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VOLUME I

POLITICAL SCIENCES  
LAW  
FINANCE  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



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**SECTION**  
**POLITICAL SCIENCES**

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## ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROATIAN DIPLOMACY THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY

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### ABSTRACT

Diplomacy has been an extremely important in the development of civilization from its beginnings to the present days. More broadly, diplomacy presents the design and implementation of the foreign policy, models of the foreign policy, international negotiations and professional activity performed by diplomats. The paper presents the development of the diplomacy from its origins in the era of nation Maya, throughout the Middle Ages, specific forms of creating and building relationships that have developed within the Roman Catholic Church to the importance of the role of diplomacy in the peaceful resolution of global conflicts, achieving peace and ensuring global prosperity today. Development of diplomacy in Croatia is also shown. Emphasis is on the role and importance of diplomacy in the Dubrovnik Republic that stepped out in these skills on a global level, and on the role of diplomacy in establishing the independent Republic of Croatia, 1990. Concluding remarks confirm the basic thesis of this paper that diplomacy had from the very beginning an important role in the global international relations and plays an important role in the development of the Croatian state throughout the history, from the establishment of independence to the present day.

**Keywords:** Diplomacy, Croatia, Dubrovnik Republic, negotiation

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of diplomatic skills date back to the beginning of human civilization, when people began to create the first organized human communities. Although foreign policy for centuries was led by warfare and the use of arms with the creation of states diplomatic communication among them proved to be necessary. Some forms of diplomatic practices were, for example, known in ancient China, India, Assyria, Egypt, Persia, etc. Diplomatic traffic for the first time was regulated in ancient Greece, where the city-states constantly fought for control by creating and terminating alliances and exchanging delegations. One of the major achievements that resulted from it was the principle of the absolute integrity of delegates. This principle was later adopted in Rome. Julius Caesar competently applied diplomatic skills using a method that can be summed up by the famous Latin saying "divide et impera" (divide and rule). Even then diplomacy has emerged as a way of managing international relations by peaceful means, mostly through negotiations. Often, however, diplomacy preceded wars. The diplomatic activities of Croatian kingdom, in the forms of statecraft and achievements of its people are reflected in the political situation and social structure of Croatian lands in the High and Late Middle Ages. During more than four and a half centuries foreign policy and

diplomatic skills were crucial to the survival and development of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Throughout this period, the Republic of Dubrovnik was the sovereign in terms of foreign policy. Sovereignty is reflected in its autonomy in decisions on relations with other countries, including the recognition of other states, the independence in the conclusion of international agreements, the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic and consular relations. Due to its geopolitical position and its benefits and accepting maritime orientation, Dubrovnik had held successful international political and trade relations with the countries in its hinterland and the countries of the Mediterranean, and beyond. Such geopolitical and other relevant features people of Dubrovnik applied with wisdom and competence to assess the situation and to defend their independence and sovereignty and economic development, while using almost exclusively by diplomatic means and skills. Dubrovnik's foreign policy was based on the principle of maintaining neutrality in international conflicts, as well as to highlight its position as the last Christian enclave in southeast Europe. As a small country that had no military force Dubrovnik survived by accepting protection of powerful states, such as the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, the Pope, the King of Spain and Turkey. Despite the recognition of 'supreme protection' first from Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, and then from Turkey, Dubrovnik Republic over the centuries managed to establish and preserve all relevant components of national sovereignty. The Croatian diplomacy while being part of the Habsburg Empire or the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes practically did not even exist because they were unitary formations in which power came from a single center which was not Zagreb. During World War II, Independent State of Croatia did not have a notable diplomatic achievements, while the Socialist Republic of Croatia formed part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when all diplomatic activity came mainly from Belgrade as the capital of Yugoslavia. With the establishment of the Croatia as a sovereign and independent state a comprehensive system of institutions for the conduct of the Croatian foreign policy and the maintenance of international relations was created. Diplomacy in independent Republic of Croatia was developed in three stages, from independence in 1991 until the entry into the WTO (World Trade Organization) in 2000 and then from the year 2000 until the entry into the European Union in 2013 and from the entry into the European Union until today. The Croatian diplomacy has played a very large and important role in the recognition of Croatian independence and its positioning in international relations.

## 2. DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Direct diplomacy as negotiation skills and the development of international relations, is very old area of human activity, much older than its relatively new name, and even the existence of the diplomatic profession. In its broader sense, as the ability to resolve conflict situations in everyday life of an individual, it is as old as the human race itself [7]. In formal terms, first it was known as negotiation, and from 1796 under its current name diplomacy, created by Edmundu Burkeu. Diplomacy has suffered surprisingly little attention among political scientists, especially in international relations. Diplomacy exists within the international theory, but it is rarely analyzed or studied more extensive, and it can also be noted that the conceptual wealth of literature on diplomacy is actually limited and to a large extent is separated from the development of political theory [9]. Theorists considered that the literature on diplomacy was redundant

and anecdotal [9]. Thus, the Israeli diplomat Abba Eban speaks of 'intrinsic antagonism', dividing theorists from practitioners and claims that there are several fields in which the tension between theory and practice is sharper than diplomacy [4]. It is considered that there are no areas of world politics that reflect the wider gap between experience and theory than diplomatic statecraft, and the reason lies in the fact that those who explicitly studied such statesmanship, were not theoretically oriented, while those who have emphasized the theory were not focused on diplomacy [10].

## 2.1. THE DEFINITION OF DIPLOMACY

There are several definitions of diplomacy. Thus, according to Freeman, diplomacy is application of intelligence and tact in the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states [5]. Berridge defined diplomacy as the conduct of international relations more by negotiations than by force, propaganda or applying rights [3]. Hamilton and Langhorne consider advocacy as vital task of diplomacy, as one of the higher forms of persuasion [6]. Barston connects diplomacy with the management of relations between states and between states and other active participants with focus on consulting, design and implementation of foreign policy [1]. Baron Gyula Szilassy defined diplomacy as the art of conducting business by combining skills abroad and representing the interests of their country. In fact it is more a competence than science [11]. One of the most popular definition of diplomacy is one of the famous English diplomat Sir Harold George Nicolson, who has seemingly always followed the following definition of diplomacy: „Diplomacy is the management of international relations through negotiation: the way in which these relations are adjusted and managed by the ambassador and delegates; work or art of diplomats; skills in conducting international relations and negotiations”<sup>1</sup>. This definition is inadequate for modern times, because it does not include all the processes of diplomacy, and then requires a broader definition: diplomacy as a process of communication between the countries and other international actors. On the other hand, it represents diplomatic skills of managing tasks and representing the interests of their country abroad<sup>2</sup>. Diplomacy, therefore, in its multiple meanings represents the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, the art of foreign policy, international negotiations and professional activity performed by diplomats [8]. Diplomacy can be defined as the basic method through which foreign policy is implemented and as an usual mean of communication in international relations [13].

## 2.2. THE HISTORY OF WORLD DIPLOMACY

The data on diplomacy is based on a scanty evidence<sup>3</sup>. There are traces of Egyptian diplomacy dating back to the 14th century BC, but no traces were found until the 9th century. The inscriptions on the walls of abandoned cities of the Maya people have shown that exchange of delegations was frequent, although almost nothing is known about the style of diplomacy of Maya peoples at that time. In South America, sending deputies to negotiate to the Inca empire was more of an introduction to conquer than negotiation between rulers. Most data on early diplomacy come from the Middle East,

<sup>1</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, (2nd edition, Clarendon Press, 1989), vol. IV, 695.

<sup>2</sup> Dictionnaire politique et diplomatique (Litec droit) (French Edition) by Pierre Sandahl (1976).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>.

the Mediterranean, China and India. The records of negotiations between the Mesopotamians city-states date from around 2850 BC. At that time, Akkadian (Babylonian) became the first diplomatic language and has served as an international language in the Middle East until it was replaced by Aramaic. Diplomatic correspondence from the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC existed between the Egyptian and Hittite king's palace in the cuneiform of the Akkadian language. The oldest traces of diplomacy for which full texts date from 1280 BC, is a correspondence between Ramses II and the leader of the Hittite nation. There is also considerable evidence that have been found in Syria on diplomacy from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the Bible that speaks of the mutual relations of the Jewish tribes and about their relations with other nations. The first records of diplomacy between China and India date back to the first millennium BC. By the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Chinese had organized system of polite negotiations between its many 'Warring States', including behavior towards to delegates who serve them as hostages until those who sent them have not started to behave in such a way as suited China. The sophistication of this tradition, which emphasizes the practical virtues of ethical behavior in relations between the countries is well documented in ancient Chinese writings. The tradition of equal diplomatic relations between the competing forces in China interrupted the unification of the country under Emperor Qin in 221 BC and the consolidation of unity under the Han Dynasty in 206 BC. Under the Han Dynasty, China has become the largest, most popular, most technically advanced and best organized society in the world. Statements of Chinese philosophers at the time, for example, Mencius<sup>4</sup>, that then prevailed, claimed that the state would best exert influence abroad, if it developed a moral society that foreigners admired, and then waited for foreigners to come to China to learn from them. Ancient India was equally sophisticated, as well as China, but had a very different diplomatic tradition. This tradition is systematized and described in the Arthashastra (one of the oldest books in secular Sanskrit literature) written by Kautilya<sup>5</sup>. Ruthlessly real state of the system described in the 'Arthashastra' insists that Foreign Relations determine its own interests, rather than ethical considerations. Force of the state is determined by five factors, the emphasis is on espionage and diplomatic maneuver. It also contains 12 categories within the complex geopolitical matrix. Four Institutes of statesmanship are described (conciliation, seduction, subversion and coercion), and six forms of government policies (Peace, War, non-alignment, alliances, showing power and cheating). For the purpose of carrying out policies arising from this strategy, in the ancient India are mentioned three categories of diplomats: proxies, delegates elected for a question or mission and royal messengers; consular agents (like Greek proxenosis) who are responsible for managing trading relationships and transactions; and two kinds of spies (the ones who are responsible for gathering intelligence and those entrusted with subversion and other forms of covert action). The tradition that ultimately inspired the birth of modern diplomacy in the post-Renaissance Europe and that led to the present world system of international relations began in ancient Greece. The earliest evidence of Greek diplomacy can be found in the literature, especially in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. Otherwise, the first traces of inter-state relations are related to the Olympic Games in

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<sup>4</sup> Mencius, Chinese philosopher, 371-289 BC.

<sup>5</sup> Chanakya, Indian philosopher, professor, minister and advisor Candragupta, the first ruler Maurijskog Empire, also known under the names Kautilya and Visnugupta, is considered the forerunner of scientists in the fields of economic and political science, 371-283.

776 BC. In the 6th century BC, "Amfictionsky" alliance or "league neighbors"<sup>6</sup> held interstate session of the extra-territorial rights and a permanent secretariat. There were several forms of Greek diplomacy. According to existing historical data that can be found in the literature, the messengers are the first diplomats, protected by the gods with immunity which other delegates did not have. Their patron was Hermes, messenger of the gods, who are still tied to diplomacy. Unlike diplomatic relations, business and political relations between the city-states were continuous. Greek consular agents or 'Proxima', were citizens of the city in which they lived, rather than the city-state by which they were employed. As the delegates they had the task of collecting information, but the primary focus was trade. The Greeks developed archives, diplomatic language and the principles of international behavior from which originated international law as well as many other elements of modern diplomacy. Rome had inherited what the Greeks invented and it adapted it to the imperial administration. As Rome expanded, it often negotiated with representatives from won areas, to which partial self-government was granted through contracts. Contracts were made with other countries in accordance with the Greek international law. During the Roman Republic, the Senate's foreign policy was conducted by the department of foreign affairs. Later, during the Empire, the emperor brought a final evaluation that concerned foreign affairs. To receive delegates lavish ceremonies were held, and they and their assistants would get immunity; Roman deputies were sent overseas with the written instructions of their governments, and Roman law<sup>7</sup>, which emphasized the sanctity of contracts, became the basis for negotiation.

### 2.3. DIPLOMACY OF MIDDLE AGES

When in the fifth century the Western Empire fell apart, most of its diplomatic tradition was lost. However, the rulers negotiated among each other through delegates, and in the period from 5th to 9th century the papacy used legate (delegates). Both forms of diplomacy intensified over the next three centuries. Eastern half of the Roman Empire existed as Byzantium for almost next 1,000 years. Palace in Istanbul, in which the pope sent emissaries, from the 5th century had a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office to work with foreign representatives. In order to elicit awe and intimidate foreign envoys, the Byzantine rulers marked the arrival of diplomats with spectacular ceremonies displaying more power and wealth than the Empire actually possessed. Byzantium created the first professional diplomats. From the 12th century their role as collectors of information about other countries was vital for the survival of the Byzantine state. After the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, the main elements of its diplomatic tradition continued to live in the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Italy.

### 2.4. DIPLOMACY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

After the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, the West revived. Indeed, even in the period of greatest weakness, the Roman Catholic Church had an active diplomacy,

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<sup>6</sup> Amphictyonic league or "League neighbor" is an ancient religious association of Greek tribes formed before the rise of the Greek polis.

<sup>7</sup> Roman law means a legal order that is in effect at the Roman state since the establishment of Rome, which, according to tradition linked to 753 BC. Cr., To the death of the eastern emperor Justinian in 565 years. The final phase of this development makes the codification of Emperor Justinian - Corpus Iuris Civilis

especially in Istanbul and in the 13th century during the struggle against the holy Roman emperors. Papa has served as an arbitrator, and papal delegation had served as peacekeepers. The prestige of the Church was such that at every court papal envoys took precedence over secular ones, and that tradition continued in the countries where Catholicism was the official religion. While diplomacy was limited to neighboring countries it was easy to arrange meetings between rulers, so that the visiting delegate, Nuncio, was sufficient. However, as trade was developing, negotiations between distant countries were increasingly frequent. Delegates were no longer able to timely report their rulers on the details of the negotiations. Therefore, they should have the discretion to be able to decide for themselves. To this end, in the 12th century notion of the procurator „plena potens“ (power of attorney) embedded in Roman civil law. The proxy was able to negotiate and sign the contracts, but, unlike the Nuncio, he could not represent his Clergy. At the end of the 12th century, the term ambassador appeared, primarily in Italy. The term is derived from Medieval Latin „ambactiare“, which means 'to go on a mission', and it was used to describe the various delegates, some of whom were not delegates of Monarch. The term appeared in Italy and France in the 13th century, and it first appeared in English in the tragedy of Troilus and Criseyde of the author Geoffrey Chaucer . By the end of the 15th century, delegates of the secular rulers usually were called ambassadors, while Papacy has still called them delegates and nuncios. The Crusades and the revival of trade increased European contact with the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. Venice's geographical position has given it the role of the leading Italian city-state for contacts with Constantinople, where they absorbed the main elements of the Byzantine diplomatic system.

## 2.5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN DIPLOMACY

In the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, most of the embassies were temporary, lasting from three months to two years. Rome became the center of the Italian diplomacy and intrigue, gathering information and espionage, and at the papal court the first organized diplomatic corp was formed. The wars in the 16th century in Italy, the emergence of strong states north of the Alps, and the Protestant revolt marked the end of the Italian Renaissance. Henry VII in England was among the first who adopted Italian diplomatic system, and initially he even used Italian delegates. By 1520, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Chancellor of King Henry VIII created the English diplomatic service. Under Francis I, France adopted the Italian system of diplomacy and in the period between 1520 and 1530, had a corps of resident delegates. At that time the term 'extraordinary envoy' was valued and used for ceremonial festivities. In the 16th and early 17th century, the bureaucracy barely existed. The first modern Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in 1626 in France by Cardinal Richelieu<sup>8</sup>. Richelieu saw diplomacy as a continuous process of negotiations, arguing that the diplomat should have one master and one policy. He created the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to provide centralized policy and control of its delegates. Richelieu has rejected the view that the policy should be based on dynastic or sentimental problems or ruler's wishes, and has considered instead that state transcends the crown and country, that the prince and the people had needs and interests independently of these elements. He argued that the art of

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<sup>8</sup> Armand Jean du Plessis, cardinal Richelieu- duke and Fronzac ( 9. september 1585 - 4. december 1642), commonly referred to as cardinal Richelieu (french: *kardinal de Richelieu* ) was a French clergyman, nobleman and statesman.

governance lied in recognizing these interests and acting in accordance with them, regardless of the ethical and religious reasons. The rules and norms of diplomatic and consular rights were established in the centuries of practice that became common law. The international writers, Gentilis, Grotius, Bynkershoek, Vattel and others, noted down and shaped some of the still valid legal rules. Some of these rules have become part of the national (internal) law of some countries, such as *Diplomatic Privileges Acta* from 1708, issued at the time of Queen Anne. Only at the Congress of Vienna (1815.) the first attempt of the codification of diplomatic law was made by adopting the Vienna Rules on the level of diplomatic representatives whose diplomatic call was recognized as a separate compared to the one carried out by politicians and statesmen. It has been confirmed that this is a independent business with its own rules and customs. The next attempt at unification was the Protocol of Aachen (1819.), when another level of ranking diplomatic representatives was added. At the Pan American Conference in Havana (1928.) Convention on diplomatic agents and consuls was adopted. The process has been continued in the framework of the United Nations, which in 1947 established the Commission for International Law, in charge, among other things, for the adoption of a multilateral convention on diplomatic and consular relations and immunities. An indirect cause for the codification of diplomatic law were the tense relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union (USSR). Because of the constant violation of the diplomatic immunity of Yugoslav diplomats in the USSR, Yugoslavia raised at the UN General Assembly the issue of the integrity of diplomatic agents and the smooth operation of the embassies. The General Assembly accepted the initiative of Yugoslavia to create the codification of customary legal norms of diplomatic law and by Resolution 685 (VII) of 5 December 1952., ordered to the Commission for international law to prepare the codification of diplomatic law. Work on the convention lasted until 1961, when the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations was signed, and then in 1963 the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. In its introduction the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations recalls that since ancient times the peoples of all countries recognized the status of diplomatic representatives (diplomatic agent), and that the rules of customary international law will continue to be applied to issues that are not explicitly regulated by the provisions of this Convention [2].

### 3. CROATIAN DIPLOMACY FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO TODAY

The tradition of Croatian diplomacy goes far back in history. Even Pope John VIII. (872-882), corresponding with the Croatian Prince Domagoj and Zdeslav, and Duke Branimir, held with them, one might now say, official diplomatic relations. In this context, a letter sent by Pope John VIII. to Duke Branimir on 07.06.879, informing him that the Rome blessed him and the whole Croatian nation by 'recognizing his rule over Croatians', should be pointed out. According to international law at that time, in today's vocabulary, Croatia was for the first time recognized as a sovereign and independent state. Although diplomatic service and diplomacy, in today's sense, in the early Middle Ages did not exist, however, if under the term diplomacy policy of communication and negotiation is considered, one could speak of diplomacy in the oldest period of Croatian history. Attempts to resolve conflicts and disputes by peaceful means have been reported already in the period immediately after the arrival of the Slavs in the ancient Dalmatia. The envoy of Pope Ivana IV., Abbot Martin, redeemed captives and collected saint relics from churches that have remained in pagan territory.

That Roman mission is complemented by that of Constantinople, by which Byzantine emperors - co-rulers were trying to solve the relations between settlers and indigenous people around the Diocletian palace. Throughout the early medieval period there are examples of efforts to conduct the policy by peaceful means instead of violence, both by Croatian side and Croatian neighbors. From diplomatic centers outside the Croatian territory, the most active was Roman Church, and then all the important centers that participated in the creation of the fate of Croats: Constantinople, Frankish court, the Bulgarian court, Venice and court Arpadovići. Croats were representatives of Dalmatian and Istrian cities that also sent their envoys to foreign countries, which was recorded from the beginning of the 9th century. In the diplomatic missions were sent various religious and secular persons. In addition to the bishops, priests and special envoys of rulers were sent, or prominent citizens and nobles, elected representatives among themselves with the task of conducting negotiations with a foreign ruler. Only once it was mentioned that the ruler himself (Borna) went out of the country for the consultations with Frankish king. [12]. Objectives of diplomatic missions were different. Sometimes it was the conclusion of peace after the conflict, and sometimes it had to deal with questions of church jurisdiction. Most traces left the diplomatic activity concerning arrival of Arpadovići to the Croatian throne, and their rule over the Dalmatian cities. The negotiations could be bilateral or multilateral, expressed in contemporary diplomatic terms. The latter actually were councils, religious and secular, attended by representatives of various social and political groups with different interests. A good examples are Council on the river Rižana held in 804 and the Split church councils in 925 and 928. However, in diplomatic activities bilateral arrangements and agreements still prevailed. At the beginning of the 12th century Croatian kingdom or Regnum Croatiae et Dalmatiae enters the dynastic union with the Hungarian kingdom. The royal name from Trpimirović is taken by Arpads, so Koloman is, as stated in the inscription on the bell tower of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, Ungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae rex. In dynastic union, Croatian kingdom did not lose neither spatial-political or social features and with its individual characteristics differed from the Hungarian part of the union, but it was no longer an independent legal state entity in European politics, as it was in the early Middle Ages. Diplomatic relations with other states and rulers centers at the level of Hungarian-Croatian state union, and hence at the level of the whole Croatian kingdom, became the competencies of new dynastic government and the royal palace in Buda. The first changes in such organization of Croatian diplomacy appeared only in the late 15th century, at the end of the late Middle Ages and at the time when the strengthening of the Turkish threat thoroughly changed the political situation of the kingdom. Although due to the new dynastic relations Croatian kingdom lost its political and legal subjectivity, on the territory of the kingdom between 1102 and 1526 there were diplomatic activities, which were in line with the political situation and the social organization of the kingdom. In the High and Late Middle Ages diplomatic activities on the Croatian territory were carried out at three major spatial and social levels: at the level of the whole kingdom, at the level of aristocratic families and the level of individual communities. Shifts between the diplomatic level, that is, changes in the forms and centers of diplomatic procedures, depend on two main factors: first, the degree of social development and political independence of holders of diplomatic activities and secondly, the degree of political vulnerability of the holder, or the level of necessity for independent diplomatic action against the political forces outside the scope of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom.

Skilled political behavior was in the High and Late Middle Ages integral part of social reality in the Croatian kingdom. Also in those periods when it was not an independent participant in the European politics on its territory diplomatic activity and statesmanlike behavior were present. At the level of the whole kingdom, political independence was recognized only at the end of the late Middle Ages, when the weakened royal power of Jagiellonian dynasty could not effectively counteract all more visible outside threats, but on the other social horizons, at the level of aristocratic families and in the individual communities, political individuality, and diplomatic activity, were almost continuously present in the Croatian space. Croatian diplomacy from the 12th to the first half of the 16th century, was a complex phenomenon that connected all aspects of political and social organization. At the end of the Middle Ages, in substantially changing threatening environment around the year 1500, it went back to its origin at the level of the whole Croatian kingdom to the independent state of thought of the Croatian kings in the second half of the 11th century. At the meetings of Croatian Parliament in Cetina 1527 Political and diplomatic autonomy of Croatia was interconnected with the realization of state-legal continuity of the Croatian kingdom. At the first Parliament in Cetina, Croatian aristocrats January 1, 1527 fully independent both from the Kingdom of Slavonia and the Hungarian kingdom, elected Ferdinand of Habsburg for the Croatian king. At the second Parliament in Cetina, 28 April 1527 Croatian nobility, dissatisfied with the scope of the royal support to anti-Turkish resistance of the kingdom prepared a parliamentary note to Ferdinand, which pointed out that it was not known "of any ruler who would forcibly take over Croatia as since the death of our last king Zvonimir we freely joined sacred crown of the kingdom of Hungary, and after that of your majesty"<sup>9</sup> In the parliamentary decision of 28 April 1527, the political and diplomatic individuality of the Croatian nobility firmly relies on the knowledge of the continuity of Croatian kingdom. The idea of the continuity, however, is focused in the name of the last king of the early medieval Croatian state, Zvonimir. If in the long centuries of dynastic Hungarian-Croatian union thought about the independence of Croatian kingdom in the political reality of Croatian nobility retreated and became imperceptible, in their minds it had never disappeared. The tradition of the early Croatian rulers and kings of the second half of the 11th century who realized independent *Regnum Croatiae* at Dalmatiae on the one hand and of the entrance of the Croatian kingdom in dynastic union with Arpadović, on the other hand, is kept in diplomatic material.

### 3.1. DIPLOMACY OF DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC

The Republic of Dubrovnik is a unique phenomenon in European history and international relations. Small libertarian south Croatian state took place between the powerful neighboring powers more than four and a half centuries, primarily thanks to its successful foreign policy and effective diplomacy. Dubrovnik Republic existed as an independent state since the mid-14th century, when it acquired all the attributes of statehood and sovereignty, and to the early 19th century, during the more than four and a half centuries. Its attributes of statehood are very clear: it has its own national territory and national borders, its own population that inhabited this territory, its own legal

<sup>9</sup> *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Croatian parliament writings, edited by Šišić, F., Knj. I, MSHSM 33, Zagreb 1912, 50-53.

system and the organization of national authorities, acting in accordance with current standards in international relations. In addition to the internal, the Dubrovnik Republic had sovereignty in foreign policy as well, which manifests itself in its independence in making decisions on relations with other countries, including the recognition of other states, the independence of the conclusion of international agreements, the independence of the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic and consular relations, including independence in the appointment and sending its diplomatic and consular representatives and receiving foreign ones. As a result of these and other relevant facts there is no doubt that the Republic of Dubrovnik was the state that had all the characteristics of national sovereignty and international personality. Also, the Republic of Dubrovnik was for many years a Catholic enclave in Turkish southeastern Europe, giving it additional importance and protection of the Holy See. Such geopolitical and other relevant features people of Dubrovnik applied with wisdom and competence to assess the situation and to defend their independence and sovereignty and economic development, while using almost exclusively diplomatic means and skills. By timely noticing the benefits of its geopolitical position and accepting the maritime orientation, Dubrovnik had developed a number of international political and trade relations with the countries in its hinterland and the countries of the Mediterranean, and beyond. All mentioned has contributed to rapid economic, cultural and overall development of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik achievements in science, literature, music, medicine, architecture, public administration and in many other aspects were exceptional, especially considering the small population, the problematic situation in the neighborhood, and constant exposure to external hazards. One of the most important determinants that allowed such a comprehensive development of the Republic of Dubrovnik was its diplomatic and consular service. It can be said that the foreign policy and the ability of Dubrovnik diplomacy had a crucial role in the survival and development of the Republic of Dubrovnik. There is no question that the cultural, diplomatic and political heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic was an important factor in the integration process of the Croatian nation, which followed in the 19th and 20th centuries as a link in the efforts to establish a modern independent Croatian state. Dubrovnik very early established a service for the conduct of foreign policy, collecting foreign information and for protection of their traders and trade. The first written record of Dubrovnik diplomacy is can be found in Dubrovnik Statute from 1272<sup>10</sup>. Conclusions of Small Council of 20 February 1304 speaks about the need to select a diplomatic representative - envoy<sup>11</sup>, who should visit Ban Mladen (1302-1322) in Bosnia "for the good and for the benefit of traders and the entire city of Dubrovnik." Proceedings of regulations from 14th and 15th centuries, the so-called Green and Yellow Book contain a number of rules on the establishment and organization of diplomatic and consular services, which show that Dubrovnik at the time when it was rare in medieval Europe had its own diplomacy with elaborated organization and regulations. The continuing need to maintain good political relations and links with other relevant countries, primarily Turkey, Spain, the Pope and Austria; the need to analyze the intention of Venice (Venetian Republic) and Turkey for the protection of

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<sup>10</sup> The Statute in two heads, among other things discussed and courier costs, which clearly reflects the more than the then elaboration of diplomatic rules.

<sup>11</sup> The word "envoy" probably derives from the Greek word "apocrisarius", which was the name of the Pope's representatives to the Byzantine court to Schism.

the interests of their own trade and navigation, and especially after the great earthquake in April 6, 1667, when the economic and political viability of Dubrovnik came into question, caused the necessary strengthening of the Dubrovnik diplomatic and consular services, whose development was particularly noticeable during the 18th century, when it took on all the modern features. Although Venice and other Italian State-cities by some claims are considered as the origins of diplomacy, Dubrovnik at the same time had organized a diplomatic and consular services and elaborated regulations on these issues, and on some of them even before Venice. Despite these facts, richly argued in historical archives, Dubrovnik diplomacy and its place in Europe's diplomatic theory and practice are still insufficiently known to the general public.

### 3.2. FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC

Dubrovnik's foreign policy primarily served for the preservation of Dubrovnik's freedom and sovereignty, and for establishment of good relationships for the protection and development of Dubrovnik trade and maritime affairs. Constant in Dubrovnik's foreign policy was an attempt to establish and maintain good relations with all relevant European countries of that time, as well as with Turkey. Dubrovnik's foreign policy was based on the principle of maintaining neutrality of the Dubrovnik Republic in international conflicts and on emphasizing its position as last Christian enclave in southeast Europe, which should obtain, in accordance with the doctrine of Christian universalism, special preferential treatment of Christian countries. Dubrovnik's foreign policy was guided by the principle of reality and peacefulness. One of the main principles of Dubrovnik's foreign policy was avoidance of conflict in international relations, as well as efforts if conflicts materialize, to resolve them in a peaceful and compromising manner. Dubrovnik was aware that as a small country it could not survive without military force, and therefore it sought the protection of powerful states, such as the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, the Pope as religious leader of the Catholic world, the King of Spain and finally Turkey. Dubrovnik Republic was paying various fees for the protection, but it has brought it not only security but also many political and trade preferences, by being very efficient and economic mean in the international relations at the time. Despite the recognition of 'supreme protection' first from Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and then from Turkey, the Republic of Dubrovnik managed to establish and to preserve over the centuries all relevant components of independence and sovereignty. This was especially evident at the time of the Turkish conquest, when they destroyed many of the powerful medieval states, such as the Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia and Hungary. While the entire southeast Europe and a large part of the Mediterranean was under Turkish rule, and the rest of Europe in fear of further Turkish conquest, Dubrovnik, thanks to the ability to conduct its foreign policy, successfully maintained political and economic relations with the Ottoman Empire. The wisdom and integrity in analyzing and assessing the foreign relations, realism, pragmatism and caution in decision-making, awareness of their own capabilities and resources, insistence on good information, all these were the basic guidelines and principles of Dubrovnik's foreign policy. Dubrovnik government and his whole department of Foreign Affairs attempted in foreign policy to achieve a balance between their interests and the possibility of realizing those interests, putting always the focus of its work on existence and prosperity of the Republic. There strive to preserve the freedom and existence of the Republic of Dubrovnik is well illustrated by a carved

inscription above the gate of the fortress Lawrence: "Non bene pro toto Libertas venditur auro" ("It is not good to sell freedom for all the treasure"). Such foreign policy positioning enabled Dubrovnik Republic to make remarkable economic, cultural and overall development and to survive over centuries, managing to outlive its main opponent and rival - the Republic of Venice. Peacefulness, good cooperation with neighbors and everyone else, neutrality in international conflicts, negotiations and finding allies in many places, the development of trade relations, sacrifice of any of its citizens and putting the national interests before individual were the principles of Dubrovnik's foreign policy and its diplomacy, which enabled survival of the Dubrovnik Republic over centuries, and in a way that from the mid-15th century there were no fights under the walls of Dubrovnik nor until 1806 enemy army entered the city. The Republic of Dubrovnik was the aristocratic (patrician) Republic. However, despite the dominance of the nobility and the feudal system Dubrovnik Republic has never been based on the autocratic system, typical of many states of the time. The fate of the country was the joint responsibility of the collective leadership, and it had to bear the obligations and responsibilities of all subjects of the Republic of Dubrovnik. It is shown, among other things, in the method of selecting the prince as nominally the supreme authority, as well as in the scope and content of its powers as he was just a 'first among equals' (lat. *Primus inter pares*). It is also shown in the other elements of the structure of the political system, such as the supreme role of the Senate as a collective body of government, voting methods in in councils, periodical elections, limitations in sequential electing of the same person on the same function or in the procedure for the selection of diplomatic and consular representatives. Already in the 11th century, when Dubrovnik was under Byzantine rule, sources mention the National Assembly as a collection of all the citizens of the city, which approved the laws that were prepared by nobility. Beside it there was a Grand Council (lat. *Consilium majus*), representatives of nobility, which eventually took over the powers of the National Assembly. Until the Senate was created jurisdiction of the Grand Chamber was decisive. Grand Chamber members were all adult representatives of the nobility (20 and 18 years old), provided that their patrician origin and age was checked certificate of education and good conduct was submitted. The most important function of the Grand Council, which remained until the fall of the Republic, was the election of Dubrovnik duke. The Senate (Lat. *Consilium Rogatorum*) for centuries was the most important body of the Republic. With the time it became the government of the Republic, until its fall in 1808. Number of senators varied and after the great earthquake in 1667 stabilized at 45. Senators, mainly in groups of three, performed the main sectorial affairs of government. The Senate almost entirely made decisions on all current issues of foreign and domestic policy. The Senate was also electing all diplomatic and consular representatives of the Republic, by the majority of votes (balls), and regulated all important issues such as the responsibilities and modes of action, salary, number of escorts and other. The Senate was in charge of foreign policy Dubrovnik's diplomatic and consular network and its supervision. The Senate debated on every important issue of foreign policy, read the correspondence received, discussed the positions of Republic and the content of responses and it determined the government's strategy and tactics concerning its diplomatic and consular representatives abroad. Small Council (lat. *Consilium minus*) was the executive body, first of Grand Council, and then of the Senate, whose decision it elaborated and implemented. It was only the channel for receiving the Senate's correspondence and together with the Secretariat it performed technical and

administrative duties (drafting instructions and their supplements, establishing codes, etc.). The youngest member of the Chamber directly carried out the conclusions. He performed some duties of Foreign Minister and was a kind of secretary of state, although his functions were not clearly defined. By executing and implementing individual conclusions, he maintained contacts with foreign diplomatic and consular representatives accredited in Dubrovnik. Foreign representatives have leveled notes and other diplomatic letters. Formally, the highest body representing the Republic abroad was the duke of Dubrovnik. Duke was elected by Grand Council, as a rule before the start of the year, by absolute majority of votes. Selected from the senators, he presided over the State Councils: the Grand Council, the Senate (the Senate) and the Small Council. He convened and chaired the meetings. When voting in the Council duke had one vote, as others. He was the 'first among equals', and in case of his inability he was replaced by the oldest member of the Small Council. He received the diplomatic and consular representatives accredited to the Republic, who presented credentials at Small Council, after the first unofficial visit to the palace.. The duration of the duke's mandate was different, but in the 18th century it lasted one month. Dubrovnik's duke was a political figure, without major powers and concerning Foreign Affairs he had the exclusive representative and protocol role. Dubrovnik Republic has never had conquest intentions, never led any war of conquest, and its army did not have role in the Dubrovnik's international relations. Dubrovnik army was small in number (a few hundred soldiers), and was used exclusively for the defense of the Republic, the maintenance of internal order and safeguarding borders.

### 3.3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIPLOMACY IN CROATIA

Croatian legal status within the Habsburg Empire was such that its authorities did not take part in the conduct of foreign policy. Some elements of diplomatic activity existed in the operation of the Yugoslav Committee 1915-1918 (which the majority of the Croats, among them the most prominent Supilo F. and A. Trumbić, especially for the short existence of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (29 X – 1 XII 1918). During the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929), and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941), the government was unitary, and that has not changed by giving special status to Banovina Croatia (1939-1941). Throughout this period in the Yugoslav diplomacy Croats were engaged, but it was dominated by the Serbian cadres loyal to the regime. During World War II Independent State of Croatia had managed to establish diplomatic relations only with countries related to Axis powers. Government institutions that emerged from the anti-fascist movement, already during the war had managed to achieve diplomatic contacts (1943), and they soon achieved recognition and involvement in international organizations (1945). After the break with the Soviet bloc (1948), socialist Yugoslavia in the period of the Cold War was included in the "non-aligned movement", in which an important role was played by Yugoslav President J. Broz Tito. Federalism of Yugoslavia meant that in the diplomatic relations federal institutions were involved through the representatives of all the federal units. Even though that several Croats in the diplomacy of socialist Yugoslavia had built significant careers (eg. V. Velebit, B. Lončar) Croatia was not equally represented. With the establishment of the Croatia as a sovereign and independent state (1991.) a comprehensive system of institutions for the conduct of the Croatian foreign policy and the maintenance of international relations was created. In those years, the Republic of

Croatia passed a quadruple parallel transition, from communism to democracy, from centralized to market oriented economy, from war to peace and from the Federation to an independent state. By gaining independence, the Republic of Croatia faced by need of building the state apparatus all forms and at all levels including the foreign service. It was necessary to quickly master the diplomatic and other executive skills, in order to respond to complex challenges. Capacities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were strengthened, organization and computerization was improved. Periods in the development of modern Croatian diplomacy are following: patriotic mobilization from the period of Croatian independence (25.6.1991. and 8.10.1991.) to international recognition (15.1.1992.) and accession to the United Nations (22.5.1992.); legal organizational period from accession to the United Nations (22.5.1992.) to the establishment of full territorial integrity and control (15.1.1998.) During this period the Republic of Croatia established diplomatic relations with almost all major countries and international organizations, it is a member of the UN (1992), the Council of Europe (since 1996), and the European Union (since 2013), represented by the Permanent Mission to the UN and UNESCO. Foreign policy is under the responsibility of the President, Government and Parliament. Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a part of the state administration responsible for conducting political-diplomatic, consular and other affairs in order to achieve foreign policy objectives. A network of diplomatic missions is established and for the purpose of vocational training of diplomatic staff since 1995 annual Diplomatic Academy is operational.

## CONCLUSION

In this work relevant literature of domestic and foreign authors was studied and analyzed and historical overview of the world of diplomacy of the 14th century BC, through the diplomacy of the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic Church to the diplomacy of the Italian diplomacy was made. Literature relating to the history of Croatian diplomacy from the Middle Ages to the present, with special emphasis on diplomacy of Dubrovnik Republic was also analyzed. The aim of this work was to analyze the development of Croatian diplomacy throughout history. Diplomacy is one of the most important instruments of conducting foreign policy of the country and its relations with other countries, international organizations and alliances. It in its multiple meanings represents the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, the art of foreign policy, international negotiations and professional activity performed by diplomats. It can be defined as a tool for of foreign policy and as a common mean of communication in international relations. Skilled political behavior was in the High and Late Middle Ages integral part of social reality in the Croatian kingdom. Also in those periods when it was not an independent participant in the European politics on its territory diplomatic activity and statesmanlike behavior were present. Croatian diplomacy from the 12th to the first half of the 16th century, was a complex phenomenon that connected all aspects of political and social organization. At the end of the Middle Ages, in substantially changing threatening environment around the year 1500, it went back to its origin at the level of the whole Croatian kingdom to the independent state of thought of the Croatian kings in the second half of the 11th century. Dubrovnik have had already in the 13th century developed diplomatic and consular service and all that the time it was equal to Venice and other countries. Dubrovnik diplomacy, as one of the most important factors of survival and prosperity of the

Dubrovnik Republic, was among the most advanced at that time, especially Dubrovnik consular department made a major contribution not only to the development of the institution of honorary consular representatives but also to the development of a European consular services in general. Dubrovnik diplomats, as well as other citizens of Dubrovnik, had the consciousness about responsibility and need to preserve their country, including personal sacrifices, as many have proved enduring in Turkish prisons or otherwise, refusing blackmail at the expense of their homeland. Their dedication and diplomatic skills as "the art of the possible" in particular had proven themselves in difficult times with many dangers that frequently threatened Dubrovnik Republic, they preserved through the centuries the Republic as the only free country in Southeastern Europe. Dubrovnik government and diplomatic and consular service had to have on their disposal reliable information, to make realistic analysis and conclusions about relevant events and data, to know the circumstances and preferences of other actors, to choose quality and reliable diplomatic and consular agents and apply all available appropriate means of diplomatic activity. Dubrovnik diplomacy had also actively worked to protect the interests and to support Dubrovnik trade and navigation as a major components in the survival and prosperity of the Dubrovnik Republic. As part of the Habsburg Monarchy Croatian institutions did not participate in the conduct of foreign policy. Neither within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia since they were unitary states dominated mostly by Serbian personnel, Croatian institutions did not have significant role in creation of foreign policy. Independent State of Croatia during World War II established diplomatic relations only with the Axis powers. Also as part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Croatian personnel was not equally represented in institutions that created diplomatic relations and foreign policy. Only by establishment of the Republic of Croatia a complete system of institutions for the conduct of the Croatian foreign policy was created. Based on the analysis it could be concluded that diplomacy has played a very important role in the development of the Croatian state through history. This is especially evident in the case of the Dubrovnik Republic, which took place between the powerful neighboring powers more than four and a half centuries, primarily thanks to its successful foreign policy and effective diplomacy. After 90's diplomacy has played a major role in the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian inclusion in Euro-Atlantic integration and at the end as the final objective, which was given to the Croatian diplomacy, it has had a major contribution to the Croatian accession to the European Union. Final message of this paper could be that the Republic of Croatia and the whole international community have more benefits from diplomacy and mutual negotiation than from war or conflicts of another kind.

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