scholar of international relations, John Ikenberry (1999), observed that in the American perception spreading of democracy serves the national interests, particularly security. From another angle, Kissinger (1994: 33) noted that American foreign policy paradigm is constantly permeated by the "Wilsonian impulse." Kissinger, for whom necessity of *realpolitik* should prevail over any ideological loyalty, observed that "majority of the American leaders were convinced then as they are now that America has a special responsibility to spread its values as it contributes to the world peace."

For healthy academic debate, it is much more important whether proposition that democracies are peaceful with each other is scientifically credible, than who supports spreading of democracy. On academic terrain, the democratic peace proposition is challenged on several grounds. At the methodological level, many scholars posit that correlation does not necessarily confirm the existence of any causality. Along these lines, Keneth Waltz (2000: 9) has underlined that – notwithstanding the data supporting democratic peace thesis – it is known to everyone, at least since David Hume, that association of events does not imply the existence of causal relation. Hence, even if war among democracies is uncommon this is coincidence, which cannot be portrayed as a law-like generalization. Mathew White (2005) put it ironically that democratic peace thesis "is not nearly as strong as the statement that not two countries with a McDonald's restaurant have ever gone to war with one another."

Another antithesis of democratic peace proposition is put by authors, such as Errol Henderson (1999: 203-231), who claim that Cold War geopolitical and security parameters yielded pacification effects among the Western democracies. In this depiction, democratic peace can explain the lack of war between democratic states after WWII, only in conjunction with political alliances, bipolarity and nuclear deterrence.

Another criticism has to do with the vague confines of the concepts of war and democracy. This fact permits liberal theorists of democratic peace to construe their arbitrary empirical surveys. Subsequently, the opponents of this theory have put forward their empirical surveys with the aim of arguing that democratic peace is unhistorical. Farber and Gowa (1996: 177-178) posit that democratic peace applies only to the post-WWII Euro-Atlantic setting. The argument that liberal democracy pacified relations between the US and its Western allies during the Cold War era is also noted by Maoz (1997), Thompson and Tucker (1997).

Some critics of democratic peace proposition have gone further by arguing that peace produced democracy, not the other way around. Moreover, democratization, as a political process, stimulates conflict and war. In this reversal logic of causality adopted by some authors (e.g., Rasler and Thompson, 2005: 28-37), peace produces democracy, and, in turn, democratization encourages more pacific behavior within its ranks. The implication of this approach is that democracy is a dependent variable, as it can have positive effect on peace only in conjunction with other factors.

Some authors have argued that, while it is debatable whether democracy buttresses peace, it is certain that the process of democratic transition is characterized by polarization, turbulences and conflict. This is true particularly in the transitional countries that suffer from economic fragility and weak institutional structures (Mansfield and Snyder 2002: 205; Bates 2008: 9).

Democratic peace theory strikes back: additional conceptual clarifications and empirical corroboration

The democratic peace theory would be a slogan, not a scientific claim, if democracy would accommodate any political model that calls itself democratic. This has prompted liberal scholars of democratic peace to sharpen the conceptual boundaries of democracy. They have clarified that by democracy is not meant every country that proclaims itself to be as such. Moreover, even countries that have embarked on democratic transition but still struggle to consolidate their democracies, do not qualify to be endorsed by the democratic peace theory. It transpires, therefore, that not democracies but liberal democracies do not fight with each other. In other words, only liberal democracies are eligible

for membership in the "democratic zone of peace." Some authors, such as Michael Doyle, have applied quantitative calculation to argue that to count a war as one conducted between democracies their governments need to be in office for at least three uninterrupted years (cited in Maoz and Russet, 1993:16).

Quantifications of this nature remain poorly suited to disqualify Hitler and Milosevic from the democratic club. They both came into power through elections and remained in power for many years. Democracy is much more than holding periodic competitive elections and every person with basic understanding of political systems recognizes this difference. The distinction between liberal as opposed to non-liberal democracies is more than statistical. Doyle distinguished the following features of liberal democracies: external sovereignty, judicial rights of its citizenry, the right to vote for at least 30 percent of the adult population, and generally representative government (cited in Tarzi, 2007: 41). Many authors (such as Larry Diamond 1995) have emphasized the fundamental difference between electoral versus liberal democracies.

In a seminal article published in 1997, Fareed Zakaria (1997: 22-42) rang the alarming bell about the rise of illiberal democracies in some parts of the world. The illiberal democracies, in his depiction, are characterized by the omnipotent role of cliques or individual leaders, which assume the political power through the democratic means – namely competitive elections. Yet they subsequently undermine the fundamental pillars of democracy, such as separation of powers, checks and balances, free media and competitive market economy. In Kant's imagination, democratic zone of peace is demarcated by liberal lines. It cannot thrive in absence of separation of powers, check and balances and civil liberties. This is what advocates of democratic peace have put forward as an argument to pursue their empirical corroboration.

Empiricism is the major scientific muscle of democratic peace theory. The empirical support for democratic peace theory prompted Levy (1988: 622) to claim that democratic peace theory is the closest thing to an empirical law found in the study of international relations. The validity of the proposition that consolidated democratic countries rarely, if ever, engage in war with one another is generally confirmed in the practical realm. Pugh (2005:7) noted that "the strength of the liberal peace lies in the empirical record that supports the proposi-

tion." Gieseler (2004: 1) went further to underline that:
"regardless of how attractive one might find the theoretical propositions that democracies do not fight one another and are not aggressors in wars with non-democratic states, were they not supported empirically they would occupy a position somewhere between interesting fantasy and waste-of-time."

In their empirical battlefield, the proponents of democratic peace theory strive for generalization while the opponents search for exemptions. The supporters of this theory have constantly put forward empirical data, to establish the causal link between democracy and peace. Thus, Bruce Russet (1993) has claimed that it is impossible to identify unambiguously any war between democratic states in the period since 1815. Russet analyzed the America-British War of 1812, American Civil War of 1861, the Second Philippine War of 1899, the two world wars, and the wars in Middle East between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Russet does not find any war between two democratic states throughout this long historical trajectory. These empirical finding are reiterated by many other authors, such as Rummel (1998), Gleditsch and Hegre (1997). They maintain that not only wars but even smaller military conflicts are very unusual among democracies. Rummel (2002), for example, scrutinized all major wars of the period between 1816 and 1991, which statistically involved 350 dyads of states engaged in conflict. He came to the conclusion that none of these pairings included two democracies fighting each other. John Norton Moore (2003: 282-284) stretches his empirical telescope to the UN era, to conclude that only the Suez War of 1956 – in which Britain and France went to war against Egypt as a reaction to the nationalization of the Suez Canal – could be qualified as aggression on the part of democratic states, in this case against a non-democracy (Egypt was not democracy in 1956). It follows that, while democracies manifest disinclination to engage in military conflict with one another, this does not apply to their interaction with non-democracies. Maoz and Russet (1993: 635) posit that "the more democratic are both members of a pair of states, the less likely it is that a militarized dispute break out between them, and the less likely it is that any dispute that do break out will escalate." Tom and Weeks (2013) have conducted an experiment-type of investigation with the American and British citizens, in a scenario whereby a country is developing a nuclear weapon. Participants in the experiment showed significantly less support for military strikes against a democracy, than against identical autocracies. The positive perception

and respect that democratic societies nurture reciprocally was the major reason given by the respondents.

Second World War, the war between Turks and Greeks in Cyprus in 1974, and the wars in the Former Yugoslavia in the1990s, are the most typical cases mentioned by the authors who reject the empirical claims of democratic peace theory. In the case of WWII, the most interesting case is the decision of the Finish government to side with the Axis powers. However, as Russet (1993: 18) has rightly argued, Finland was actively on war only with the Soviet Union, a non-democratic state which had annexed parts of its territory in the "Winter War" of 1939-1940. As to the argument that Hitler came to power through the electoral process, the fact is that the Weimar Republic was not a consolidated democracy but an aborted attempt to become so. Hitler put the nail in the democratic coffin of the Weimer Republic.

As a side note, the argument that geopolitical and ideological underpinnings of the Cold War created exceptionally peaceful relations between Western democracies is flawed. The bipolar divide, *per se*, did not impose peaceful relations within the two camps. The Eastern communist bloc did not enjoy the same peaceful atmosphere within its ranks, during this period. Soviet Union invaded forcefully Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968). The Soviet Union also engaged in series of armed clashes with communist China in 1969, over a border dispute. China also fought against Vietnam in 1979, in response to the latter's invasion of Cambodia and the overthrow of the China-backed Khmer Rouge regime. All of these countries were communist.

On another historical page, the case of military conflict between Turks and Greeks in Cyprus in 1974 does not discredit the democratic peace theory but quite the opposite. These two countries have several contentious issues with the constant potential for generating tensions and conflicting situations – Cyprus being one of them. In the 1970s, both countries were struggling with the consolidation of democracy. The open war erupted in 1974, whereby the Turkish military invasion of the island was response to disruption triggered by the Greek military junta-backed coup in Cyprus. Therefore, this was an armed conflict between a military dictatorship and an unconsolidated democracy.

The wars of dissolution of former Yugoslavia are an interesting empirical testing for the interaction between democracy and peace. They

testify that the processes of democratization may trigger conflict, when it coalesces with other factor – such as dormant historical animosities, structural problems of the political system and economic hardships. Political pluralism in former Yugoslavia, in the beginning of 1990s, commenced with armed militias and ballot boxes. The causes of bloody wars that plagued former Yugoslavia are complex, with Serbian nationalism and Milosevic being the driving force. However, in no episode of the Yugoslavia's dissolution drama can be said that two stable democracies engaged in military conflict with each other. Wolf and Weed observe that:

"None of the nine Central and Eastern European countries which, according to the Freedom House ratings, have become "free" between 1988 and 1993 (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia) became embroiled in an interstate war (i.e. hostility with more than 1000 battle-related deaths), and only one of them (Slovenia) has been engaged in a small military conflict. By contrast, 8 of the remaining13 less-democratic states have taken up arms since the Soviet empire collapsed (Wolf et al 1996: 177).

The debate about the relation between democratization and conflict is inconclusive. Democratic transition is smoother in the countries with social cohesion, solid political emancipation, middle class, industrialized economy and so one. Likewise, transition to democracy could be particularly instable if it takes place in the absence of the above prerequisites. Hence, it is not possible to draw any generalization about the causality between democratization and conflict. Nor does this issue discredit the explanatory potential of the democratic peace theory.

The UN and the aspiration of perpetual peace

If spreading of democracy advances world peace, the UN should be at the forefront of the global democratic crusade. There are other global benefits from democracy – in addition to peace – such as its interdependency with human rights and good governance. However, these aspects are beyond the purview of this analysis.

The question is whether and how the UN should engage in supporting democracy. There are three facts that need to be emphasized at the ousted of any debate about the UN's work towards supporting democracy in the world. First, many of the UN member states are

non-democratic. One can find among them from fragile states and illiberal democracies to cruel dictatorships. Second, the UN itself lacks democratic credentials, with the Security Council standing as an icon of legal inequality among member states. Third, the UN does not have an independent decision-making capacity. Notwithstanding these constraining circumstances, the UN does not face any impermeable barrier to boost its support for democracy and democratization processes across the world.

First, the UN has quite a long history of activities in support of democratization processes. Kofi Annan (2015) has correctly observed that the UN does more than any other single organization to promote and strengthen democracy. Interestingly, this aspect of UN activities has been largely overlooked by academia and ignored by politics. The truth of the matter is that the UN has been involved with democratization processes since its engagement in the decolonization context, whereby it facilitated the transition of political power from colonial to indigenous institutions (Sejdiu and Onsoy, 2014: 41). Tom Farer observes that UN's role in assisting the self-determination was as important as deciding "which indigenous political parties should be deemed legitimate representatives of the subjugated people and whether the conditions existed for the exercise for an authentic popular choice of post-colonial political status" (cited in Newman and Rich, 2004: 33). Since the beginning of 1990s, and with the fading away of the iron curtain, UN rapidly increased and diversified its support for democracy around the world. The routine activities that the UN undertakes to support democracy range from electoral assistance and technical support for parliaments and election bodies,[3] to exporting of democracy through peacebuilding missions or adoption of the "soft law" (i.e., resolutions and declarations), which promote democratic model of governance. As we have argued elsewhere, the peacebuilding operations of the post-Cold War era have become a vehicle through which the UN has implanted the seeds of democracy in the war-torn countries (Paris, 2001: 36). Furthermore, democracy has been propagated as the only desirable form of governance in most of the landmark documents adopted by the UN in the aftermath of the Cold War, such as the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Millennium Development Goal, An Agenda for Peace, In Larger Freedom, and so one (Sejdiu and

3 More than one hundred countries have requested and received election assistance from the UN (Electoral Assistance Division of the Department of Political Affairs, 2017). On the other hand, UNDP spends annually US$1.5 billion in supporting democratic governance (UN Official page, http://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/democracy/).

Onsoy, 2014). UN has been cautious in not crossing the sovereignty line. It has done so by repeating that the UN does not advocate any particular model of democracy, because countries will inevitably be "differently democratic," as UNDP emphasizes (2002:4). Yet beyond this slogan, the type of democracy that the UN supports, in its daily work, thrives on the Western-origin concepts of constitutional democracy – based on free and fair elections, civil liberties, separations of power and checks and balances.

Second, for most of the time, the discussion about the UN and democracy is related to the non-democratic nature of organization itself. The Human Rights Council resembles the "table for tyrants," lamented Vaclav Havel (2009: 1). Kofi Annan (2005: 45) addressed the same criticism towards Human Rights Commission (the predecessor of Human Rights Council), where, in his view, "states have sought membership not to strengthen human rights but to protect themselves against criticisms, or to criticize others." The Security Council is the paragon of the UN's non-democratic credentials. However, obsession with the veto power of the "permanent five," should not be intertwined with the support of UN for the democratization of its member states. If the veto power in the Security Council would be erased, Nor Korean citizens would not acquire the freedom of speech nor would Belarus and Eritrea have free elections. This would make states more equal in international system but not more democratic at home. Equality of states at the international realm and the leverage of citizens over the political decision-making within their own states, are not the same thing.

Third, while it is true that the UN is primarily what states make of it, it is also undeniable that the world organization is much more than an administrative service of its members. Inis Claude (1996) has portrayed the image of "two UN's," namely the UN of the member states and the UN of the Secretariat and international civil service. Thomas Weiss (2010) added the third profile, namely the UN of NGOs, academics, commissions. The UN is defined, primarily, by the struggle to accommodate national interests and translate them into collective action for common good. However, "the second" and "the third" UN give to it considerable autonomous political identity. International organizations, observe Weiss and Thakur (2010: xvii), "remain anchored in the state system [...] but they have become (independent) vehicles for setting global agendas and framing global issues, creating and diffusing norms, and collective legitimization."

Furthermore, the fundamental principles of sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs of independent states are not as Westphalian as they may sound. They did not prevent the UN to engage in promoting and supporting democratization in the de-colonization context, nor in erecting, under its umbrella, of the international human rights regime. As Boutros-Ghali (1996: 13) aptly emphasized, the word democracy does not find place in the UN Charter, yet it is embodied in its spirit, starting from the Preamble. The norm of democracy is enshrined in some of the most fundamental UN legal instruments that followed the Charter, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and in almost all major post-Cold War declarations and reports of the Secretary General (Sejdiu and Onsoy, 2014).

UN is a system more than a mere intergovernmental organization with a universal membership. It is an expression of political emancipation of mankind, which is manifested through collective attempt to find cure for the world's most acute problems. The UN's agenda has overstretched to cover wide range of issues that permeate every strata of social life. Fortunately, the UN era has not witnessed a major war of the world scale. This fact notwithstanding, the principal mission of the UN, reflected firmly in the Charter, remains "preventing the scourges of war."

The democratic peace theory indicates an ideological path for boosting peace among states. Perhaps the conceptual tools of this theory are not appropriate to tackle the phenomena of wars involving non-state actors (i.e., intra-state conflicts). Yet, the nation states remain the only political actors that can project military force at a large scale, in a systematic way and over a longer period of time. Hence, the objective of preserving the world peace has to do primarily with preventing states from fighting with one another. Within the liberal paradigm of international relations discipline – and their positivist methodology which strives for identifying broadly applicable generalizations in the social life – democratic peace theory offers a formula for ameliorating the confrontational instincts of states. No better explanation than democratic peace has come out as yet from the social sciences, to indicate a clear ideological gateway towards a peaceful coexistence between states.

Conclusion

The least thing one would expect from the UN is to be influenced by the academic products of university cathedras. UN is here to deal with the nuclear tests of North Korea or illiteracy in Africa, not to bother with how Kant and Hobbes theorized about states and war. UN's task is to deal with concrete problems of the world and war is among the most acute ones.

Preventing "scourges of war" is the fundamental task and democratic peace theory purports to have found the political formula for reaching that goal. The recipe for reaching a durable peace among states through making them democratic has been sketched by philosophical writings of Immanuel Kant, in the eighteenth century. Almost two centuries latter this proposition was put into a scientific methodological frame by the endeavors of liberal scholars of political sciences. They managed to establish a sound causal link between (stable) democracy and peace, and to provide solid empirical evidence in support of their proposition. This causality is explained by emphasizing two fundamental attributes of democratic governments that largely influence their mutual interaction. The first element has to do with institutional setup of the democratic countries, which is based on the separation of powers and checks and balances. The second element has to do with the normative features of democratic polity, which is underpinned by the culture of peaceful accommodation of differences and competition. These two features are thought to put considerable constraining effect on democratic countries, if it comes to conflicting situations between them.

The label "stable democracy" – which in common discourse is related to liberal democracy – warranted two additional explanations by the advocates of democratic peace theory. First, not every country that holds periodic multiparty elections is qualified as such by the conceptual parameters of democratic peace theory. Second, the process of democratic transitions might be polarizing and, even, conflicting. However, none of these facts refutes the assumption that, as a general experience, consolidated democracies are disinclined to fight with one another.

The UN is not an intellectual clique but an intergovernmental organization. Yet, as the above analyzes has highlighted, the UN does have

the experience the capacity and the possibility to support spreading of democracy in the world. By supporting democracy at a global realm, the UN does not contribute only to human liberty but foremost to international peace.

References

Annan, K., 2005. *Excerpt from Kofi Annan's Report on UN Reform: In Larger Freedom*. [online] Available at: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/global-taxes/48066-excerpt-from- kofi-annans-report-on-un-reform-in-larger-freedom-.html> [Accessed 7 November 2018].

Atul, B., 2005. *Man, state and the myth of democratic peace*. [online] Available at: <http://www.mafhoum.com/press3/112S21_files/AN-APR0402-9.htm> [Accessed 20 July 2018].

Bates, R., 2008. State failure. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 11, pp. 1 – 12.

Brown, M. E., Lynn-Jines, S. M. and Miller, S., 1996. *Debating the democratic peace*. Boston: MIT Press.

Claude, I. Jr., 1996. Peace and security: prospective roles for the two United Nations. *Global Governance*, Vol. 2 (3), pp. 289–298.

Covell, Ch., 1994. *Kant, liberalism and the pursuit of justice in the international order*. Hamburg: LIT.

Cox R., 1999. Civil society at the turn of the millennium: prospects for an alternative world order. *Review of International Studies,* Vol. 25 (1), pp. 3 – 28.

Diamond, L., 2016. Democracy in decline. *Foreign Affairs*, July/August Issue.

Doyle, M. W., 1986. Liberalism and world politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 80 (4), pp. 1151 – 1169.

Farber, H. and Gowa, J., 1997. Common interests or common polities? Reinterpreting the democratic peace theory. *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 59 (2), pp. 393 – 417.

Farnham, B., 2003. The theory of democratic peace and threat perception. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47 (3), pp. 395 – 415.

Ghali, B., 1996. *An Agenda for Democratization: Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations*, SG/SM/6865.

Gieseler, S. G., 2004. *Revisited debate on democratic peace*. [online] Available at: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2004_0103/gieseler_debate/gieseler_debate.html>[Acessed 9 October 2018].

Gleditsch, N. P. and Hegre, H., 1997. Peace and democracy: three levels of analysis. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 41(2), pp. 283 – 310.

Gochman, Ch., Aber, H. and Gowa, J., 1992. Correspondence: democracy and peace. *International Security*, Vol. 21 (3), pp. 177-187.

Havel, V., 2009. A Table for Tyrants. *New York Times*, 10 May.p.1.

Henderson, E.A., 1999. Neoidealism and the Democratic Peace. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 36 (2), pp. 203 – 231.

Ikenberry, J. G., 1999. Why export democracy?: The 'hidden grand strategy' of American foreign policy. *The Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 23 (2), pp. 56-65.

Kissinger, H., 1994. *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Layne, Ch.,1994. Kan or cant: the myth of democratic peace. *International Security*, Vol. 19 (2), pp. 5– 49.

Levy, J. S., 1988. Domestic politics and war. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18 (4), pp. 653 – 673.

Lipset, S. M., 1960. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Doubleday.

Mansfield, E. D. and Snyder, J., 2002. Incomplete democratization and the outbreak of military disputes. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 46 (4), pp. 529 – 549.

Maoz, Z. and Russett, B., 1993. Normative and structural causes of democratic peace, 1946 – 1986. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87(3), pp. 624 – 638.

Maoz, Z., 1997. The controversy over the democratic peace: rearguard action or cracks in the wall. *International Security*, Vol. 22 (1), pp. 162 – 98.

Moore, J. N. (2003). Solving the war puzzle (editorial comments). *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 97 (2), pp. 282 – 289.

Newman, E. and Rich, R., ed. 2004. *The UN role in promoting democracy: between ideals and reality*. New York, Paris, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

Oneal, J. R., 2003. Causes of peace: democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885–1992. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 47 (3), pp.371–393.

Owen, J.M., 1994. How liberalism produces democratic peace. *International Security,* Vol. 19 (2), pp. 88–89.

Paris, R., 2001. *Broadening the study of peace operations.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Pugh, J., 2005. *Democratic Peace Theory: A Review and Evaluation*. [online] Center for Mediation, Peace and Resolution of Conflicts. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312896575_Democratic_Peace_Theory_A_Review_and_Evaluation_CEMPROC_Working_Paper_Series > [Accessed: 7 October 2018].

Rasler, K. and Thompson, W., 2005. *Puzzles of the democratic peace theory, geopolitics and the transformation of world politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rummel, R.J., 1998. *Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900*. Munster: LIT.

Rummel, R.J., 2002. *Power kills: democracy as a method of nonviolence.* New York: Routledge.

Russet, B. ed., 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sejdiu, B. and Onsoy, M., 2014. Unveiling the unknown face: the Role of the United Nations in promoting democracy. *Perceptions*, Vol. XIX (2), pp. 33–59.

Sitilski, V., 2009. Tools of autocracy. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 20 (2), pp. 42–46.

Siverson, R., 1995. Democracies and war participation: in defense of the institutional constraints argument. *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1(4), pp. 481–489.

Tarzi, S. M., 2007. Democratic peace, illiberal democracy, and conflict behavior. *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol. 24 (4), pp. 35–60.

The American Presidency Project, 1986. *Address of President Regan to the United Nation on the meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland*. [online]

Available at: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=36587> [Accessed 20 August 2018].

The UN Secretary-General, 2015. Secretary-General's remarks to informal meeting of the General Assembly on the year ahead. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2015-01-08/secretary-generals-remarks-informal-meeting-general-assembly-year> [21 September 2018].

Thompson, W. R. and Tucker, R., 1997. Bewitched, bothered, and bewildered: a reply to Farber and Gowa and Mansfield and Snyder. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 41 (3), pp. 426 – 477.

Tom, M. and Weeks, J., 2013. Public opinion and the democratic peace. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107(3), pp. 849–865.

United Nations Development Programme, 2002. *Human Development Report 2002: Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World*. [online] Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/263/hdr_2002_en_complete.pdf > [Accessed 12 November 2018].

Wagner, W., 2003. Building an international security community, the democratic peace and the politics of extradition in Western Europe. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 4 (6), pp. 695–712.

Waltz, K. N., 2000. Structural realism after the cold war. *International Security*, Vol. 25 (1), pp. 5–41.

Weiss, Th. ed., 2010. *Thinking about global governance: why people and ideas matter*. London and New York: Routledge.

Weiss, Th. And Thakur, R. ed., 2010. *Global governance and the UN: an unfinished journey*. Bloom ington: Indiana University Press.

White, M., 2005. *Democracies do not make war on one another, or do they?* [online] Available at: <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/demowar.htm> [Accessed 23 September 2018.

Wolf, Reinhard, Weed, E., Andrew, J.E., Edward, D, M and Snyder, J., 1996. Correspondence: Democratization and the Danger of War. *International Security,* Vol. 20 (4), pp.176-207.
Zakaria, F., 1997. The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76 (6).

European Perspectives – International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives
volume 9, number 1 (16), pp 85-109, October 2018

Intercultural aspects of global competition

Zijad Bećirović[1]

ABSTRACT

Culture is perhaps the most determining feature of both individuals and the society. The respect of intercultural aspects is the key factor of global competition. Culture, especially the Western one, colours the process of globalization. International communication, globalization and culture have a significant impact on contemporary movements (events). The modern world is defined by cultural pluralism. Cultures define every social community and epitomize the production of sense in every society, thus essentially determining social relations. The strong impact of culture irrefutably exists in all spheres of society. It is difficult to define the nature of culture. At the same time, it allows for the definition to be broad enough. We must not observe culture only as a form. It is the spirit that often breaks the form and simultaneously provides its growth and amelioration. Religion, as the main part of culture, represents the foundation for different believes, ideas, behaviours, motivation for work, thus becoming one of the most important elements of understanding human society. It is this kind of cultural diversity that creates the need for intercultural communication. The assumption that humans are a universal category does not implicit our mutual understanding, i.e. that we understand others correctly and that others understand us. Therefore there is an increasing demand for intercultural communication which develops, facilitates and enriches human communication. This is of special importance in the era of globalization, when we live in multicultural environments and societies.

KEY WORDS: culture, intercultural communication, globalization, religions

POVZETEK

Na ravni posameznika in tudi družbe nas morda najbolj določa kultura. Globalna tekma tako ni mogoča brez upoštevanja interkulturnih vidikov. Kultura zaznamuje proces globalizacije, še posebej zahodna kultura. Interkulturno komuniciranje, globalizacija in kultura/religija pomembno vplivajo na sodobna dogajanja. Sodobni svet je zaznamovan s kulturnim pluralizmom. Kulture zaznamujejo vsako družbeno skupnost, predstavljajo produkcijo smisla za vsako družbo in pomembno določajo družbene odnose. Zaradi tega kultura močno vpliva na vse dele družbe. Kultura je kompleksen pojem, kar otežuje njeno definicijo, hkrati pa to omogoča, da se definira bolj široko. Kulturo ne smemo opazovati samo kot eno od oblik oziroma form. Predstavlja obenem tudi duh, ki pogosto ruši formo in istočasno omogoča njen razvoj in nadgradnjo. Religija kot sestavni del kulture predstavlja temelje za različna verovanja, ideje, vzorce obnašanja, motivacijo za delo in spada med najpomembnejše elemente za razumevanje družbe. Prav različnost kul-

1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Assist. Prof. Zijad Bećirović, PhD, Director of International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES), Email:zijad.becirovic@ifimes.org

tur in kulturnega razumevanja ustvarja potrebo po interkulturnem komuniciranju. Predpostavka, da so ljudje univerzalna bitja ne pomeni, da eni druge dovolj dobro razumejo oziroma da na pravi način razumemo druge in drugi nas. Zaradi tega narašča potreba po interkulturnem komuniciranju, ki razvija, olajšuje in bogati medsebojno komunikacijo. To je še posebej pomembno v dobi globalizacije in delovanja v (multi)kulturnih okoljih in družbah.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kultura, interkulturno komuniciranje, globalizacija, globalna tekma, religije

Introduction

Studying the intercultural aspects of global competition represents a challenge for every scholar who is fully aware of the complexity of dealing with this subject. That is why the author of this article has no ambition to analyse all the intercultural aspects of global competition, nor to give answers to all the questions that may occur during the study. The aim is to represent some aspects and to offer a modest scientific contribution.

Existence of different cultural groups includes different elements. Križan (2008, pp.15-16) notes the existence of a disagreement between scholars as to which elements should be included in the definition of culture, based upon common feeling of unity, i.e. the "identity" of some cultural groups. One group could base its identity on its language, the second could add religion to language, the third group might underline its „national customs", the fourth would accentuate its solidarity based on a centuries-old co-existence on the same territory, and so on.

The consequence of possibilities of including various elements in the definition of culture is the existence of subcultures within larger cultural groups. Cultural diversity is the reality of modern world and also of modern business for which companies have to have a corresponding strategy. Cultural diversity has a huge influence on the development and efficiency of companies' management. It is the reason why it should be important to analyse homogenous and nonhomogeneous groups and their influence on management efficiency.

Diversity of different cultures and cultural understanding awakens the need for intercultural communication. The assumption that humans are a universal category does not necessarily mean that we understand one another properly. Due to that, there is an increasing demand for intercultural communication that would develop, facilitate and enrich mutual communication. That is very significant in the era of globalization when we live in (multi)cultural environments.

The question is whether it is enough to know one's own culture in order to understand the culture of others or it only helps us in dealing with different individuals and cultures? Culture produces or significantly impacts production of the cultural and mental background. Every kind of communication between different cultures contributes

to mutual understanding and getting to know the specifics of other cultures.

Of course, it does not always lead to abandoning the negative ideas about „others“, nor does it contribute to eliminating the existing intolerance and xenophobia: being acquainted with the differences of others (customs, religion, clothing, behaviour...) does not implement the idea of accepting it. The question is will the intercultural communication be recognized and used like in „business“, for acquiring more information about cultures whose members communicate and, if that is the case, will it have any influence on reducing or perhaps even eradicating aversion to each other.

Religion is an important segment of culture. Being a social factor, religion has an impact on economy because it represents a highly valuable dimension of our being, considerably affects our lives, shapes and directs the courses of human existence. Hence, religion both connects and separates people. A fact is that businesses often make decisions in stressful conditions and in uncertainty and that such decisions are (i)rational to a certain extent and very often determined by cultural surroundings and the system of values in the particular society. An individual taking business decisions cannot be observed one-dimensionally, but in full complexity, with certain philosophical dignity, taking into account one's inclusion into certain (intercultural) milieu. Various institutions (formal and informal) have an influence on the society, among which religion and religious institutions play an important role.

There are few success stories - a brief world tour has shown us a world replete with failures. The problems of the developing world cannot be solved by the rest of the world. They will have to do that on their own. But we can at least create a more level playing field. It would be even better if we tilted it to favour the developing countries. There is a compelling moral case for doing this. I think there is also a compelling case that it is in our self-interest. Their growth will enhance our growth. Greater stability and security in the developing world will contribute to stability and security in the developed world (Stiglitz, 2007, p.59).

Culture is also directly connected with globalization which produces and generates multiculturality and an endless process of intertwining of different cultures. The larger part of literature on globalization connects it with the values of liberal capitalism.

There are three factors of globalization: technological development, the level of maturity of political relations and the level of theoretical knowledge and practical economic skills.

Most companies correspond to globalization with the following business activities: direct new investments, taking over, merging and strategic alliance.

Globalization occurs in differing cultural environments, often representing a conglomerate of different cultures and traditions. The increasingly present globalization has led to other processes, such as deglobalization and glocalization. Globalization produces conflicts between politicians and management. Politicians strive for deploying protectionism in order to protect the economy of their respective countries; whilst internationally operating companies change classic business practices on domestic markets and work globally, finding every sort of protectionism as a barrier.

Clusters or geographically concentrated, mutually connected companies represent an important phenomenon that figuratively, on a virtual basis, carry the features of each nation, religion, state, and even metropolis. Their strong presence reveals important insights into the microeconomy of competition and the role of location in the competitive advantage.

Intercultural communication

The main condition of successful communication is understanding the messages sent and exchanged between numerous interlocutors. If people do not understand each other properly, there is no agreement. Lack of understanding leads to prejudice. Cultural differences in communication and their acknowledgement represent a prerequisite for international communication. Communication plays the main role in the history of mankind. We could say that the history of mankind is actually the history of communication, especially in modern societies. Communication is something that accompanies us from birth, through life, and until death. Communicational process is based on the transfer of information. (Bećirović, 2014, p.145). Culture and communication are not separable, because different forms of communication are the leading features of every culture; on the other hand, culture can be transferred and developed only through communication and

communicating. An intercultural dialogue is every dialogue between members of different cultures. In a broader sense, it represents every dialogue between individuals belonging to different cultures. In a narrow sense, intercultural dialogue is a dialogue between members of different cultures, cultural differences being the subject of that dialogue (Križan, 2008, p.92).

TABLE 1: Hofsted's model (Adler, N., International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior, 2008, pp.44-62)

Individualism	Collectivism
Freedom for personal goals	Strong attachment to a group and its goal
Control of the source of guilt (internal)	Control comes from shame (external)
Accentuated individualism (self-respect)	Harmony and cohabitation within group
Avoiding uncertainty (low)	Avoiding uncertainty (high)
Openness to change	Valuing safety
Openness for new ideas	Faith in rigid, firmly shaped systems, rules and processes
Difference in strength (low)	Difference in strength (high)
Smaller distance between individuals on a hierarchical scale	Higher distance between individuals on a hierarchical scale
Valuing equal rights	Inequality is acceptable
Manhood (carrier)	Femininity (quality of life)
Assertiveness	Accentuated mutual relationships
Materialistically directed	Care for others
Inequality between man and woman	Equality between man and woman
Long-termism (intellect directed toward future)	Short-termism
Respect for persistence, hard work, honour,	Short-term direction (past, present)
Being economical	Valuing reciprocity, tradition

Hofsted developed this model that was later used by organizations as guidance for measuring cultural differences. He identified the main and most common differences between cultures based on an international research that covered 116.000 persons from 50 countries. He developed five dimensions that lead to all social problems (Roy, 2008).

Table 1 shows clearly the difference between both poles of each dimension. Individualism and collectivism define culture and individuals integrated within groups, thus representing a degree up to which

people behave as individuals or members of a group. We find typical individualists in the USA, while in Latin America the importance of groups is more accentuated. The second dimension (avoiding uncertainty) measures tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. For example, American citizens are quite relaxed when dealing with non-transparent and questionable problems, but in Latin America and West Africa people feel strong about them and tend to avoid them.

Models of culture are efficient for describing elements of culture. However, for a more precise comparison between cultures and their understanding, we have to divide cultures into dimensions. Zagoršek and Štambergar (2005, p.63) say that a common feature of all models is „breaking" culture into a few basic categories (dimensions) reflecting rudimentary social problems all societies are challenged with when regulating human activities. Roy (2008) divided organizational culture into three dimensions, while Hofstede (1980) primarily divided them into four dimensions, and later into five.

The difference in strength relates to the degree to which people feel readiness to accept inequality in society. Countries with a high degree of inequality preserve the differences among people, while in countries with a low degree of inequality like Australia they try to reduce them. Dimension of manhood versus femininity describes the distribution of typically masculine values, orientation toward business success, heroic behaviour, and material success. The feminine orientated countries, on the contrary, emphasize good relationships, family, and quality of life. The first four dimensions are mainly used in marketing, advertising, management of human resources in multicultural environment and intercultural communication (Tayeb, 2005). The fifth and the last dimension by Hofsted (short-term and long-term orientation) (Adler, 2008) was added subsequently after the end of the research, and it measures the degree of people's acceptance to give up on short-term benefits and break up with long-term goals. This can be helpful for companies when establishing a new system of motivation.

How to reduce uncertainty in intercultural communication, that is, how to develop tolerance between cultures? Avoiding uncertainty refers to the degree of endangerment felt by members of a particular culture in unclear and unknown situations. It is also related to the level of stress in the society and to the need for predictability, and written or unwritten rules. Actually, it is a lack of tolerance that causes the

sense of fear, insecurity, and thus the need for avoiding uncertainty and uncertain situations. That can be achieved by establishing as many formal rules and procedures as possible, rejecting unacceptable ideas and behaviour, accepting the absolute truth and scientific opinions given by theorists. This cultural dimension influences many norms and behaviours in a society, family, educational system, organizations and generally in all social institutions. (Bahtijarević Šiber et al., 2008, p.416)

In negotiations, non-verbal communication sets in, often depicting a situation better than words. Correct usage of non-verbal communication at the time of sending and taking messages represents a competitive advantage. If a businessman successfully uses non-verbal communication to create a good impression, it increases his/her self-confidence and credibility.

It is necessary to understand the signs of non-verbal communication along with verbal communication, but attention has to be paid when those two ways of communication do not comply; it can unveil false statements made by interlocutors. Non-verbal communication basically uses many channels (face expression, eye contact and body position). If we want it to be more efficient, it has to intertwine with verbal communication. Again, researches show that when these two are not balanced, the listener tends to rely on the non-verbal communication.

Every cultural dimension brings competitive advantage to a certain country in a specific way. In other words, different cultures have different foundations and resources of competitive advantage in international competition. Actually, both nations and individuals develop specific competence and working skills according to their values and the surroundings (Bahtijarević Šiber et al., 2008, p.416).

Intercultural communicating is becoming increasingly important. A substantial part of intercultural communication goes to negotiation processes. An increasing number of intercultural contacts boost the need for intercultural negotiation. We are gradually exposed to ever higher levels of cultural diversity. The cultural influence on intercultural negotiation is becoming larger and more important every day. The domain of intercultural communication is subject to criticism for not producing more studies focusing on real practice in communication, especially intercultural encounters. Of special interest were cul-

tural analyses of social interactions as well as the analyses of intercultural dynamics included in these interactions (Carbaugh, 2007, p.168).

A large number of people have a wrong conception of universality, being convinced that all people have similar features and thus are able to overcome any obstacle in mutual communication. That assumption is perhaps the most convincing one and the most difficult to overcome in intercommunication relations. Communication becomes intercultural when persons communicating belong to different cultures and when their cultural differences have a significant impact on mutual communication. It is possible to talk about intercultural communication when persons communicating do not share similar experiences from the past, when they cannot rely on mutual believes, views, meanings etc. as a basis for understanding; i.e. when the field of their semiotic unity is very limited.

Nevertheless, even in that case, it would be possible to assume that such a field exists, among other due to the existence of one unifying "human nature". So far, current cognitions and experience suggest that such assumption of a unifying field of "human nature" can be justified even when it is very narrow and scientifically hard to describe. This perspective leads to another assumption, namely that the differences between cultures cannot be so large as to completely prevent any kind of intercultural communication (Križan, 2008, p.87).

Besides the astonishing technological development the modern age is marked by culture without which it would be hard to attribute sense to ideas as such. Cultures produce sense. They conceptualize lives of all people around the world. Without sense, man has no orientation. So, in the 21th century, the idea of orientation comes to prominence, although it had been introduced before the production revolution in the 19th century and before the development of organizations in the 20th century. The production, organizational work, the principle of production, the struggle for power and the principle of organization – all of them have no sense without orientation. (Hribar, 2006, p.4) It is orientation that represents a specific challenge in the modern world and business. Intercultural communicating is connected to the degree of openness and closeness of social systems in competitive positions; bringing the differences into a system causes tensions, which can be a stimulus for one's own creativity, while, at the same time, it can jeopardize the system's cultural identity.

The social interaction of a system, from the point of view of systemic theory, is a form of material, energetic and information transfer of systems; intercultural communication is above all a form of verbal or non-verbal, mutual, group or mass communication. In modern societies the public media increasingly play the role of mediators in intercultural communicating between nations and social systems. Intercultural communicating within one country is typical for multinational societies, federations and confederations. As a rule, intercultural conflict can appear anywhere (Vreg, 1990, p.278). Intercultural communicating is a special challenge for multi-ethnic and multicultural societies.

A special problem in intercultural communicating emerges in states with ethnic minorities, where the dominant nation misuses communication in order to accomplish its own cultural domination over ethnic minorities. Such interactional conflicts are a cultural and historical fact in many parts of Europe.

Dominant ethnic groups have the freedom of action, powered by their hierarchically dominant position. They are privileged: the social structure of their members shows a higher social status in terms of the class and social stratification scale. Due to that, intercultural communication usually encompasses the dominant "super culture" versus the subordinated culture.

Intercultural communication is a form of interaction between nations in states with different cultures. This kind of communication is dominant nowadays; it allows contact between nations with different cultures in the international community (Vreg, 1990, pp.279-280).

Language plays the decisive role in intercultural communicating. Language diversity is the biggest obstacle for successful communicating. Language reflects the reality of a certain culture and has an influence on defining the experience of members of that culture. It is used as a tool of communication that would provoke answers (reactions) from communicational recipients coming from other cultures. As a result, language differences can produce conflicts and tensions between members of different cultures. If it is used among people of one particular cultural group, it can strengthen the cohesion of the group.

There are many obstacles in intercultural communication. They can be caused by the language, non-verbal communication, the presence

of stereotypes, falling into a trap of observing another culture on the basis of its own culture which is often "superior" or "inferior" in relation to the other culture.

Communication occurs in different areas, especially in the cultural, scientific, technological, information and tourist areas. The modern public media, especially the satellites, offer the maximum of intercultural announcements. Communicating in diplomacy and political relations between states is defined as international communication (Vreg, 1990, p.280).

Globalization

The concept of globalization is understood as a plethora of intensifying world social processes that mutually connect the furthest places on Earth. That means that events on one side of the world influence, in the fastest way possible, events on the other side of the world (Guibernau, 1996, p.128).

From the economic point of view globalization is divided into three elements:

a) globalization of exchange and market,
b) globalization of production,
c) financial globalization.

Globalization enables everything that has always been latently valuable in capitalism; nevertheless, in the phase of its social-state-democratic restraint it remained hidden. Companies have immense power, especially those working globally: they play the key role in creating not only the economy, but the society in general, as they retain a country's material resources (capital, taxes, jobs). Globally operating companies undermine the foundations of national economy and national states. That triggers the process of sub-politisation with completely new dimensions and unpredictable consequences (Beck, 2003, p.14).

Even some most powerful states in the world do not have a unified opinion on globalization, because everyone experiences and understands it in one's own way.

Economic globalization has been determined by OECD (2005) as a

growing internationalization of market and services, the financial system, companies, industries, technologies and competitiveness.

Four other reasons can be traced causing globalization shock in central Europe, France, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and notably in Germany. Firstly, the countries and societies with primary economic self-confidence (e.g."deutschmark nationalism", "the exporting nation"- were especially affected and endangered by the globalization of world market that supposedly came from the outside. Secondly, social states like France and Germany, unlike the USA and Great Britain, lose with globalization. They found themselves in a crevice of social politics at the time of economic globalization: economic growth has escaped the surveillance by a national state, while globalization takes its toll in terms of social consequences: unemployment, migrations and poverty.

Thirdly, globalization has shaken the picture of itself fundamentally, a picture of a homogenous, closed, national-governmental space called the Federal Republic of Germany. On the other hand, Great Britain, once the superior world empire, now reppresents a nice memory of it. The fact is that Germany has become a global space long before, teeming with various cultures and contradictories from all parts of the world.

But by now the reality has overshadowed the picture of a mostly homogenous nation. During the debate over globalization, it has exited from that shadow. Globalization, as we explained so far, is a process of denationalization – the erosion of a national state, and the possibility of its transformation into a transnational state. The globalization shock as well as the shock of denationalization put under question the key categories of post-war identity of Germans and the corporative "German model" with its specific social system.

The fourth reason relates to the question of integration of two Germanies. That dramatic event (which is in many ways similar to a marriage) compelled Germans to turn to themselves, to self-reflection, to question themselves what was left from the "German nation" during the half-a-century old separation and what was valuable enough to be identified with.

It was in that phase of self-reflection and analysis that the news of globalization came. The national state already retreated from its jurisdic-

tions in view of the common European market and it lost sovereignty and substance in every aspect: financial resources, political and economic power, information and cultural policy, everyday identification of citizens.

The question on how to create transnational countries as a response to globalization and the meaning of economic, military and culture will be discussed below.

Thus globalization points to one of the most crucial contradictions of modern times. Namely, national states operate on the basis of "social contracts", but processes and movements in the international arena are left to "natural conditions". That is why it is necessary to hear the voices of theorists and political activists who think the time has come to establish a kind of *modus vivendi* between the principle of "nationalized" democracy on one side and "globalized" democracy on the other side. It is hard to predict what means and what sort of deliberative democratic pattern will be discovered, even though theorists have already developed some ideas. That brings us to the question of the need for global regulation.

Globalization, with its expansion over territoriality, even stimulates people's needs for identification with something domestic and generally closer to their emotional state. Data on the increase in the number of new national states throughout the world support that theory: their number did not reduce during globalization processes. Predictions show that among almost 800 active and ethnonacionalistic movements in the world there is a significant number of those that are potentially ready to create a new state. Many scholars studying globalization warn of its paradox: on one side, globalization limits the relative power of states, while on other side, it increases their number in the world. It should be noted that in communication with others during globalization many nations strengthened their own mechanisms for preserving their identity.

In many cases, globalization even has opposite effects, because global capital awakens fears of losing one's own economy, of global production of food causing illnesses, of global communication jeopardizing national cultures, of global regulation preventing the right to self-determination. Surely it is not possible to justify all the criticisms of globalization. One such example includes the blocking of satellite signals

for the citizens in China, North Korea, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

It is quite understandable that active participation in globalization processes brings more possibilities, especially for small countries and nations, to prevent or at least mitigate its negative consequences. Having an active role in globalization processes is the only way to resist cultural homogenization, which eventually leads to the melting of weak ethnic groups which thus become the "tourist folklore".

Friedman (2000) says the following about globalization: it is not only a phenomenon and a current trend. In his opinion, it is the most important ubiquitous international system influencing domestic policy and international relations between states. And it has to be understood as such. Globalization is led by liberal market capitalism. It is the system that replaced the cold war and encompasses six dimensions: political, cultural, technological, financial (and commercial), national security, and ecological. Obstacles and boundaries between these dimensions disappear gradually during the globalization process.

Some authors use other expressions instead of globalization, like the term mondialization. It represents the process of establishing the criteria, conditions and codes of conduct in productional, financial, foreign trade, banking, political and all other spheres of life by the most developed Western countries and their universal competition, through international economic and political organizations, including the formal (World Trade Organization-WTO, EU, UN, European Council) and informal or invisible ones (G-8, Trilateral Commission, etc.). Of course, the goals of this process are based on the economic interests of most developed countries by using their comparative advantages and establishing various modes for exploiting the undeveloped countries (cheap workforce, conquering large markets, brain drain).

The term mondialization comes from the French word "le monde" meaning "the world" and is commonly used in Francophone countries (Prvulović, 2010, p.43).

Regardless of the fact that it brings many positive changes, it is clear that the liberal market economy principles that have dominated for the last decades have brought a lot of benefits to the powerful transnational companies and the rich elite, while the people in undeveloped countries are increasingly unsatisfied with the current globalization.

Nowadays capitalism is on the cross-roads and has to respond to the challenges of the economic crisis primarily with a more equal redistribution of globalization effects.

Prvulović (2010, pp.43-44) considers globalization as a synonym of the above term which emphasizes inevitable expansion of this process throughout the globe based on its universal meaning and deployment and maximum benefit for the richest countries (i.e. creators of globalization).

The term globalization comes from the English word *the globe* and is used in Anglophone as well as other countries. Are these two terms synonyms or not? Turčinović,Vrcelj (2010, p.36) do not equate the terms globalization and mondialization and do not regard them as synonyms. Globalization represents a complex process, i.e. a specific level of integration of different subjects. They become one, but still exist separately as special segments of that process. That is a significant intensification of deliberate effort taken by the progressive part of mankind aiming for the unification on the basis of noble intentions and wisdom, while not having to lose the right to difference and power. Unimaginable development of technology and general prosperity enable the sense of both participation in some events and having a true notion about it.

Mondialization rests on a somewhat broader concept. Bearing in mind that it is very hard to give a detailed definition without writing a poor description, this paper will remain at the level of a dynamic dimension of this complex process.

First, we should note a series of phenomena, above all in the economic field, that along with their national features take on the international character. The latter are basically orientated towards the spirit of integration and achieving control. The difference between internationalization and mondialization rests in the fact that in case of the former, geographic diffusion can be displayed as simple allocation of activity, while in case of the latter, the economic phenomena are regarded as phenomena allocated in different countries. They are identified in the processes of global strategy, global management and global branch structures. Their acceleration in the broadest geographic international sense is the essence of mondialization. The core of mondialization is a very complex enterprise and encompasses financial integration,

market opening, boosting exchange, exchange of knowledge, opening the space for investments abroad, and the affirmation of multinational approach in dealing with world economic problems.

In the long term globalization is expected to increase human welfare and prosperity, while often forgetting it actually causes more social segregation: the rich become even richer and the poor become even poorer. Although globalization relates mainly to the economy, we should not neglect its broader social aspects and effects. Some widespread opinions on globalization go in favour of it, claiming that globalization creates new cultures thus overcoming numerous divisions and segregations, while the opponents of globalization claim that it destroys old cultures due to the enormous growth of consumption.

Globalization goes far back into the history of mankind according to Turčinović and Vrcelj (2010) and has been a subject interest for at least the last five centuries. An example are Jews who have functioned globally for thousands of years.

Despite its long history it is clear that globalization has not developed equally and gradually but rather gained sudden accelerations due to certain events taking place within some short intervals, when our planet became "smaller" thanks to numerous discoveries. English historian MacGillivray (2006, p.19) states the following key decades: 1490-1500 (the time of Hispano-Portuguese division of the world), 1880-1890 (the rise of the British empire with division of Africa, determining of Greenwich as the central meridian, introduction of the gold standard, increase in the number of corporations following the steamer and telegraph discoveries, construction of the Suez Canal), 1955-1965 (competition between world powers, satellites, reactive aircrafts) and 1995-2005 (the fall of the Berlin wall, the Internet, establishment of WTO, a period of global supply chain, the world is becoming intertwined with optical fibres and mobile service antennas) (Glavič, 2009, p.6).

Globalization connects and bring closer, while on the other hand it creates and deepens existing conflicts. Globalization spreads, deepens and accelerates the processes of global integration. But we must not be misled by the veil of solidarity, association and unification.

Some economists advocate at least five dimensions of globalization: economic and political globalization, joint ecological commitment,

cultural values and globalization of communication. The idea of globalization does not represent a united global society, because all individuals do not necessarily feel connection in the same way and to the same extent. According to that, we should differentiate between globalization and unification which is based on homogenization or harmony. Unlike the increasing unification, globalization is a strong source of conflicts (Dicken, 1998, p. 20).

Globalization is not unambiguous – it has at least two faces. It brings unequal development to the world. Some countries were involved faster in the globalization process, like Eastern Asia, while South American and African countries had more closed politics, higher inflation, poverty and economic stagnation. The states whose economies were based on one major product (monoculture[2]) were especially hit by globalization.

The opponents of globalization claim that it leads to greater differences between states. In the long-term, globalization should increase total welfare, although not to the same degree in all countries. Globalization is considered to offer greater possibilities and enable better success than it would have been achieved without it. The advocates of globalization believe it will reduce differences between the rich and the poor. On the other hand, antiglobalists claim the opposite and are convinced that it increases differences. They cite the UN report, according to which the number of people earning less than a dollar per day has not reduced while the number of people earning less than two dollars per day has increased from 2.5 to 2.8 billion. Social stratification between one fifth of the richest and one fifth of the poorest countries has increased from 30:1 to 82:1 (Bošković, 2006, p.17).

Globalization offers challenges and looks for the answers to numerous questions. What could be the answer to modern Western culture which has dominated in the economy, politics and culture for the last few centuries?

It is not possible neither to return to past nor to completely and uncritically assimilate with the Western culture. The only acceptable path for cultural development of societies under the influence of Western modernity lies in grappling with the hard task of creative reinterpretation of their own cultural traditions in the light of that modernity, but also

2 For example a state that exports oil, natural rubber, bananas, coffee or coconut.

vice versa, with the task of the reinterpretation of Western modernity in the light of traditions and careful inclusion of suitable elements of modernity into those cultures. Thus, it is not only the creation of new mixtures and the synthesis of elements of those cultural traditions and Western modernity, but it is a stimulus for cultural creativity with new potentials for cultural development (Križan, 2008, p.434).

On the long run, the globalization process leads to strong individualization, creating strong competitive individuals.

Intercultural aspects of global competition

Global competition is very strongly related to intercultural aspects. Culture, especially the Western one, marks the globalization process. Globalization offers many possibilities for development and enlargement of business, while at the same time producing new and more complex challenges. Some of the most critical ones are getting to know, understand and respect cultural values, behaviour, approaches and practices in different societies and cultures. In order to succeed in global business, managers have to be flexible, reacting positively and appropriately to practices and values that may be completely different from what they are used to. Like some authors emphasize, being global is not only connected to the location (place) of business, but also to the way the business operates (Bahtijarević, Šiber et al., 2008, p. 397).

Culture determines many processes including globalization. Somewhere it reduces differences while elsewhere it deepens them. Cultural difference is not necessarily the same as ethnical and religious difference. Significant and problematic cultural differences can be found within one religious, ethnic and language group. Similarly, strong contacts may exist between different religious, ethnic and language groups in major spheres of life, where such differences are not experienced as problematic (Eriksen, 2002, p. 101). The understanding of culture is often differently experienced and reinterpreted.

Cultural aspects often become crucial for business success. Culture generally defines the way how managers perceive and interpret the business world and how they approach business. Due to different cultures the same situations can be seen differently – for example as an opportunity for some people and as a threat for others.

However, it is more and more obvious that the culture of society, if well-managed, can become a source of competitive advantage thanks to cultural synergy. Differences are more and more perceived as an advantage, and the successful management of diversity has become the biggest challenge for contemporary managers (Bahtijarević Šiber et.al, 2008, p. 398).

States have mostly been oriented towards preserving national culture and identity. That is why they try to govern the flow of people, information and ideas which increasingly travel across borders and change the circumstances in which the countries have to follow their national interests. Developed countries that participate in global economic and political networks are aware of the advantages of globalization but still have fears of cultural colonialism. Technological innovations are the foundation for cultural globalization, making it possible for advertising and the electronic entertainment industry controlled by a few transnational companies to flourish worldwide.

Markets want to cross borders. There are overwhelming arguments for letting them do so. Unfortunately, bad jurisdictions, of which the world has far too many, create difficulties not just for international transaction, but for almost all productive transaction. Success always begins at home. It can, however, be supported by international agreements that are wisely designed and focused. Such agreements often appear to constrain sovereignty and democracy, but also contribute to the valuable goals of credibility, predictability and comity among countries (Wolf, 2004, p. 92).

Globalization of culture is mostly affected by Americanization. American film, music and other entertainment industries are very successful in conquering other markets and well-accepted there. Expansion of specific cultural elements follows the process of economic globalization. The values of individualism are accentuated and gaining ground. Individuals are assessed by results, not by social status. We are witnessing Americanization in all segments of society as well as in global economy. The USA is the leading and economically most developed country in the world and as such a role model for others who try to emulate it in establishing their own institutions.

Drašković (2007, p. 259) considers globalization as "a historical, real, contradictory, unequal, unstoppable and irreversible process"; which

through its manifestation changes international economic and many other relations towards closer and closer integration. With the fall of socialism, especially at the end of the 20th century, and the development of capitalism in post-socialist countries based on denationalization and liberalization, globalization process started to develop; according to some authors this represents an overture of the New World Order.

Growth of technological progress, especially in communication, information science and transport, leads to further development of the concept of "private ownership" and entrepreneurship which are based on the principle of interest. To a certain degree globalization even stimulates diversity because information technologies enable free expression of culture and different views. Communicating becomes more complicated when it takes place in a heterogeneous cultural environment. That is when intercultural communication starts, with more possibilities for cultural conflicts. Intercultural misunderstandings may occur when the existence of different communicational styles based on higher or lower communicational context is not taken into account. Intercultural conflicts arise due to a conflict of goals resulting from irreconcilable differences and incompatible interests of different social and cultural systems. That is why we experience them as a threat to our own cultural identity. Such conflicts demonstrate different levels of intensity; they appear in situations that cause worries and fears and point to the incapability to resolve them through complex interactional patterns. The conflict will deepen if the parties see no solution and when they start to realize its consequences (Vreg, 1990, p. 284).

Overall, multilaterism is a key factor in globalization, in which the United Nations play the central role. The UN organization was established to prevent wars between states, to replace bombs and bullets with cooperation and compromise. It was born out of burning hope of the whole mankind and as a result of the idea for a better world (Kerim, 2015, pp.20-21).

For these cultural reasons, therefore, Americans uniquely find it difficult to see why free trade in cinema, television, GM products, and so on is considered by others to pose a threat to their culture and well-being. In consequence, Americans see the ugly hand of protectionism behind agitations and policy actions, such as the exclusion of hormone

fed beef from other markets even though the exclusion is based on fear rather than greed. And it only reinforces the efforts of lobbyist for cultural industries such as Hollywood to exploit and misuse the case for free trade to advance their own agendas (Bhagwati, 2007, p.121).

Drašković (2007, p. 259) emphasizes that economic globalization is, among other, based mostly on:

- development that follows the rules and logic of capitalism;
- duality that is reflected in the integration of states and expansion of transnational companies (TNC) and leads to diminishing state sovereignty;
- deficient ancillary mechanisms: military and political hegemony, blackmailing, violence, pressures and duress. These are the basic non-economic tools for the realization of economic pressures, unequal exchange, dependence and domination;
- institutionalization of the process: concentration of production and centralization of capital imposed by powerful and institutionalized global monopolistic structures that dominate and prevent free competition and access to the global market ;
- domination of market, transnational and supranational regulation over state;
- a change of subjects participating on the global market, which are becoming larger and stronger thus changing the organizational and management structure in order to expand business in many countries;
- he emergence of new subjects in international economic cooperation, like international organizations, financial centres, institutional investors, non-governmental organizations as well as many religious, diaspora, terrorist and other interest-based networks (Bogešić, 2010, p. 304).

To a certain extent globalization even stimulates diversity, since the information technology enables free expression of culture and promotes different views.

Conclusion

The world is getting smaller while global competition is increasing. Technological progress and modern communication have shortened the distances between different parts of the world and provided access to high technologies, which enables participation in the global race.

The world has become mutually dependent, which brings many advantages for companies, while the environment in which they operate is becoming increasingly complex and competitive. The overcoming of geographical, cultural, time and others differences and especially dealing with intercultural aspects represent a challenge for companies participating in global competition.

Naisbitt (1994) expressed his popular presentation of the "global paradox" with the following words: "The bigger the world economy, the more powerful its smallest players." So, as the system grows and the complexity increases, the importance of individual parts, including individuals, increases. Consequently, this points to the end of central state authority and traditional representative political systems and the rise of decentralization and direct democracy. Even large companies, if they want to survive, have to be decentralized and restructured (Mlinar, 2012).

Global competence is directly connected with (inter)cultural competences.

Experiences of operating in different cultures, understanding and respect of different values and behaviour and optimal combination and usage of cultural differences are the main characteristics of global managers. The global manager and leader is open to others, he/she can cope with situations and people that are completely different from his environment and is ready to question his/her personal opinions and perceptions. Strong cultural competences represent the key competences of global managers and leaders (Bahtijarević, Šiber et al., 2008, p. 399).

The aim of this article was to emphasise the importance of intercultural communication, globalization and culture/religion as the key factors that contribute to successful global competition. For successful intercultural cooperation it is vital to know, understand and respect differences in cultures, lifestyles and business practices, but above all, it is important to know one's own culture.

The modern world is marked by "cultural pluralism", i.e. the plurality of existing cultures. They characterize every social community and epitomize the (re)production of sense in any society while significantly determining social relations. Cultures have a strong impact on all

segments of society including intercultural communication. Globalization is present in different intercultural backgrounds that often represent a conglomerate of intertwined cultures and traditions.

Managing transitions is the key factor of global competition. The process of globalization brings numerous changes to business activities and lives of people. Monocultural homogeneous societies are almost non-existent. Numerous migrations have resulted in the mixing of nations and cultures.

Political changes following the collapse of the Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia triggered changes in the operation of numerous companies. Companies that had until then operated within one state were transformed overnight into transnational companies and unwillingly continued functioning as such. That demanded huge changes in the management and organizational culture as well as adaption to laws, local markets and cultures. In the times of former Yugoslavia not much attention was paid to those issues, but today they have become the reality and the need.

References

Adler, N., 2008. *International Dimensions of Organizational Behaviour*, 5th edition. Ohio: Thomson South-Western. 21.

Bahtijarević Šiber, F., Sikavica, P., Pološki Vokić, N., 2008. *Suvremeni menadžment, vještine sustavi i izazovi*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Beck, U., 2003. *Kaj je globalizacija?: zmote globalizma – odgovori na globalizacijo*. Ljubljana:Krtina.

Bećirović, Z., 2014. *Contemporary Marketing Communication and the Case of Islam*. Ljubljana: Journal on European Perspectives of the Western Balkans.

Bhagwati, J., 2007. *In Defense of Globalization*. Oxford University Press.

Bochner, S. (ed.), 1982. *Culture in Contact*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Bogešić, R., 2010. *Kršćanstvo između kapitalizma i socijalizma*. Kairos - Evanđeoski teološki časopis, 4 (2), pp. 299-311.

Bošković, D., 2006. *Nauk za prebogate*. Delo newspaper, p. 17. (8 July 2006).

Carbaugh, D., 2007. Cultural Discourse Analysis: Communication Practices and Intercultural Encounters. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 36 (**3**), November 2007, pp. 167–182.

Dicken, P., 1998. *Global Shift: Transforming the Global Economy*. London:Sage.

Drašković, V., 2007. *Manifestacije ekonomske globalizacije*. XIV Međunarodni znanstveni skup Ekonomska politika, Europska unija, mogućnosti/perspektive, pp. 257-273, Zagreb: Rifin.

Eriksen, T. H., 2002. *Paranoja globalizacije: Islam i svijet poslije 11.septembra*. Sarajevo Sejtarija.

Friedman, T.L., 2000. *The Lexus and the olive tree*. New York Anchor Books.

Glavič, B., 2009. *Globalizacija v luči konfliktov med racionalnostjo, socialno diferencijacijo in etiko*. magistrska naloga, Ljubljana: Ekonomska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani.

Guibernau, M., 1996. *Nationalisms – The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth.* Oxford: Polity.

Hofstede, G., 1980. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications.

Hribar, T., 2006. *Uvod, phainomena XV/57–58*. p. 4. Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, Univerza v Ljubljani.

Kerim, S., 2015. *Globalizacija i diplomacija*. Velika Gorica: Osini Trade.

Križan, M., 2008. *Interkulturni dijalozi i liberalna demokracija*. Zagreb: Nakladnik Politička kultura.

Macgillivray, A., 2006. *Globalization*. London: Robinson.

Mlinar, Z., 2012. *Globalizacija bogati in/ali ogroža?*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti.

Naisbitt, J., 1994. *Global Paradox*. New York: William Morrow and Company.

OECD, 2005. *Measuring Globalization*, OECD Handbook on Economic Globalisation Indicators, Paris.

Prvulović, V., 2010. *Ekonomska diplomatija*. Beograd:Megatrend univerzitet.

Roy, J. P., 2008. *Dimensions of Culture.* Kingston CA: Comm 353, Class literature, Queens School of Business.

Stiglitz, J. E., 2007. *Making globalization work*. New York: W.W. Northon & Company.

Tayeb, H.M., 2005. *International Human Resource Management: A Multinational Company Perspective*. Oxford University Press.

Turčinović, F., Vrcelj, N., 2010. *Postglobalizam i ekonomske integracije*. Beograd: Megatrend univerzitet.

Vreg, F., 1990. *Demokratično komuniciranje: prispevek k pluralistični paradigmi v komunikacijski znanosti*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Zagoršek, H., Štembergar, M., 2005. *Kultura in njen vpliv na poslovanje podjetij*. Ljubljana: Časnik Finance

Wolf, M., 2004. *Why globalization works*. Yale University Press.

European Perspectives – International Scientific Journal on European Perspectives
volume 9, number 1 (16), pp 111-137, October 2018

Isaac Asimov's Foundation Trilogy and its Perception of Diplomacy: *Envoys, Protocol, Talks*

Milan Jazbec[1]

ABSTRACT

The paper innovatively discusses the appearance of diplomacy as an activity in the classical science fiction work The Foundation Trilogy by Isaac Asimov. It focuses on the way the author perceives diplomacy and what are lessons learned for small states in the contemporary international society. The methods used are analysis, comment, comparison and interpretation as well as observation with one's own participation. Diplomacy is present in the Trilogy from two points of view. Firstly, by direct mentioning – protocol, negotiation, representation and diplomatic reporting. It is pursued by ambassadors and ad hoc envoys, the latter also holders of high political offices. Secondly, the author creates a variety of circumstances that demand the use of diplomacy. Planets, solar and stellar system and empires exercise relations, fight wars, negotiate, and conclude agreements; that's what diplomacy is for. Small states could learn that they should stick to multilateral institutional engagement and also negotiate for their own interests within it. The way the Trilogy is written, would hardly do without diplomacy – such a case would weaken its literature narrative.

KEY WORDS: diplomacy, science fiction, Asimov, the Foundation Trilogy, envoys

POVZETEK

Prispevek izvirno obravnava pojavnost diplomacije kot dejavnosti v klasičnem delu znanstvene fantastike, v Trilogiji o Galaktičnem carstvu Isaka Asimova. Osredotoča se na način, kako avtor Trilogije razume diplomacijo in kakšni so njegovi nauki za delovanje malih držav v sodobni mednarodni skupnosti. V članku uporabljamo naslednje metode: analiza, komentar, primerjava in interpretacija ter opazovanje z lastno udeležbo. Diplomacija je v Trilogiji prisotna z dveh vidikov. Prvič, z direktnim navajanjem – protokol, pogajanja, predstavljanje in diplomatsko poročanje. Izvajajo jo veleposlaniki in ad hoc odposlanci, slednji so tudi politiki na visokih položajih. Drugič, avtor Trilogije ustvarja različne okoliščine, ki zahtevajo uporabo diplomacije. Planeti, ozvezdja in galaktični sistemi ter imperiji v Trilogiji izvajajo medsebojne odnose, borijo se v vojnah, se pogajajo in sklepajo sporazume; za to pa je potrebna diplomacija. Male države se lahko iz tega

1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Milan Jazbec, PhD, Professor of Diplomacy, and Ambassador of Slovenia to Macedonia. Former Ambassador of Slovenia to Turkey (2010 – 2015, accredited to Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon) and State Secretary at the Slovene Ministry of Defence (2000 – 2004). Email: milan.jazbec@gmail.com

naučijo, da naj bodo članice multilateralnih aranžmajev ter da se morajo tudi znotraj njih pogajati za uresničitev svojih interesov. Način, kako je Trilogija napisana, bi težko bil brez diplomacije – menimo, da bi tak pristop zmanjšal vrednost zgodbe kot take.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: diplomacija, znanstvena fantastika, Asimov, Trilogija o Galaktičnem carstvu, odposlanci

Introduction

Diplomacy is a profession dedicated to solving disputes among states by peaceful means. This could be a very condensed and brief definition of the term, which we use in this article as a research starting point as well as a conceptual framework. The particularity of our approach lies in the fact that we focus our attention on one of the greatest science fiction works ever, namely on the Isaac Asimov's achievement The Foundation Trilogy. We stem from the preposition that intersection between diplomacy and literature could tell us more about both, i.e. diplomacy as activity and literature classics, and would also consequently produce better and wider understanding of the both of them.

There are two research questions, which we try to answer in the paper. Firstly, how does the distinguished author present and perceive diplomacy in his monumental work, and secondly, what can diplomats of small states in the EU learn from this work for their states' diplomatic performance at the beginning of the 21st Century. Methods, used for this research effort, include analysis, comments, comparison and interpretation as well as – since the author is a career diplomat – the method of observing with one's own participation. From one point of view we remain at a general level of analysis, following main trends and trying to reach some general conclusions, while from another one we go in concrete examples. With this we try to illustrate not only understanding of particular aspects of diplomatic endeavour, but also of general trends in presenting diplomacy in a newly discovered context of appearance, namely that of science fiction literature.

Diplomacy and literature

There are numerous definitions of diplomacy, which do not contradict each other, but rather complement them.[2] One could understand diplomacy as a skill, negotiation, communication, mission, organization, foreign policy, activity, tool etc. [3]

Our understanding of diplomacy in this text focuses on diplomacy as activity what includes various aspects, like in particular negotiation, protocol, communication and dependence on a concrete social and

2 Benko, 1998: 39.

3 Comp. Anderson, 1993, Benko, 1998, Berridge, 2005, Feltham, 1994, Jazbec, 2009, Nicolson, 1988, Petrič, 2010, Satow, 1994 etc.

historical context. Negotiation has been understood as a basis of diplomacy ever since (Nicolson, 1988: 3–5, and Satow, 1994: 3); also protocol, although not that much directly obvious (Ibid.), while understanding it as a communication (process) is more of a recent origin (Petrič, 2010: 307–341). The same goes for uncovering the relation between a concrete form and mode of diplomacy and a given historical situation in the function of which it is (Benko, 1998: 40). This would mean that one can "on the whole understand diplomacy as a dynamic *social process*, which enables foreign policy communication among subjects of international public law, and depends primarily on the changing social situation within a given historical context and is in principal relation towards the nation state" (Jazbec, 2013: 70). Hence, it would also clarify why we can distinct, for example, between classical and modern diplomacy, which both are a result of two different, although within far from being compact, historical periods.

Protocol is perhaps that aspect of diplomacy by which it is most commonly perceived and understood, be it in the media, daily discussions or general literature. This understanding usually includes seeing diplomacy as a fashionable behavior and approach to people as well as a skill in style, manner and attending social events. It is an impression, which builds upon an outside/surface perception of diplomacy and diplomats, without going deeper into its methods, structures and substance. Connected to this is the importance of words and symbols in diplomatic engagement. Both could be seen as a direct result of the first diplomatic function, which is "representing the sending state in the receiving state" (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, article 3/a).[4]

A diplomat is already representing his[5] own country, i.e. the sending state in the receiving state, when not having done anything special, particular – it is enough just to appear there and the appearance (behavior and outfit) as such already produces messages of representation. It would mean that a diplomat is already doing his job without doing anything particular, i.e. *nothing*. And those messages contain on a symbolical, but also on a practical level his attitude (and via that of his

4 Other four are: protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending State and its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law; negotiating with the Government of the receiving State; ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the government of the sending State; promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations.

5 We use in the paper masculine form in a neutral meaning, unless otherwise specified.

country, the sending state) towards the receiving state, respect, appreciation, courtesy and good wishes – as much of everything as it is possible to decode from pure act of representation. Additional messages are being produced by a diplomat when he starts going around, speaking, discussing, i.e. *doing* things, performing his job. Therefore, diplomat is performing his duty already when he is not doing anything, just being there. This is a special characteristic of his mission that makes it so demanding and responsible. Sometimes, a diplomat can spoil or harm the relation also with a gesture he might not be (but must not be) unaware of it, while good relations are always a result of years of sensitive work and engagement. For this reason, one often hears how diplomats always exaggerate in their behaviour and addressing to a certain extent. And when they do not want to tell anything specific, nothing particularly good, they remain on a level of ordinary politeness – not to harm, but still to send an appropriate message.[6] Or to put it additionally: "... the ambassador needs to control his body, his gestures, his movements through space, and his language, and to monitor the relationship between them" (Hampton, 2009: 8). Hence, this might be the appropriate place to mention characteristics of a good diplomat or, as Nicolson puts it, the qualities of an ideal diplomat (1988: 55–67): trust, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty and loyalty as well as intelligence, knowledge, discernment, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and tact. Good diplomats always stand out. This commandment is even more – one could say crucially – important for diplomats of small states. Those states, in particular when speaking about new small ones, are perceived as vulnerable, less influential, with limited resources and limited outreach, but they could be highly flexible and adaptable to changes and easily develop niche strategies.[7] It is therefore naturally that small states tend to be members of international organizations, where they can accelerate their performance: "Usually, international institutions are the best friends of small stares" (Väyrynen, 1997: 42). The European integration process, which gained on structural speed after the end of the Cold War, is a primary example of this. Diplomats of those states have to be highly educated and skilled, since they can not rely on big diplomatic machineries with long institutionalized memory and diplomatic archives.

Symbols are of an uprecented importance for diplomacy and diplomats, "[F]or diplomacy is the *symbolic* political act par excellence"

6 Comp. Jazbec, 2006.a: 92–103.

7 More on new and small states in Jazbec, 2001: 36–76.

(Hampton, 2009: 5). Through an act of diplomatic communication those symbols, those signs are being exchanged, what would mean that "[D]iplomacy involves making *meaning* (italics M. J.) out of signs produced by a rival or an adversary" (Ibid.). This is the very reason why communication, which is exercised by diplomats with a purpose to solve disputes by peaceful means, has to be a continuous process: " ... to negotiate ceaselessly, overtly or secretly, everywhere ... is necessary to the health of States" (Richelieu, 1990: 51, quoted in Hampton, 2009: 3). We stated that diplomats produce symbols and via them they express themselves. This should be narrowed, having in mind the person of the performer by himself: it is the envoy that does this job, or the ambassador. The former when we speak either on a general level or within terms of special missions, and the latter when we speak about resident diplomacy.[8]

It is the era of a great transformation of diplomacy from early to the classical one, when literature got interested in diplomacy on a large scale.[9] One usually takes period from fifteenth to seventeenth century, with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 as a turning point, when classical diplomacy was established.[10] It brought into diplomatic practice two decisive innovations, which remain of key importance till nowadays: residential diplomatic missions and a two way communication between the sending authority and its diplomatic mission. They revolutionized diplomatic practice and its exercising, made relations and their performance more complex and demanding but also more efficient as well started to produce immense body of constant diplomatic written reporting. And, consequently, diplomacy as a topic, sporadically or primarily, started to appear in classical literature work, from the eighteenth century on mainly in novels, not only in the work of epics. Diplomacy became housed in "the rise of modern secular literary culture" (Hampton, 2009: 1) and has attracted authors to include it in their narrative (comp. Uthmann, 1985: 7–11).

Literature is always at least partially a reflection of a certain time, be it its own or any other as well (Trdina, 1974: 200). Authors also like to move to past times to reflect their present and sometimes they move

8 Strictly speaking, it would be possible to claim that it is only the ambassador that represents the sending state in the receiving state, while the rest of the staff of the mission supports him in performing this diplomatic function (comp. Feltham, 1994: 17–18). Although it should be mentioned that the current diplomatic practice is much more flexible as far as protocol and other diplomatic tasks are concerned.

9 We see the development of diplomacy in four phases: early, classical, modern and postmodern. (Jazbec, 2006.b and 2009: 31–51).

10 Comp. Anderson, 1993, Benko, 1997, Hampton, 2009, Jazbec, 2009 etc.

in distant future to do the same, too. This also holds true for science fiction literature: it's not merely about travel in space and time, with all corresponding narrative, but primarily about human aspects that such travel brings upon the reader. As the word tells, this dwelling is framed with both science and fiction, which produce the reflection of an imaginary or possible reality.[11] It is the combination of both parts that make the equilibrium in which the best results could be reached.[12] Literature on a whole reflects and portraits reality in a way that educates and entertains the reader, since "... each novel had to introduce its readers a new world" (Mullan, 2006: 9). This could be achieved so "... that [they] told new stories rather than recomposing old ones" (Ibid.). Those books "...that readers keep rereading..." (Ibid., 2) enter classic.[13] Some effect by their content, some by their style or by a combination of both, although "A novel absorbs us, I would say, not because of what it is about, but because of how it is written" (Ibid., 6). A reader gets to know through the reflection something more of the reflected topic, but it is also the other way around: he gets familiar with the knowledge of the author about the reflected topic, too. This is very important for our discussion, since "the perception of diplomacy is mixed and sometimes confusing" (Kurbalija, 2000: 7). There is, however, no guarantee that after reading literature, which also deals with diplomacy, such impression could be get rid of. Nevertheless, our intention in this paper is to search for aspects of diplomacy in the Asimov's Trilogy and try to interpret it.

The Foundation Trilogy

Though not the beginner of the genre, Isaac Asimov marks it with his vast and innovative opus and has long ago become one of its classics.[14] Among his works The Foundation Trilogy presents his first grand complete of science fiction works. As a result of his separate story writings in the 1940s, "it is not a trilogy" (Gunn, 1988: i), but "a series of nine stories" (Ibid.), which were later put together, published as a trilogy and "[T]he World Science Fiction Convention of 1966 voted them 'the

11 Among many referential works on the genre one could point out James and Farah (2003), and Mann (2001).

12 It is widely known that for example both the term and the product *robot* are an invention of science fiction, namely of Isaac Asimov (1950).

13 Without going into any details, it is also widely known that in particular two names stand out as classics in the science fiction literature: Isaac Asimov and Arthur C. Clarke, whatever the order of appearance.

14 As the beginners one could name Mary W. Shelley (Frankenstein) and George H. Wells (The Time Machine). As for the classics, one could name Robert A. Heinlein, Isaac Asimov, Ray Bradbury and Arthur C. Clarke. (Wolfe, 2007: xix)

greatest all-time science-fiction series'." (Ibid.).[15] The three parts of the Trilogy are Foundation, Foundation and Empire, and Second Foundation (all published in the first part of 1950s).[16] For our research it is essential to know that stories (and the Trilogy itself) were published a decade before (and written even earlier) both Vienna Conventions (on Diplomatic as well as on Consular Relations) were agreed upon and entered into force. This is important to bear in mind, since it means that Asimov, was he or was he not reading anything on diplomacy while writing stories, could not have got a comprehensive and codified view upon diplomacy, which both Conventions brought.

The story behind Foundation "is a saga" (Ibid.). What are the dimensions of this saga? Firstly, each part tells a fascinating story in which ingenious men and women cope with the problems in the far future, but for which they find solutions by using reason instead of super-human talents or exotic technology. Secondly, Asimov writes about a future that reminds us of our own world and its problems. Thirdly, daring individuals challenge traditional ways of doing things while conservative politicians try to stop them. Fourth, the solution that so happily solves the problems of one story frequently becomes the cause of the conflict in the next.[17] In particular the first two points are worth pointing out as also one of the most typical, defining elements of the genre: finding solutions by using reason instead of *deus ex machina* and reflecting author's own world in an imaginative reality, usually in the far away place and time, both combined with the frame of un-invented technology that is still possible to imagine as an extrapolation of the existing scientific knowledge.

What definitely makes Trilogy an outstanding literary achievement in terms of the genre, is it's scope: "Asimov gives us a galaxy with millions of inhabited planets, a theory of psychohistory that promises a bright future but implies restricted freedom of choice, a mutant who defies both psychohistory and the Seldon Plan, and a mysterious Second Foundation that must keep its location secret if the Plan is to succeed."[18]

15 Those nine stories were written during the 1940s as separate stories, only later they were put together in a form of trilogy. They originally comprise nine stories, five of the novelettes and four of them novellas.

16 More then three decades later, being encouraged by the publisher Doubleday, Asimov wrote additional parts: Foundation's Edge (1982), The Robots of Dawn (1983), Robots and Empire (1985), Foundation and Earth (1986), Prelude to Foundation (Grafton Books, 1988) and Forward the Foundation (Spectra, 1993 – published posthumous). In them he brought together narratives from the Foundation story and from his saga on robots. Nevertheless, "[T]he only books you really need on your shelf are the first three" (Darlington, 2011: 12).

17 Comp. the Collector's Note to the Easton Press Collector's Edition (1988.a).

18 Ibid.

There are "twenty-five million inhabited planets in the Galaxy" (Asimov, 1988.a: 9) with nearly "quintillion human beings" (Ibid., p. 25) and only Trantor with "a population of over forty billions" (Ibid.).[19] It is the future, in which "humanity has expanded outward into the galaxy without encountering aliens and created a galactic empire that falls because of its size or corruption or communication problems or the inevitable cycles of history" (Gunn, 1988: i) and in that distant future "even the origin of humanity has been forgotten" (Ibid.). The whole story is developed around the galactic empire, which rises and falls and where, after 12.000 years of its existence, a psychohistorian by name Hari Seldon tries to predict future crisis and ways to solve them to shorten the time of crisis from millennia to centuries. Parts (stories) that follow aim to present and narrate how in different periods and places protagonists were trying to deal with crises, while the Empire was slowly disintegrating. The Empire's central authority has therefore to deal, discuss and negotiate, but occasionally also to involve in wars with different parts of the empire during the period of turbulence. This is the starting point where and why we see the possibility of diplomacy being included in the text.

In addition to this, Asimov gives his own explanation where the idea for the galactic empire came from – he was accidentally inspired by the rise and the fall of the Roman Empire.[20] The explanation offers us the background for our research: the Roman Empire wasn't maintaining diplomacy towards the outside world, but was exercising it with its different constituting parts, within its broad, big and complicated structure. Hence, from one point of view the Roman Empire was including "all known ancient world western from Persia, with Egypt, Greece, Malta, Asia Minor, Syria, northern Africa, Spain, France, Britain etc." (Benko, 1997: 26–27). And from another one, that world was "an united political system, which did not allow any parallel independent and equal political units with which it would maintain international relations" (Ibid., 27) and was therefore "primarily an example of a world government and not also of an international society" (Ibid.). But still, "Rome helped to shape European and contemporary practice and

19 Krugman (2012: xiv) finds here one of the flaws: "Then there's Trantor, the world completely covered in metal because its 75 million square miles of land surface area must bear 40 billion people. Do the math, and you realize that Trantor as described has only half the population density of New Jersey, which wasn't covered in metal the last time I looked out my window. But these are, as I said, nerdy concerns."

20 »I had an appointment to see Mr. Campbell to tell him the plot of a new story I was planning to write, and the catch was that I had no plot in mind, or the trace of one. I therefore tried a device I sometimes use. I opened a book at random and set up free association, beginning with whatever I first saw. (...) I thought of soldiers, of military empires, of the Roman Empire – of a Galactic Empire – aha!" (1988.b: vii) "When he reached Campbell's office, he told the editor that he was planning to write a story about the breakup of the Galactic Empire." (Gunn, 1988: iii)

opinion about the state, about international law and especially about *empire* (italics M. J.) and the nature of imperial authority" (Watson, 2009: 94). With these characteristics in mind we start our exact research endeavour.[21]

The perception of diplomacy in the Foundation trilogy

General Observations

Since Asimov got his inspiration for the Trilogy in the late Roman Empire period (structure, development and break up), in particular in time of its disintegration, we could take as a starting point the phase and form of early diplomacy, primarily with its emphasis on negotiations (prior, during or after wars), sending and receiving ad hoc envoys, and correlation between trade activities and growing demand for protection of trade interests (comp. Jazbec, 2009: 35–36). However, we would keep in mind broader understanding of diplomacy for the research. Asimov (1988.a: 54) presents us with the golden rule of diplomacy quite at the beginning, through the statement by the mayor of Terminus Salvor Hardin: "Violence, came the retort, 'is the last refugee of the incompetent". This would also be a general starting point why diplomatic skills are useful in various environments, not necessarily only in performing state affairs and not necessarily only by diplomats. The evolution of diplomatic holders of this activity goes, as Nicolson claims (1988: 10) that way: "Even as the orator type replaced the primitive herald type, so also did the orator give way to the trained observer." Later on, in the second part of the 20th century, as modern diplomacy enriches the variety of tools and actors, also apart professional diplomats, more and more experts enter diplomatic arena, primarily for a limited period of time, what is becoming an increasing trend.

Let us start with a general remark of how different is the legal status of different worlds within the Galactic Empire. When coming to its center, the planet Trantor, a young mathematician, Gaal Dornick by name, who later proves to be one of the most important aides of Hari Seldon, needs a visa to enter the capital: "He had to open the visa, look again, before he remembered the name" (Asimov, 1988.a: 11). Not much lat-

21 Methodologically speaking, we dwell on different topics, reflecting diplomacy, as they – to our mind – appear in the text of the Trilogy (and mark them with subtitles in the following chapter) and do not necessarily follow the text from its beginning to the end. This means that quotations from the Trilogy will follow topics discussed and will not run through the text as such. Additionally, we are highly selective in picking up examples from the text, which is highly extensive – the 1998 edition, which we use, has 510 marked pages (Foundation, pp. 7–169, Foundation and Empire, 175–342, Second Foundation, 347–510).

er, when he finds himself in trouble, he feels the need to remind the official of his citizenship: "Wait. I have a right to a lawyer. I demand my rights as an Imperial citizen" (Ibid., 20). Entering the capital of the Galactic Empire should presuppose such precautionary procedures: "There were the hundred cross-examinations (...) – and finally the question of the identity cards and visitor's visa" (Ibid., 227).

Asimov (Ibid.,199) is also very clear on showing that the supreme leader/ruler needs trustful diplomats: "I need a man out there; one with eyes, brains, and loyalty." It's loyalty that shows sometimes (residential) ambassadors are not the ones trusted, but (ad hoc) envoys: "... for some other reason they [the *signoria*] did not wish to send real ambassador. The chancellors sent on such missions were not called ambassadors or orators, but envoys (*mandatari*)" (Berridge, 2001: 8). One could say trust is a reflection of a need for secret, classified information, be it forwarded in an oral or written form: "The mayor placed his arms around his neck and said suddenly, "Start talking about the situation at Anacreon!" The ambassador frowned and withdrew the cigar from his mouth. He looked at it distastefully and put it down. Well, it's pretty bad" (Asimov, 1988.a: 71). Diplomats observe and report, it is part of their core mission, but they should gain information by legal means: "Mallow breathed deeply, "As a spy?" "Not at all. As a trader – but with your eyes open" (Ibid., 122).[22]

Asimov (Ibid., 224) offers an example of a diplomatic report (dispatch or depeche), which the Emperor's envoy sends to the Military Governor:

> "FROM: AMMEL BRODRIG, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, PRIVY SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL AND PEER OF THE REALM.
> TO: BEL RIOSE, MILITARY GOVERNOR OF SIWENNA, GENERAL OF THE IMPERIAL FORCES, AND PEER OF THE REALM. I GREET YOU.
> PLANET # 1120 NO LONGER RESISTS. THE PLANS OF OFFENSE AS OUTLINED CONTINUE SMOOTHLY. THE ENEMY WEAKENS VISIBILY AND THE ULTIMATE ENDS IN VIEW WILL SURELY BE GAINED."

This example could be understood as a typical diplomatic (or military) report – brief, concise, with the full name and title of the sender and receiver;[23] it is also written in block letters, according to the diplomat-

22 Comp. the third diplomatic function, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, Article 3/a.

23 However, in a routine diplomatic correspondence between the residential diplomatic mission and the foreign ministry, there are no full titles and names, only the abbreviations of the receiving departments and the surname of the head of the mission. This is a clear visual difference between professional diplomatic reporting and that of the ad hoc envoys.

ic manner.[24] Its wording is almost a coded one and understood only to those who need to know it. It also lets the reader know full titles of high officials included in the communication: since the sender is the second person in the Galactic Empire and the receiver the General of the Imperial Forces, this dispatch must also have an utmost political, not only diplomatic and military meaning and importance. But it could also be the other way round: "It says nothing", ground Barr" (Ibid.). Diplomatic correspondence of an ad hoc envoy could be part of political games, in particular since high ranking envoys are part of the top governmental and in particular political circles, what is not the case with the routine reporting of professional diplomats and of their status. Reporting, not only diplomatic, but also within high governing hierarchy, does not always contain everything (Ibid., 267): "How do you mean, not in the reports?" said Indbur, stupidly. "How could – ". This happens primarily for security reasons: "Any report I write goes up through some twenty-odd officials, gets to you, and then sort of winds down through twenty more. That's fine if there's nothing you don't want kept secret" (Ibid.). So one should not wonder if "my dispatches are not detailed" (Ibid., 276).

Diplomacy is an off the record activity. It means off stage activities and approach, therefore diplomats operate with "the fine tradition of caution" (Nicolson, 1988: 77). This would primarily mean that diplomats engaged in state affairs usually stay unknown for broader public (Osolnik, 1998: 139). It is exactly the manner in which Asimov concludes his Trilogy (Asimov, 1988.a: 510): "... but now there was a somber satisfaction on the round and ruddy face of Preem Palver – First Speaker." The reader learns in the very final sentence of the Magna Work of science fiction that the person who helped Arcadia avoid police control at the Kalganian Airport (discussed later as diplomatic immunity case) and the person who was imprisoned by the Kalganian forces and was calling upon his diplomatic immunity (also discussed later), was the most important person of the Second Foundation, staying behind crucial deeds with which the Second Foundation stayed undiscovered and saved. He was not only its leader, but also a top diplomat.[25] Asimov ends his work in a grand style, paying – on purpose or not – a tribute to diplomacy.

24 This remark proves the use of the research method of observing with one's own participation (Gilli, 1974).

25 Top leaders by definition represent their state, hence they are also diplomats. They don't deal with this activity professionally, but it is part of their function. Therefore, we also speak about summit diplomacy. Comp. Feltham, 1994, Jazbec, 2009, Satow, 1994 etc.

Diplomatic negotiation

As we stated earlier in this paper, negotiations are one of the most known, significant and oldest parts of diplomacy as an activity, forming the third out of five functions of diplomatic missions. Negotiation means a process of persuading one side of the acceptance of the positions of the other side, until the latter convinces the former about its right; a process that is full of changing dynamics, positions, approach in speaking, gesticulating and pretending.[26] This brings us also to the fact that persuasion as an act as well as a process could be the very essence of diplomacy (Kurbalija, 2013).

Diplomatic language is polite and cautious, since no side would like to be close to offensive when expressing wishes, demands or even an ultimate. Such a move would spoil the atmosphere and harm the result. At the end, negotiation process results in a kind of a proper agreement between the involved parties. The language of a document could also vary, depending on intentions, ambitions, expectations and the ability/possibility of interpretation.

After Lord Dorwin, Chancellor of the Empire, left Terminus, the home planet of the Foundation and the Encyclopedists, its mayor Salvor Hardin, presents the Board of the Encyclopedia, with the analysis of the Lord's diplomatic articulation. Firstly, the analysis of the agreement between the Empire and the rebellion kingdom of Anacreon: "As you see, gentlemen, something like ninety percent of the treaty boiled right out of the analysis as being meaningless, and what we end up with can be described in the following manner: Obligations of Anacreon to the Empire: *None*! Powers of the Empire over Anacreon: *None*!"(Asimov, 1988.a: 52).[27] And secondly, the analysis of his discussions with the Board: "Lord Dorwin, gentlemen, in five days of discussions *didn't* say one *damned thing*, and said it so you never noticed. *There* are the assurances you had from your precious Empire" (Ibid., 53). And the conclusion that the mayor reached about the high authority: "I'll admit I had thought his Lordship a most consummate donkey when I first met him – but it turned out that he was actually an accomplished diplomat and a most clever man" (Ibid.). Also his behavior, while talking, was carefully crafted out: "Then, too, he spoke in over-precise statements (...) Oh, yes, the elegant gestures of one hand with which he

26 Comp. Berridge, 2005, Kovačević, 2004, Nicolson, 1988, Satow, 1994 etc.

27 During his discussions with the Board, the Lord himself was claiming the other way round. (Asimov, 1988.a: 50).

accompanied his remarks and the studied condescension with which he accompanied even a simple affirmative" (Ibid., 47).[28]

Prior to that visit, there came Anselm haut Rodric, the Sub-prefect of Puema and Envoy Extraordinary of his Highness of Anacreon, to discuss and persuade dr. Lewis Pirenne, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation and a personal representative of the Emperor, the offer of the neighbouring world kingdom of Anacreon to protect Terminus from its another neighbouring kingdom Smyrno.[29] Being present at the discussion, the mayor of Terminus Hardin interrupts highly polite and generally phrased dialogue by saying: "Let's put it into language" (Ibid., 41). He wants a clear articulation, not mere diplomatic wording that hardly says anything concrete and – even more important – which is, hence, much more difficult to oppose than a clear statement. The turn of the course of the negotiation is immediate: "The envoy paused and added uncomfortably: 'Well, gentlemen, we'll pursue the subject tomorrow. You'll excuse me – "(Ibid., p. 42). The mayor explains to the astonished Chairman what he did: "I merely gave him rope and let him talk" (Ibid.). It is an illustrative example of the line of the negotiation process and its dynamics.

Asimov dedicates one full chapter to the diplomatic conference, discussing matters of war and coalition (Chapter 16. Conference, part Two of the Trilogy – Foundation and Empire; Ibid., 270–276). His description is detailed, illustrative and insightful in procedures, behavior of participants and on the elementary protocol matters (place of conference, atmosphere, reporting), but at the same time he does not dwell too much on details.[30]

He comments rather clear on main organizational elements, dealing with equal treatment, prestige and pride: "It is not enough to fix in advance such details as method of voting, type of representation – whether by world or by population. These are matters of involved political importance. It is not enough to fix matters of priority at the table, both council and dinner; those are matters of involved social importance" (Ibid., 270). So what, then, remains to be settled down? The place, of course: "It was the place of meeting – since that was a matter

28 This remark could already be a part of the Protocol section, although it marks the art of negotiation process in a highly illustrative way.

29 The negotiation was actually an ultimate from the Envoy, but skillfully outmaneuvered by the mayor Hardin (Asimov, 1988.a: 38–43).

30 For a clear and concise quide to conference diplomacy/conference management comp. Feltham, 1994: 139–148.

of overpowering provincialism. And in the end the devious routes of diplomacy led to the world of Radole, which some commentators had suggested at the start for logical reason of central position" (Ibid.). But it is not only this: "Radole was a small world – and, in military potential, perhaps the weakest of the twenty seven. That, by the way, was another factor in the logic of choice" (Ibid.).

The place was small, most probably least important of all, meaning almost ideal for a conference, where each party jealously cares for her prestige and importance, in comparison with other. But when everybody goes to the least influential, nobody is offended. However, practical and organizational issues appear then, for the host: "The strangers came from each of the twenty six other Trading worlds: delegates, wives, secretaries, newsmen, ships, and crews – and Radole's population nearly doubled and Radole's resources strained themselves to the limit. One ate at will, and drank at will, and slept not at all" (Ibid., 271).[31]

Negotiations precede, follow or are also exercised during the war. Sometimes the turn of events is unexpected and leads immediately to a negotiation process, what might have not been the case some time ago in the stream of events. Immediately after the battle, which appeared to be the last one of the last war during the Interregnum, towards the end of the Trilogy, Asimov uses such an approach. It was fought between the forces of the Foundation, which were attacked by the forces of Kalgan, commanded by Lord Stettin. Heavily defeated, he was advised by Lev Meirus, his First Minister: "Now, take my advice. You have the Foundation man, Homir Munn. Release him. Send him back to Terminus and he will carry your peace offers" (Ibid., 490). This done, it meant a huge change for the concerned Mr. Munn – from the prisoner of war he turned to be the envoy: "He had come alone, but he left escorted. He had come a simple man of private life; he left the unappointed but nevertheless, actual, ambassador of peace" (Ibid.). That suited him well: "The final two months of the Kalganian war did not lag for Homir. In his unusual office as Mediator Extraordinary, he found himself the center of interstellar affairs, a role he could not help but find pleasing" (Ibid.). The peace treaty was coined out: "The war was formally ended on an asteroid in Terminus' own stellar system; site of the Foundation's oldest naval base. Lev Meirus signed for Kalgan,

31 Tavčar (1999) offers in his novel a similar, fictional description of the atmosphere at the Congress of Ljubljana in 1821.

and Homir was an interested spectator" (Ibid., 490–491). Diplomats – mediators are by the rule present at the signing ceremony.

The art of negotiation knows a vast span of approaches. The hard one is a direct, blunt telling what is expected from the other party:

"What is your proposition, your eminence?"

The sub-prefect seemed quite ready to stop fencing in favor of more direct statements.

He said briskly: "It seems perfectly obvious that, since Terminus cannot defend itself, Anacreon must take over the job for its own sake. You understand we have no desire to interfere with internal administration – " (Ibid., 41).

The opposite one is a highly passive, counting with the appropriate stream of developments and waiting for the right opportunity to arise (diplomatic delaying): "Then," said Hardin, "you come to the conclusion that we must continue our intensive campaign of doing nothing" (Ibid., 54). This is exactly what suits diplomacy best: "Mostly, the novels consist of people sitting around and talking" (Wagner, 2011). And additionally: "There is action, but much of it is expressed through *dialogue* (italics – M. J.), with vast cosmic events occurring off-stage, between the lines, or tucked in as a neat flicker of resolution to the episode" (Darlington, 2011: 6).[32] But not only suits, this *is* diplomacy, isn't it? And it's also more – seeking for a face saving formula: "So the Mule (...) must be defeated, but the defeat must be subtle – no dramatic space battles, no victory parade, in fact no obvious defeat at all" (Krugman, 2012: xiii).

Protocol, representation and symbolism

Asimov uses many elements of protocol in the Trilogy, be it formal addressing, etiquette, way of behavior and similar. We will quote and comment on some most typical. Protocol means procedure and details, it expresses politeness and friendship, respect and mutually equal treatment, based on reciprocity, but could also serve as a cover for pressure, blackmailing and showing muscles. But mostly and at least for the outside audience it generally means receptions and the

32 The author himself declares this (diplomatic background, we would say): "...virtually all the action takes place offstage..." (Asimov, 1988.b: xii).

related atmosphere: "Nothing but drinking, etiquette, and small talk now – " (Asimov, 1988.a: 231).

Two already mentioned envoys of higher authorities arrive to Terminus, one after another, each of them persuading the local authorities with the same message, namely that of their security guarantees: the first one from the neighbouring world, Anselm haut Rodric, the Sub-prefect of Puema and Envoy Extraordinary of his Highness of Anacreon, and the second one from the Galactic central authority, Lord Dorwin, Chancellor of the Empire. Their titles show the high authority, which they represent, while Asimov obviously knows the difference between the status of the two represented authorities. Both envoys are accepted with due respect, formalities and ritual. The first mentioned envoy "was met by Salvor Hardin at the spaceport with all the imposing ritual of a state occasion" (Ibid., 38). As much as the visit was annoying for the mayor, he covered up his feelings well: "It is certain that 'higher nobility' did not recognize irony when he heard it" (Ibid.). On the way to the City he "received the cheers (by the crowd outside – M. J.) with the complaisant indifference of a soldier and a nobleman" (Ibid.). During the discussion, the Chairman of the Board Dr. Pirenne addressed him properly: "Let me understand this, your eminence" (Ibid., p. 40). The third example shows that nobility cares for correct addressing, which reflects the high status: "You will stand in the presence of a Peer of the Realm" (Ibid., 215).

Asimov (Ibid.,195) also provides an insight view into the Galactic Empire inner circle hierarchy: "Cleon II was Lord of the Universe."[33] And not only this: "Cleon II commonly called 'The Great'. The last strong Emperor of the First Empire, he is important for the political and artistic renaissance that took place during his long reign."[34]

Protocol is exact: "And Captain Pritcher in strict obedience to protocol bent one knee nearly to the ground and bowed his head until he heard the words of release" (Ibid., 247). However, this might not always be the case: "And so it happened, that when others bent their knee, he refused and added loudly that his ancestors in their time bowed no knee to any stinking mayor" (Ibid., 265). Such behavior does not go unnoticed: "You are then to appear, properly clothed, do you understand

33 His Imperial Majesty, Cleon II. (Asimov, 1988.a: 217)

34 A comparison with Frederic the Great is obvious. It tells us about the historical frame that Asimov uses and also about the art of diplomacy, employed as a reflection of that time. Comp. also Kennedy (1989) and Simms (2013).

– and with proper respect, too" (Ibid., 266). Further on, the illustration of a similar situation later in the text: "I am the regent and crown prince and am to be addressed as such" (Ibid., 316).

One could also claim that protocol means a heavy duty always to be respect, hence moments when this should not be the case, could be highly relaxed and appreciable: "It is a moment away from ceremony and courtiers. (...) Tonight there will be the official reception, but until then, we are free" (Ibid., 314). In the eyes of outsiders, who don't deal with state affairs – or maybe even don't care for them or may be this is just too far away from them – protocol might also be understood as a tool for impressing persons who seem to be important or whom one should avoid: "Noble Lords, I crave leave to tell you that my eldest son – a good worthy lad whom my poverty prevents from educating as his wisdom deserves – has informed me that the Elders will arrive soon. I trust your stay here has been a pleasant as my humble means – for I am poverty-stricken, though a hard-working, honest, and humble farmer, as anyone here will tell you – could afford" (Ibid., 377). This is the way how a farmer in an outside, periphery world of Rossem addresses strangers arriving there with a ship, obviously from the outer space. Of course the governor of that place knows the protocol: "His Excellency, Governor of Rossem, in the name of the Lords of Tazenda, is pleased to present his permission for an audience and request your appearance before him" (Ibid., 384).

Diplomatic immunity is part of protocol matters. Two consequent statements point this out; firstly: "I hope the Mule is capable of understanding that a Foundation ship is Foundation territory" (Ibid., 259), and secondly: "I'll inform you that this is a Foundation ship and consequently Foundation territory by international treaty" (Ibid., p. 260). We find additional illustration of the instrument of diplomatic immunity further on in the text, in a context of a huge search for a young girl Arcadia from the Foundation, at the Kalgan Airport (Ibid., 467):

> "I want her papers." (...).
> A short pause, and Pappa said with a weak smile, "I don't think I can do that."
> "What do you mean you can't do that?" The policeman thrust out a hard palm. "Hand it over."
> "Diplomatic immunity," said Pappa softly.
> "What do you mean?"
> "I said I was trading representative of my farm cooperative. I'm ac-

> credited to the Kalganian government as an official foreign representative and my papers prove it. I showed them to you and now I don't want to be bothered any more."

Another example of diplomatic immunity, this time a breach of it by the officer in duty: "We picked up a prisoner," he said. "Yes?" "Little crazy fellow. Claims to be neutral – diplomatic immunity, no less" (Ibid., 485).

Diplomatic protocol is at its best when official events are going on – organization till the very detail, order of precedence, symbols and formalities. But still it is not easy to keep everything under control – there is always enough room to make a shortcut to the host or to the main guest. As Asimov (Ibid., 284–285) describes the situation when Hari Seldon is to appear for the fifth time in three centuries in the Time Vault, a diplomatic scandal occurs. Prior to the appearance the high representative of the Independent Trading Worlds unexpectedly approaches the mayor of Terminus, commander of the Foundation armed forces, and the diplomatic conflict bursts out:

> "Excellence!" he muttered, and bowed.
> Indbur frowned. "You have not been granted an audience."
> "Excellence, I have requested one for a week." (...)
> "We must unite, ambassador, militarily as well as politically."
> Randu felt his throat muscles tighten. He omitted the courtesy of the opening title. (...)

Indbur frowned dangerously, "You are no longer welcome upon Terminus, ambassador. Your return will be requested this evening."

This event is one of the most illustrative and direct presence of diplomatic practice that Asimov uses in his Trilogy; it could also be claimed it is one of the most attractive ones for the literary effect of the story. Proclaiming a diplomat, even the ambassador – in this case even of one of the allied worlds – a *persona non grata* is always a tough diplomatic (and political) gesture with consequences for bilateral relations.[35] They depend on the level of the unwelcome diplomat of the sending state in the receiving state as well as on the current state of the affairs in bilateral relations and are always part of the reciprocity. It happens that the deed of the diplomat is sometimes just a pretext for proclaiming him/her persona non grata and that higher issues are at stake back

35 Article 9 of the Vienna Convention on the Diplomatic Relations.

stage, unless the diplomat is not violating the rules of behavior.[36]

Representing the sending state in the receiving state is the beginning of maintaining diplomatic relations via residential diplomatic missions. It's embassies that perform this duty, and consulates that take care of protection of interests of the sending state and of its nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate (within the limits permitted by international law, in the receiving state).[37] Asimov (1988.a: 464) refers to this rule while describing documents of the above mentioned young girl Arcadia: "These are my papers," she said, diffidently. It was shiny, synthetic parchment which had been issued her by the Foundation's ambassador on the day of her arrival and which had been countersigned by the appropriate Kalganian official." Prior to this, upon her arrival to Kalgan, we learn that Foundation has the consulate on Kalgan: "Now look at that headline: 'Mobs Riot Before Foundation Consulate" (Ibid., 452). Another clear example: "Ambassador Verisof is returning to Terminus" (Ibid., 69). With these examples we also via facti get to know that different worlds obviously were maintaining diplomatic and consular relations, although we do not learn anything more about it. But this would consequently also mean – what we learn through occasional remarks, too – that some worlds were exercising foreign policy activities; we list two examples, first: " (...) particularly as regards his foreign policy" (Ibid., 249), and second: "Your attack on the foreign policy of this government was a most capable one" (Ibid., 64).

Decorations could be understood as a part of protocol – diplomatic ceremonial provides also opportunities for decorating high representatives of ones own or even better, another state. Asimov (1988.a: 477–478) points out such a manner: "His admiral's uniform glistered imposingly upon his massive figure. The crimson sash of the Order of the Mule awarded him by the former First Citizen, whom six months later he had replaced somewhat forcefully, spanned his chest diagonally from right shoulder to waist. The Silver Star with Double Comets and Swords sparkled brilliantly upon his left shoulder." There are different purposes of awarding decorations, but their holders also impress people around themselves with them. This psychological effect

36 During the year 2004 there was a series of persona non grata diplomats across primarily Eastern Europe: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovakia (all of them the new EU members) on one hand and the Russian Federation on the other side expelled more then ten diplomats all together. Some diplomats (primarily the Russian ones) were accused of interfering in domestic affairs of the receiving state and some were expelled as a countermeasure. Also Finland was among countries, which expelled Russian military attachés (Jazbec, 2007: 53).

37 Consular functions, Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, Article 5.

is important for various purposes, be it purely for prestige or also as a tool of gaining advantage in comparison with others.

Protocol always speaks for broader audience and public, since it is full of symbolism, either with direct or with hidden messaging. Public opinion expects symbolical messages from protocol and diplomats tend also to cover indirect messages in a frame of the protocol. As mentioned earlier, diplomats already speak with their simple presence: "It's another to fool around with an accredited envoy of the Foundation when the mere fact of his presence may mean the Foundation is growing suspicious" (Ibid., 128).

The role of small states

The theatre in which Asimov places his saga is the galaxy, across which the human race has expanded through millennia and inhabited twenty five million planets. The era he describes is the last period of the Galactic Empire, followed by its decline. But the time of the decline of empires has always also been the time of emergence of new states (among them frequently a number of small ones).[38] Readers follow the dying power of Trantor, its administrative center, the rise of Terminus, the habitation of the First Foundation, and many other planets that form political centers of various authorities, sometimes peripheral and sometimes central, sometimes small and sometimes big. The Galactic Empire is vast and during its decease different coalitions are formed to exercise power for their own benefit as well as against the Empire and also against the Foundation, according to ambitions of their leaders. Hence, those coalitions have limited period of time. Within this context we can borrow a useful comparable example from Thorhallsson (2000: 41): "Various emerging coalitions are very common in the EU, while long-term stable alignments are almost never seen. Occasional alliances usually concern one single issue or set of issues within a particular policy-area."[39]

So, what could be lessons learned for contemporary small states the researched saga? To have a parallel with small states, one should firstly bear in mind how Asimov names political entities in his text: kingdoms, republics, planet states, dictatorships (Ibid., 365). They are planet sys-

38 Throughout the 20th Century there were four waves of the emergence of new and small states, always after the decline of the imperial ones: after the WWI and WWII as well during the decolonization period and after the end of the Cold War (comp. Jazbec, 2001: 46–47).

39 It is not our intention to compare the decease of the Asimov's Galactic Empire and the EU – we try to compare interests and circumstances for coalition building within big state systems.

tems, solar systems, also worlds, and when they are small, there is a comparison with small states in the contemporary international community. This would secondly mean that understanding small states' behavior must rest on a general level of comparison. Planets and their solar systems in such a huge galaxy could be easily detective when they are small: "It rules twenty-seven inhabited planets" (Asimov, Ibid., 368). Some pursue aggressive politics with an aim to dominate parts of the galaxy, like Anacreon (Ibid., 63) or Kalgan (Ibid., 270), what usually turns out into coalitions, though generally not long lasting ones. They conclude peace treaties ("... and the new treaty signed with the trembling Leopold (...) this was followed in rapid order by similar treaties signed with each of the other three kingdoms ..." – Ibid., 98) and conventions ("That's against the Convention". – Ibid., 104). There is also one exemption: "And most of all, it is an obscure world that has adhered to strict neutrality in the local politics of that stellar region, and is not expansionist" (Ibid., 368). Even more: "Didn't you notice that they never formed coalitions" (Ibid., 372)? These are a few examples of intragalactic politics and of interstellar systems' relations. Worlds change their status, but generally they remain part of the Galactic Empire, where they benefit from its system: "I'm asking you in the name of the City, whose prosperity depends upon uninterrupted commerce with the galaxy, to call an emergency meeting – " (Ibid., 36).[40] Some of them later break away and form regional alliances and some of them stick to the First Foundation during the period of the galactic dissolution. Thirdly, one should observe titles of the ruling politicians: mayor, governor, prefect, first minister, prime minister, chancellor, and various royal titles (king, lord, crown prince, regent). They also point out variations of statehood and governance.

Small states, comparatively understood, in Asimov's story expose a variety of forms of political behavior: they stick to the Galactic Empire and are loyal to it; they oppose it; they try to expand themselves; they break away; they make expansionist wars; but they also stick to themselves. Most commonly, they stick to the central authority (Galactic Empire, the First Foundation, and the Union of Worlds of the Mule) for security and welfare reasons, maintaining constant contacts across the galaxy (trade, tourism, leisure, science, job opportunities, farming etc.). They are tirelessly engaged in discussions and negotiation within a given system in handling home affairs to achieve better position for themselves. While performing this, it is important to know "[D]

40 The City is Terminus, the place (and the planet) of the First Foundation.

oes a small state have the administration capacity to defend its interests within the decision-making process of the EU (i.e. empire, solar system etc. – note M.J.)" (Thorhallsson, 2000: vii). In the Foundation Trilogy it is more up to the capability of individuals, leaders then of the administration (they are mayors and traders, private citizens and official envoys, farmers etc.).[41] Small states (worlds) are also constantly engaged in discussions and negotiation with the outer authorities (what is diplomacy per se).

One could draw three kinds of policy advice from Asimov's text as far as small states are concerned. Firstly, small states are parts of bigger systems and/or coalitions; they benefit from them and contribute to them as well.[42] Secondly, in times of crisis they follow local political circumstances, not necessarily opposing big powers, but (maybe also tactically) adapting to their pursuit. The role of an individual could be highly important.[43] Thirdly, neutrality is an exemption that proves the rule.[44] Additionally, small states should pursue their own interests also within their systems, integrations or organizations, since membership per se does not grant everything; it is only the starting point.

Conclusion

Asimov uses numerous and various references to diplomacy in his monumental work (written more than fifty years ago in a different historical context and situation, before the codification of diplomatic law took place). This is a known fact to each reader of the Trilogy.

The author – from one point of view – sticks to direct mentioning of diplomacy as an activity, in particular as protocol, negotiation and diplomatic reporting. This is primarily linked to diplomats – he is mentioning two classes of them: ambassadors and envoys. Both are career ones, while ad hoc envoys are primarily persons, who hold high political offices. It is also obvious that states/worlds purse representative function, including residential diplomatic missions and consulates, conclude treaties and conventions, and organize protocol events (receptions, balls, cocktails).

41 Thorhallsson also points out the flexibility and capabilities of negotiators and permanent representatives as an advantage of small states in the EU (2000: 232).

42 As Braveboy-Wagner points out: »... small states are known to be coalition joiners and builders since such arrangements strengthen their voice and bargaining position vis-à-vis the larger countries" (2008: 140).

43 But not only on individuals: "... small states need to be particularly clever, efficient, and economical in devising appropriate strategies to meet their foreign policy goals" (Ibid., 2).

44 These general conclusions should be understood from the methodological and applicable points of view within the galactic frame: millions of worlds and centuries of time.

What we see – from another point of view – as even more important, typical, and with bigger narrative expression, the author creates circumstances, which demand the use of diplomacy, be it by professional diplomats or by persons who are only occasionally engaged in this profession (this reflects the scope of modern diplomacy). There are a few wars going on, with preceding, ongoing and succeeding negotiations. Planets and stellar systems form and change coalitions, hence they have to negotiate (through diplomatic means and by diplomatic representatives). They depend on trade, so they have to protect interests of individuals and bodies of corporate law – the Traders are almost a sacred trade mark of the First Foundation.

As far as small states are concerned, we can draw on a general level one basic conclusion: they should stick to coalitions (what could correspond to nowadays international organizations) for the sake of their security and wellbeing, while at the same time they should also continuously negotiate for their interests within the system.

Last but not least – could Asimov write the Foundation Trilogy without using elements and aspects of diplomacy? Basically yes, but with much less literary effect and persuasiveness. When main protagonists primarily sit and talk, while they solve inter/intra stellar and galactic affairs and problems, this de facto means diplomacy. In times of crisis – and dissolution of empires is a crisis indeed – one can not deal without diplomacy, if the narrative focuses on solving them and not on contemplating battles and their field development. This could be evident or not, but Asimov obviously chose the approach, which demands the use of diplomacy as a tool and as a way of storytelling. This mostly corresponds to the apparatus of modern diplomacy, combined with elements from the classical one. At the same time it broadens the selection of diplomatic approaches to that of the early diplomacy, what we mentioned in General Observations. All in all, it would also offer a suitable understanding for possible similar future researches.

Additionally, one could also say that the appearance of diplomatic elements and aspects in the Trilogy makes it more attractive to a reader. It contributes important elements of symbolism, secrecy and statehood. It is also the case that the presence of diplomacy educates the reader, although not on a comprehensive basis, for what there is no need to.

References

Anderson, M. S. (1993). *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy: 1450–1919*. London: Longman.

Asimov, I. (1950). *I, Robot*. New York: Gnome.

Asimov, I. (1988.a). *The Foundation Trilogy*. Norwalk: The Easton Press.

Asimov, I. (1988.b). The Story behind the "Foundation". In: Asimov, Isaac. 1988. *The Foundation Trilogy*. Norwalk: The Easton Press. Pp. vii-xiii.

Benko, V. (1997). *Zgodovina mednarodnih odnosov*. Ljubljana: Sophia.

Benko, V. (1998). Mesto in funkcije diplomacije v razvoju mednarodne skupnosti. In: Jazbec, M. (Ed.). *Diplomacija in Slovenci*. Celovec: Založba Drava, pp. 39–58.

Berridge, G., R., Keens-Soper, M., Otte, G. T. (2001). *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger.* Houndmills: Palgrave.

Berridge, G., R. 2001. Machiavelli. In: Berridge, G., R., Keens-Soper, M., Otte, G. T. (2001) *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. Houndmills: Palgrave, pp. 7–32.

Berridge, G., R. (2005). *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

Braveboy-Wagner, J. A. (2008). *Small States in Global Affairs: The Foreign Policies of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Darlington, A. (2011*). Isaac Asimov: The Foundation Trilogy.* Accessible at: http://www.andrewdarlington.blogspot.com.tr/2011/02/isaac-asimov-foundation-trilogy.html (13 February 2014)

Feltham, R., G. (1994). *Diplomatic Handbook*. Longman: London.

Gilli, G., A. (1974). *Kako se istražuje: vodič u društvenim istraživanjima*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Gunn, James. 1988. Introduction. In: Asimov, Isaac. 1988. *The Foundation Trilogy*. Norwalk: The Easton Press. pp. i-iv.

Hampton, T. (2009). *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

James, E., Farah, M. (Eds.) (2003). *The Cambridge Companion to Science Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jazbec, M. (2001). *The Diplomacies of New Small States: The Case of Slovenia with some comparison from the Baltics*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Jazbec, M. (2006.a). *Ein Slovene in Belgrade: 1987–1991*. Klagenfurt: Mohorjeva.

Jazbec, M. (2006.b). Diplomacy and security after the end of the cold war: the change of the paradigm.In: *Jahrbuch der Diplomatischen Akademie*. Vol. 41, pp. 163-177.

Jazbec, M. (2007). *Vojaška in obrambna diplomacija*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.

Jazbec, M. (2009). *Osnove diplomacije*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.

Jazbec, M. (2013). Persuasion in Sociology of Diplomacy. In: Kurbalija, J. (Ed.). *Persuasion: the essence of diplomacy*. Geneva, Malta: Diplo and MEDAC. pp. 65–73.

Kennedy, P. (1989). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London; Fontana Press.

Kovačević, Ž. (2004). *Međunarodno pregovaranje*. Beograd: Filip Višnjić.

Krugman, P. (2012). Introduction. In: Asimov, I. *The Foundation Trilogy*. London: Folio Society. pp. ix–xvi. Accessible at: https://webspace.princeton.edu/users/pkrugman/FDT%20intro.pdf (15 February 2014), http://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/10/16/seldon-seen/ (15 February 2014)

Kurbalija, J. (2013). Introduction. In: Kurbalija, J. (Ed.). *Persuasion: the essence of diplomacy*. Geneva, Malta: Diplo and MEDAC. pp. 1–6.

Mann, G. (Ed.) (2001). *The Mammoth Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*. New York: Carnoll & Graf Publishers.

Mullan, J. (2006). *How Novels Work*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nicolson, H. (1988). *Diplomacy*. Washington: Georgetown University.

Osolnik, M. (1998). Diplomacija kot poklic. In: Jazbec, M. (Ed.). *Diplomacija in Slovenci.* Celovec: Založba Drava, pp. 122–139.

Petrič, E. (2010). *Zunanja politika: osnove teorije in praksa*. Ljubljana, Mengeš: ZRC SAZU, CEP.

Richelieu, A. du P., Cardinal de. (1990). *Testament politique*. Presented by Daniel Dessert. Paris: Complexe.

Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice. 1994. London: Longman.

Simms, B. (2013). *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy*, *1453 to the Present*. London: Allen Lane.

Tavčar, I. (1999). *Izza kongresa*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Thorhallsson, B. (2000). *The Role of Small States in the European Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Trdina, S. (1974). *Besedna umetnost, II. del: Literarna teorija*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.

Uthmann, J., von. (1985). *Die Diplomaten: Affären und Staatsaffären von den Pharaonen bis zu den Ostverträgen.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

Väyrynen, R. (1997). Small States: Persisting Despite Doubts. In: Inbar, E., Sheffer, G. (Eds.). *The National Security of Small States in a Changing World*. Frank Cass. pp. 41–75.

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

Wagner, M., 2011. *Isaac Asimov*. Accessible at: http://mitchwagner.com/tag/isaac-asimov/ (12 February 2014)

Watson, A. (2009). *The Evolution of the International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Wolfe, G. (2007). Introduction: Speak Science Fiction Like an Earthling. In: Prucher, J.(Ed.). Brave New Words: *The Oxford Dictionary of Science Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xix–xxi.

book reviews

Business as Art of Living
Mića Jovanović de Bozinoff
Petra Trkov

The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Democracy
Mirko Pejanović
Polona Dovečar

Petra Trkov

Mića Jovanović de Bozinoff
BUSINESS AS ART OF LIVING

West London Business School, London, 2017
325 pages
ISBN 978-86-7747-558-1

Business as Art of Living is a skilfully combined autobiography and textbook for business students. Ron Kirk, a PhD student and an aspiring business man from a country no longer existing, or as the author Mića Jovanović de Bozinoff aptly names it, the Neverland, takes us on a journey of big risks and even bigger pay-offs; to a world where dining in private clubs is an everyday experience and sailing the Adriatic Sea is a pastime. To a world where life is an adventure, in which even Russian spies play a role.

Ron Kirk is twenty-something years young man, a graduate from a country far away, who comes to London with an aim to find his mission – his life mission and his business mission. We follow him in his rambles about the city as he, entranced by the metropolitan surroundings, contemplates on his future. While he might not know what the future holds for him, he is determined to succeed in business. Other than few business blunders that are few and far between, Ron seems to be unsurpassable in his business dealings. His first company, the Emberstar Limited, makes a small fortune from trading copper at the London Metal Exchange. The omniscient narrator guides us through numerous business deals, which take Ron first throughout Europe and later also to the Far East. With each undertaking the reader learns a new business lesson. As the narrative progresses, we follow Ron from making his first profits, investing and enriching the earnings as well as struggling to keep them. However, the author reveals much more than just the business side of the "art of living". At times, the book reads as a sailing manual and the reader is introduced to a very different way of living. To a life, where time seems to slow down and where the wind, not the individual, is the master of one's faith. Part of Ron's affluent lifestyle are also Journeys made with fast cars, private jets, villas on the Azure Coast and champagne bottles floating in the swimming pool.

The straightforward, chronological narrative is at times interrupted with

Ron's reminiscences of his childhood days. This is how an attentive reader learns that the Neverland is in fact the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that Ron Kirk's father was among the advisors to the president Josip Broz Tito as well as an able manager with a strong work ethic. The father presented an important figure in young Ron's life and one can see that he admired and respected him. Due to Ron's connection to the former Yugoslavia we not only get familiarized with growing up in a socialist country but also learn about the socialist self-management system. Ron's attitude towards his homeland is best described with his own words: "the country that he had missed all his life, even when he stayed in it".

The value the author ascribes to education is evident throughout the book. There is a constant reference to the knowledge gained at universities. When Ron wants to substantiate his business dealings in theory, he enrols in Ph.D. program at London School of Economic. He and other characters as well often recall lessons on specific topic when making decisions. Those memories nicely, in the story itself, connect the autobiographical part of this work to its textbook component. The content of the book is well complemented by illustrations, photographs and graphs.

Throughout the story the author inserts captions on business theory or insightful information on history of trade, psychology, art etc. The first several captions succinctly explain the basics of business, for instance the explanation of business risks on pages 20 to 21. The placement of the captions corresponds well with the content of the main storyline and, at least at the beginning, gradually progress from the basic concepts to the more advanced ones. However, later in the book the cohesive thread of the concepts explained seem to be dependent only on the content of the autobiographical aspect of the work and the educational value of the textbook part becomes somewhat lost. For example, the oversimplified and dubious description of the relationship between profits and taxes on pages 128 to 130 or the outdated explanation of robotization and its impacts on work processes on pages 189 to 191.

The portrayal of the women and the absence of female business role models would seem to be the book's missed opportunity, especially since it is intended for students. While there is no lack of female characters, the great majority of them are depicted as passive objects. They are the "well groomed," creatures "with long legs, fine feet" (page 10), who pour drinks while Ron Kirk watches their "long, beautiful legs" (page 93). One has to wait to page 278 to meet the "stunning Stephanie Fisher", an experienced banker, and at page 292 we are introduced to Geneviève Paloux, the successful owner of a large law firm.

The author of the book, dr. Mića Jovanović de Bozinoff is the founder of the Megatrend University, one of the oldest private universities in Serbia, a professor, a published author, a winner of many awards, both national and international, and a somewhat controversial person in the Serbian public. As the narrator of Business as Art of Living he unapologetically reveals to the reader a selection of events from his past and the experiences gained. He, as well as his character Ron Kirk, lives his life to the fullest and possess a strong desire to live each moment to the maximum. The result is this fascinating tale, part true, part fiction, and an inspiration in the form of mathematical formula for density of life. The density of life is a creative way to prolong one's life and can be calculated by dividing the sum of events by the age of each individual person.

The narrative flows naturally and it is very easy to get pulled into the world of great business gains or get lost in the descriptions of mistral blowing off the shores of the Croatian coast. What makes this book interesting are the narrator's impressions of the events, despite being somewhat romanticized. This autobiographical novel meets textbook for business students makes for an alluring holiday reading for students who would like to take a break from academic literature but at the same time wish to stay in touch with the subject of their studies, or for those looking for motivation in a form of a story of big risks and even bigger pay-offs.

Polona Dovečar

Mirko Pejanović
THE STATE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND DEMOCRACY

Translated into English by Gordana Ristić
IKD University Press, Sarajevo, 2017, 268 pages, Editio Politiko, book 6
ISBN 978-9958-673-53-3

The respected author, member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (further on BiH) as well as the member of the War Presidency is theorizing BiH throughout its history, more specifically from the years of 1943 till its European integration process, which officially began in 2008 and is the necessary result and solution for country's stabile and growing potential as well as future. Shaping and development of the BiH has been in place for centuries, country and its citizens have been equal for many years, now fighting with nationalism and disintegration process. During country historical development, the state of BiH became a historical, political, legal and cultural framework for the development of national identities in full political equality of the Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian peoples focused to equality.

The book is divided into four chapters, covering socio-historical foundations of the country's statehood to Dayton Peace accords and political future of the country in the Europe union.

The first chapter elaborates the topics relevant for renewal of the statehood of Bosnia and Hercegovina in its socio-historical foundations from ZAVNOBiH in 1943 till Dayton Peace Accords in 1995. ZAVNOBiH was the highest political representation of the peoples of BiH and it was formed after AVNOJ as a result of national liberation and antifascist fight movement during the WWII. The definition of the country's statehood and its internal aspects is this is the state of equal people – Bosnians, Serbs and Croats. The fundamental document of the ZAVNOBiH sessions was the Resolution, which contains the notion that for the first time in the history the representatives of Serb, Muslim and Croat people met, connected with firm brotherhood, with an aim to make political decisions, on the basis of results of the armed struggle of peoples of Yugoslavia. After the political pluralization in 1990 when citizens voted for sovereign and independent country, BiH didn't witness peace. Milošević's re-

gime divided the statehood of BiH and partnership among three ethnic parties fell apart. After three and a half years of war, the state has been developing in peace on the basis of Dayton Peace Accords and moving towards the membership in the European Union (further on EU) and in the NATO Alliance.

The contributor of this book presents in the second chapter the EU and the political future of the researched state as a part of the European future. Pejanović presents ideas for acceleration of state integration into the EU, analyzing through observation in the historical context of Europeanization process and performing BiH as a strong century lasting country, where there were many years of successful economic development, especially in the time of socialism in the 20th century. Author explains how the will and expression of the citizens of BiH were stopped by the nationalist plans of Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić to establish Greater Serbia, where BiH between 1992-1995 has suffered vast destruction. Later in the 2008 with the signed agreement with the EU for the stabilization and association the integration proces began. Geopolitical future of the state has been conditioned by unfolding the integration process in 2015 on the basis of the German – British initiative. The main question in post Dayton political and economic development is the acceleration of integration of BiH into the EU and NATO membership.

The analysis of the third chapter examines controversies and challenges in the development of parliamentary democracy in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Political pluralization of the BiH society in 1990 was going on in unfavorable and controversial social-historical circumstances. The author explains how political pluralization in 1990 when multiparty system was adopted and three single-ethnic in composition national parties won; the SDA, HDZ BiH and the SDS. The SDA represents the interests of the Bosnian people, the interests of the Croatian people are represented by the HDZ BiH, while the SDS represents the interests of the Serbian people. The political pluralism in BiH turned upside down and ethnic pluralism was introduced. Ethnic parties proclaimed themselves as the exclusive representatives of interests of their respective nations in the parliamentary decision-making process. The ethnic based pluralism showed its historical limitations very soon, when statehood of BiH was under negotiation and the political conflict was on fire. Controversies of parliamentary democracy have been possessed by partytocracy. Instead of political competition between the ruling majority and opposition parliamentary parties, political competition remained within the relations and disagreements of the ruling parties themselves. The party elites usurped the democratic role and the power of the Parliament. In order to avoid blockade of decision-making in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH about the laws which should en-

able the reforms and EU integration of the country, the missing consensus among the ruling parties in the post-Dayton period was replaced by enactment of laws by the High Representative of the International Community on the basis of Bonn powers. During all electoral mandates of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH in the post-Dayton period 1996-2002, the parliamentary majority with publicly proclaimed coalition agreement could not been formed. Therefore the governments were unable to influence shaping of reforms and changes. This was also the reason for delay in unfolding of the European integration process, particularly after 2008. The international community should significantly change its strategy towards the unfolding of the process of integration into the EU and the NATO Alliance by ensuring, through its influence, a geopolitical basis for the reform of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The final, fourth chapter bears the title: Democracy in Local Communities. Author explains socio-historical development of local self-government in the 20th century from liberalization committees established 1944 in ZAVNOBiH meeting till the organs of people's government in villages and cities (local government) after the liberalization of the country in 1945. Between 1960s and 1990s, 109 municipalities were established and they became leaders in local economic and infrastructural development of their regions. During the war 1992-1995, municipalities in the territory under the control of the war Presidency of BiH were the leaders of civil organization of resistance and defense of the state. In the post-Dayton time, in fact in the last two decades, local self-government in BiH has been established and developed on the principles of the European Charter of Local Self-Government.

The authors delicate explanation of BiH is precise and reveals the history of a country centuries-long, established and developed during Middle Ages. Ottoman Empire penetrated the territory of the country in its kingdom till the 19th century, where it passed under the pressure of ethnic division between the two political-national elites. In the period of wars BiH was occupied and in the time strong antifascist national liberation movement was on the rise. The renewal of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's statehood is a milestone in historic right of citizens and peoples to independently decide on political constitutional status and its development.

The defense of integrity and sovereignty of BiH was made with political forces united within the framework of exercising the constitutional function of the war Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United States of America was the leader in achieving these two peace agreements. With the Dayton Peace Accords, signed in Paris in December 1995, the war was terminated and building of peace

and institutions of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina has started. On the grounds of the Dayton Peace Accords the internationalization of the Bosnian issue was introduced. The historic project of internationalization of the Bosnian issue will end at the moment when the state of BiH becomes a member of the NATO Alliance and the European Union.

Author's contribution to the EU development programs planned and organized in BiH will be useful for various target audiences, among them the Brussels administration in particular. The book reveals detailed genealogy of country's development over the past decades and present state situation, accompanied with the practice of neighbor countries which had similar Europeanization path, but faster. Good knowledge and practice of this complex as well as complicated country's situation is relevant for the future stable development. Bosnia and Hercegovina was and will be the country of freedom, peace, tradition and qualitative perspective.

GENERAL SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

ARTICLES

European Perspectives is an international scientific journal that publishes original, peer-reviewed manuscripts that provide scientific articles focusing on relevant political, sociological, social, security, economic and legal as well as ethnic, cross-cultural, minority and cross-ethnical issues related to European and Euro-Atlantic integrations and South-Eastern Europe.

Manuscripts should be written in English, normally between 6.000 and 9.000 words in length (including footnotes) and submitted in electronic version via e-mail to office@europeanperspectives.org in the .doc format.

The journal reviews received manuscripts on the assumption of an exclusive submission: by submitting a manuscript for consideration, the author(s) warrant(s) that it is not simultaneously being considered by any other publication and that it shall not be sent to another publication until a response is received from the journal.

All texts submitted to the journal must be original works of the author(s). By submitting a manuscript, the author(s) warrant(s) to the journal that it does not infringe the copyright or any other rights of third parties.

When submitting the manuscript, please also attach:

- an abstract of 150 - 200 words, in English, stating precisely the topic under consideration, the method of argument used in addressing the topic, and the conclusions reached
- a list of up to six keywords suitable for indexing and abstracting purposes
- a brief biographical note about each author, including previous and current institutional affiliation
- a full postal and e-mail address, as well as telephone and fax numbers of the author. If the manuscript is co-authored, then please provide the requested information about all the authors.

While writing the article, please take into account the following format & style guidelines:

- The contents of the article should be divided with titles (introduction, additional titles in the body, conclusion).
- Format of the titles in the text: letters only, caps lock & bold.

PEER REVIEW

All manuscripts are checked by referees by means of a double-blind peer review. Two external referees review each manuscript. European Perspectives reserves the right to reject any manuscript as being unsuitable in topic, style or form without requesting an external review.

REFERENCES

Below are some guidelines for in-text citations, notes, and references, which authors may find useful when preparing manuscripts for submission.

All submissions should follow the Harvard style of in-text parenthetical citations followed by a complete list of works cited at the end. Should you find yourself in a dilemma on how to cite, please visit: *http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk/referencing/harvard.htm*

In the text, refer to the name(s) of the author(s) (without initials, unless there are two authors with the same name) and year of publication. Unpublished data and personal communications (interviews etc.) should include initials and year. Publications which have not yet appeared are given a probable year of publication and should be checked at the proofing stage on an author query sheet. For example: Since Bull (1977) has shown that ... This is in results attained later (Buzan - Jones - Little 1993: 117). As contemporary research shows (Wendt 1992), states are the ...

Publications by the same author(s) in the same year should be identified with a, b, c (2005a, 2005b) closed up to the year and separated by commas. Publications in references that include different authors should be separated by a semicolon: (Miller 1994a: 32, 1994b; Gordon 1976). If the year of first publication by a particular author is import-

ant, use the form: (e.g. Bull 1977/2002: 34). If there are two authors of a publication, separate the names by ' - ' (not ' and ' or ' & '). If there are more than two authors, put the name of the first author followed by ' et al. ', or write all names separated with ' - ' (four authors maximum).

References to unauthorized data from periodicals may be given in brackets in the text together with the exact page(s). For example: '(quoted in International Security (Summer 1990): 5). ' If such a reference is included in the reference list, the title of the contribution referred to must be provided, and a short title without inverted commas and a year of publication is used for in-text-referencing (e.g. short title year). As a general rule, an exact web address of a particular article can be substituted for its exact page(s).

You should also include a full reference list in alphabetical order of authors. Below you can find some examples of correct forms of references for alphabetical style, for more information please see Harvard style guidelines:

Diehl, Paul F. (1994): International Peacekeeping. With a new epilogue on Somalia, Bosnia, and Cambodia, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Degnbol-Martinussen, John, Engberg-Pedersen, Poul (1999): Aid. Understanding International Development Cooperation, Zed Books, Mellemfolkelight Samvirke, Danish Association for International Cooperation, Copenhagen.

Rittberger, Volker, ed. (1993): Regime Theory and International Relations, Clarendon Press.

BOOK REVIEWS

European Perspectives welcomes reviews of recently published books (i.e. those published in the year in which the current issue of European Perspectives was published or in the previous year). Authors should submit reviews of works relating to political science and other social sciences with the themes focused on (East) Central European issues.

European Perspectives encourages authors to submit either of two

types of reviews: a book review or a review essay.

When submitting a book review, authors should abide by the following requirements:

- A book review should not exceed 1,500 words.
- State clearly the name of the author(s), the title of the book (the subtitle, if any, should also be included), the place of publication, the publishing house, the year of publication and the number of pages.
- If the reviewed book is the result of a particular event (a conference, workshop, etc.), then this should be mentioned in the introductory part of the review.
- Review authors should describe the topic of the book under consideration, but not at the expense of providing an evaluation of the book and its potential contribution to the relevant field of research. In other words, the review should provide a balance between description and critical evaluation. The potential audience of the reviewed work should also be identified.
- An exact page reference should be provided for all direct quotations used in reviewing the book.

Sponsors / Donators

RIKO
Global engineering
for people's happiness

STUDIO
MODERNA

gen-i

Elektro
Ljubljana

Energygor AG

LUKA KOPER
Port of Koper

NIVO
EKO

Elektro
Primorska

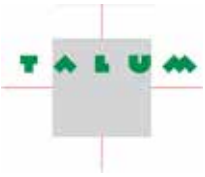
geoplin

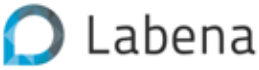
UNION HOTELI

HOTEL LEV

SALONIT
ANHOVO

Pošta
Slovenije


TALUM


Labena

RENAULT
Passion for life

ELES

DOCLEA

articles

Public Diplomacy – A Modern Tool in International Activities of Small Countries – The Case of the Republic of Macedonia

Dancho Markovski

Espionage and Its Relation to Diplomats and Intelligence Officers

Aljoša Komljenović

What Kant Preaches to the UN: Democratic Peace Theory and "Preventing the Scourge of War"

Bekim Sejdiu

Intercultural Aspects of Global Competition

Zijad Bećirović

Isaac Asimov's Foundation Trilogy and its Perception of Diplomacy: Envoys, Protocol, Talks

Milan Jazbec

IFIMES – Special Consultative Status with ECOSOC/UN since 2018

ISSN 1855-7694

15 eur