Abstract: Diplomacy is one of the sets of instruments through which decisions are implemented, policy activated, and policy objectives are achieved. Diplomacy is an art of negotiation and central to it are the craft of persuasion and the reconciliation of conducting interests. Diplomatic institutions developed slowly and uncertainly and have been quite different in form at different stages in the evolution of international society, which has been investigated in this paper. Moreover, for the long time, diplomatic activity focused on ‘high politics’ and ‘low politics’ associated with traditional diplomatic agenda. Nevertheless, diplomacy as the art of negotiation has gradually adjusted itself to change in political and international conditions. But, at the end of twentieth century, new issues / agenda require new form of diplomatic initiatives and techniques. This paper analyses how diplomacy faces the new agenda, new challenges to embrace the new international environment.

Introduction

In the twentieth century, diplomats have been concerning with the questions of political and economic relations among and between nation-states. After the World War II, other issues arose, spurred by the development of technology and information, and technical advances in nuclear energy and electronics. Moreover, new states emerged in the arena of international society for their development.

During the last decade of the century, a third set of international diplomatic agenda such as environmental degradation, energy, technological concern have come to the forefront presenting new challenges to diplomacy. The primary objectives of all diplomatic relations are to safeguard the interests of one’s country. The basic interest of every state is its own security; but, apart from this overriding consideration, economic interests, trade, protection of nationals are also matters of importance, which is the purpose of diplomacy to safeguard.

Diplomacy is also concerned with reducing friction or oiling the wheels of bilateral or multilateral relations. Moreover, diplomacy is contributing to order and orderly change. Central to diplomacy is the craft of persuasion, and the reconciliation of conflicting interests. In contemporary diplomacy, these tasks have become much more difficult and diverse. Major challenges affecting the conduct of diplomacy have been influenced by the continued experiment of the international community, alterations in major political ground and ongoing efforts by regional and global negotiating mechanism to attain minimum levels of international order. Moreover, innovations, domestic agenda, mass involvement in domestic politics have changed the political context. Simultaneously, the development of urbanized educated industrial societies, economic growth, technological development, emergence of an interdependent international economy, interconnected development in transport, communications, and weaponry has greatly affected the international system. In addition, developments in international organizations are playing an important part in world politics. These developments have come with remarkable swiftness: the proliferations of leagues, associations, councils, committees, unions, and communities have taken place at the end of World War II. Proliferation of international organizations and the advent of informal penetration on a large scale include an important new dimension to international politics. In the new environment, there are many critical international issues and objectives coming on focus such as refugees, human rights, transnational crime and terrorism, drugs, and the politics of environment, globalization, as well as the economics, intellectual property, and technology concerns. These are now becoming increasingly key issues in international relations between and among states. The United Nations (UN) or its agencies are now dealing with many matters that used to be dealt with through bilateral diplomacy. Moreover, the scope of diplomacy has assumed formidable dimensions; it now embraces not merely political but cultural, military, financial and commercial as well as the technical matters. In maintaining the order, diplomacy has to be prioritized for international technical matters. The perspective of technical matters has intruded into...
international life in a number of ways that were previously neglected. Previously diplomatic activity focused on the 'high politics' (politics, military and security) and 'low politics' (trade, finance, monetary-exchange and others) associated with the traditional diplomatic agenda. But, now new issues such as technical matters are coming to the forefront. These new issues not only reflected the wider interests and responsibilities of government but also narrowly focused interests of non-state actors.

Consequently, the diplomatic agenda has changed. These new issues require new forms of diplomacy. This, in turn, has changed diplomatic techniques and practices. The rapid growth in the operational activities of international organizations has also changed the diplomatic negotiating style. The issues and challenges are different and cannot be faced with the traditional alliances, at least not of traditional kind, against global warming, AIDS, terrorism or environmental degradation. This needs new form of diplomatic initiatives and techniques to face these problems.

In globalism, new approaches are needed that would respect natural limits and share the benefits of global linkage equitably. However, the new emerging problems are transnational and have its impact on every country. In these circumstances, the central task of diplomacy is not only the management of order, but also the management of change, and the maintenance by continual activity in which there is room for intelligence and tact. In this process the central concern is not conciliation of the different interests of states but collaboration to maximize common interests. As the international relations change, the diplomatic agenda and techniques that enable to make international society to function must change. What are required now are new approaches, and a new form of diplomacy, which will have to be based on collective efforts of a variety of actors inside and outside government. These individuals and the organizations, through which they operate, are the visible manifestation of this new approach in diplomacy. The international community is in a period of transition in terms of diplomatic methods as it seeks to find workable arrangements for its expanded agenda. This article examines how the diplomacy faces the new agenda, new challenges to embrace the international society.

Evolution of Organized Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a process that changes continuously. Many factors and elements account for changing its functions and characters. The art of negotiation gradually adjust itself to change in political conditions. Throughout human history, before nineteenth century, there was no single political system that spanned the world as a whole. Before the latter half of the nineteenth century, world order was simply the sum of the various political systems that brought order to particular parts of the world. For this, diplomatic institutions developed slowly and uncertainly and have been quite different in form at different stages in the evolution of international society. There are three diplomatic systems that contributed to develop the modern diplomacy: Greece and Roman systems, the Italian system, and the French system.

The Greek developed diplomatic functions in the very early stages of their development. The Greek city-states are rightly regarded as the primary architects of diplomatic traditions. They developed organized diplomacy during that period. The basic rules and conduct of diplomacy they adopted in the congress of Sparta in 432 B.C., the congress of Vienna in 1814, afterwards, retained many of them and emphasized some others. Although they made no permanent diplomatic mission; they did send emissaries on ad hoc basis to transact particular business. During the period of Greek liberty, diplomatic negotiations were conducted orally and at least in theory, with full publicity. If the negotiations resulted in a treaty, its ratification was accomplished by the public exchange of solemn oath. Thus, the Greek adopted the system of “open covenants openly arrived at”. Arbitration was a common recourse of litigious people and there are records of at least fifty arbitration agreements between Greek city states.

The Romans with their practical good-sense and excellent capacity for administration devised and maintained a more exemplary diplomatic system. Ambassadors appointment, instructions, and status became more formalized. The Romans respected the treaties and upheld the view that all international negotiations should be based on certain international guidelines and conduct. After the decline of Roman Empire, the emperors of Byzantine developed negotiation art to a greater perfection. The Byzantium emperors established foreign office and trained a group of negotiators who followed written
instructions. They also noted for the beginners of “professional” diplomacy. They also created elaborate protocol procedures for military reviews and homage to the emperor. Thus, they practiced diplomacy in a very organized way.

Diplomacy in the modern style, permanent diplomacy, was one of the creations of the Italian Renaissance. Italian city-states during the late Renaissance period first developed a systematic service and recognized the need for establishing a corps of professional diplomats. The most important development was the establishment of permanent diplomatic mission with ambassadors of resident in the capital of the country to which they accredited. In the period of 1450s all of the major states of peninsula had set up chanceries that required written reports from their agents and kept copious records. Each of these chanceries was the center of network of permanent embassies that provided a constant flow of information and channels of official intercourse with important neighbors. The first resident embassy in the modern sense was accredited in 1460 to Cosimo dei Medici by the Duke of Milan. Naples, the ligard, had a resident in Venice by 1457, and one in Milan before December 1458. The Italian states of renaissance introduced three methods of negotiation during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are the negotiations of treaties, the system of diplomacy by conference and the question of precedence. Moreover, the method of negotiations often took place in the form of personal interviews between two heads of the states, what is called the summit or diplomacy by conference.

The French form of diplomacy successfully embraced the emerging need. The chaotic practice of Italian diplomacy brought to end, largely owing to the influence and power of two remarkable men, a great international jurist and a great national statesman; Hugo Grotious and Richelieu. The professional status of diplomacy became firm in 1626, when Cardinal Richelieu, as a diplomatic advisor to Louis XIII, established a Ministry of External Affairs to centralize the management of foreign relations under a single roof. The practice was followed all over Europe.

The emergence of the great European states in the seventeenth century gave rise to a multi-state system on a continental scale. This state system expanded communication and economic activity, which gave the state competence. During this period, the treaty of Westphalia (1648) explicitly recognized the existence of separate sovereignties in which rulers, people, and territory formed a variety to replace the overlapping loyalties of the feudal type. Hence, it also recognized a society of states. Moreover, the increasing competence of the state and centralized bureaucratic administration forwarded advanced state to achieve finance and management. These improvements were reflected in the international affairs that resulted professionalism to the conduct of peaceful diplomacy and war. Resident ambassadors, which had originated in Italy in the fifteenth century, became generalized north of the Alps in the sixteenth century and spread to Russia in the time of Peter the Great. Theorists in this period analyzed new institution and the principles of envoys. As a result, the institution of diplomacy was in fact developing in this period.

The conditions of social organization, diplomacy, militarism, and statesmanship in the eighteenth century led to the creation of a system of international relations that was unique in the history of statecraft and unlike any system functioning today. The eighteenth century’s internationalism of statecraft had significant consequences. Another aspect which owed much for diplomatic development during this period that there developed a moralistic definition of the duties of diplomats. This was when Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist, invoked what he called, “a sense of justice and right reason” as the motive for inter state cooperation. The growing diplomatic community was the trustee of these new secular ideas, and behind the shield of its immunities it developed a deepening sense of solidarity.

Eighteenth century development of diplomacy was further forwarded in the nineteenth century. The Treaty of Vienna (1815) established a codified system of procedure known as protocol. The old structure of international relationship was reconstructed. After the Napoleonic Wars; stability was maintained through the informal but effective system of the Concert of Europe. The relationships of states were naturally on the basis of generally accepted code of international law, and consequently diplomacy enjoyed the highest prestige. The great changes that transformed European society in the nineteenth century inevitably had their effect on the diplomatic negotiation between its states in the form of growth of a wider public interest in foreign affairs; and the development in technology. Moreover, the desire for colonial expansion; intense commercial competition; increased speed of
communications had effect on the growth of organized diplomacy. Nicolson considers five distinctive characteristics of this old / traditional diplomacy:

- the conception of Europe as the center of international gravity;
- the idea that the great powers, constituting the concert of Europe, were more important and more responsible than small powers; the existence in every country of a trained diplomatic service possessing common standards of professional conduct;
- and the assumption that negotiation must always be a process rather than an episode, and that at every stage it must remain confidential11.

In the traditional system, diplomacy was dominated by the monarch. The foreign policy was conducted by elites and diplomacy was under executive control. The diplomatic corps were recruited from the nobility and gentry. Although there were a few noted multilateral conferences, such as the Congress of Vienna, bilateral diplomacy was the normal form of negotiation.

The agenda of traditional diplomacy was narrow certainly by comparison with later periods. For hundreds of years, foreign policy was seen as the exclusive province of monarchs and their advisers and not surprisingly, personal ambitions—the acquisition of territory perhaps, or another throne—together with more general issue of war and peace constituted the most important issues on the diplomatic agenda12. In a highly personalized structure, diplomats in essence were sent abroad by one monarch to win over another. In the practice of diplomacy, the real center of the machine shifted, from 1815 onwards, from the court to the cabinet. Traditional diplomacy reached its most developed form and was arguably most effective as a system for ordering international relations in nineteenth century Europe. It was also the beginning of the end of the "old" style of diplomacy. Kings and emperors still held sway, for example, but the American and French Revolutions signaled the onset of the decline of that system of diplomacy characterized by Euro centrism, great-power status, executive control, elite conduct, secrecy, and bilateral negotiations13.

New Diplomacy

The new diplomatic era started after the First World War when international relationships became worldwide. During this period, international relationship and practice of diplomacy were no longer confined to European nations, the USA and Japan with the rest of the world was a field of diplomatic operations. The main innovations that introduced into diplomatic practice by post-war developments was the movement towards greater democratic control, the increasing importance of economics and finance, the inventions of modern science, and a more enlightened conception of the community of international interests14. Of all the innovations that affected diplomacy since the war, the most important is the League of Nations. The continued existence of the League since 1920 has modified some important respects of the older practices of diplomacy15. In the League of Nations, nations were working together for certain common aims, their ambition was to ascertain the truth about political and economic factors which make the unrest and to ease them.

The new system of diplomacy evolved in the first half of the twentieth century. Hamilton and Langhorne mentioned that new diplomacy emerged from two important ideas. First, there was a demand that diplomacy should be more open to public scrutiny and control, and the second idea related to the importance of establishing an international organization—which initially took the form of the League of Nations and after the Second World War named, the United Nations16. This period demanded the democratization of foreign policy. In addition, diplomacy was more open to public scrutiny and control because the traditional diplomacy was exclusive secret and the diplomats were from the close society17. As a result, after the First World War, the idea of open diplomacy became almost an article of faith with democratic people through out the world. Moreover, the slogan "open convents openly arrived at," was made a part of the covenant of the League of Nations that nations should deposit the copies of all international agreements to which they were parties to the secretariat of League of Nations. In democratic countries, open diplomacy is ensured by the submission of all major international undertakings to the legislature for approval.

The second step, which has been taken to ensure democratic control of policy, be ratified by the sovereign authority of a country to the treaties concluded by its representatives18. This popular democracy has made the work of diplomat more difficult. Diplomats work in democracies at least, is always subject to the scrutiny at the
legislature and to publicity at a times can damage delicate negotiations.

In addition, the development of science and technology has great effect on diplomacy. The development of print media, television, and radio affected the everyday life of people. The increasing importance and power of the press has led to the appointment of a Press Attaché to the major embassies abroad to secure the views of his government obtain adequate publicity. This is the tool of informal penetration of other nations. It is also very important that now the media is using as a tool of propaganda. Although, clever men have used publicity to gain their ends in negotiation, propaganda has become a permanent feature in the diplomatic practice of certain countries.

Moreover, the Hague conference and by technical conference on such subject as Motor Car Legislation, Aerial Navigation, Red Cross Organization constituted some valuable international organizations, such as the Hague Tribunal, the Postal Telegraph and Wireless Bureau, the Agriculture Bureau\textsuperscript{19}. During the period of 1914-1918, conference diplomacy was working with the wartime-allied government to alleviate technical problems such as food and transport, common danger and common necessity. They were obliged to pool their resources and agreed upon the priority of their respective needs. Consequently, these great organizations were formed such as the Allied Food Council, Allied Council on War Purchases and Finance, the Allied Maritime Transport Council, the Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement. These councils and committees were coordinated like definite shape of pyramid. And this new experiment in conducting diplomacy from below upwards proved valuable innovation in international practice which now acting in UN and other organizations of UN. It was the most remarkable war development of the system of diplomacy by conference.

Although conference diplomacy was developed and practiced during the nineteenth century, but its practice has expanded greatly in modern era. Multilateral diplomacy takes the form of conferences of two or more states or of permanent conferences, that is, international organization. Much of the importance of conference and international organizations lies not in the multilateral diplomacy to which they give rise but in the opportunities they provide for bilateral diplomacy.

Genuinely multilateral diplomacy is the conduct of business among three or more states seeking to resolve an issue together, the League of Nations symbolize the rise of multilateral diplomacy. There are now a number of permanent world and regional international organization. Ad hoc conference and treaties are also more apt to be multilateral. Multilateral diplomacy has increased for several reasons. First, the advancement in travel and communications technology allows faster and more frequent contacts among countries. Second, leaders recognized that many global concerns cannot be solved by any one or through traditional bilateral diplomacy alone. Third, multilateral diplomacy became attractive to smaller countries as a method of influencing world politics beyond their individual power. Fourth, there was expectation that promoting multilateral diplomacy would help collective use of military force against aggressor within the framework of a multilateral organization such as League of Nations\textsuperscript{20}.

It is so far to say that new diplomacy was a more open process than its predecessor. Another tendency that has been fostered by the development of regional organizations that increasing frequency of personal meetings of Head of States or governments known as summit diplomacy.

After the Second World War, the countries of Asia entered into the field of international relations. Arnold Toynbee points out that before 1919, only 16 of the lesser states took serious part in international affairs and of those 15 were in Europe\textsuperscript{21}. After the 1919, the number increased to 47, out of which only 22 were European. In 1949, the number has increased further to 60 in the United Nations alone and increase has been mainly from Asia as new member of the world organization\textsuperscript{22}. The development of communications and increased impact of public opinion brought to bear conflicting and heterogeneous pressures. Changes in technology have vastly improved the security and speed of communication between mission abroad and their government. The spread of television and the use of satellites for transmission have increased public awareness of foreign policy issue through coverage. Newly independent countries join the world scene and played an important role in economic and political negotiation. The UN and its affiliated organizations have deplored the effective conduct of diplomacy. Advent of informal penetration possessed a revolution in statecraft. Five major types of informal access may be distinguished.
such as, informal governmental access; quasi-governmental access; non-governmental access; informal access by an international organizations; informal access by a nation through international organizations. Thus, the international organizations have become important actors on the international scene. The expansion of diplomatic community was not the only change, but effects were the breakdown of the international homogeneity of the diplomatic system.

The United Nations is the best illustration of the expansion of international society. It had 51 members in 1945, 81 in 1959, and it had 191 by 2004. This new world is well reflected in the heterogeneous nature of the United Nations. The United Nations is equipped with a multitude of specialized agencies to serve the needs of the contemporary world. The United Nations and its specialized agencies contribute to the changing picture of the operational activities of international organizations such as, the United Nations International Children's Emergency fund, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization and many more. The operational activities of these agencies are numerous and diverse. For example, the peacekeeping functions of UN provide how its functions have expanded and its operational activities have developed. The International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development- all these specialized agencies of the UN- possess independent financial resources which greatly affected the conduct and practice of diplomacy.

Cold War Diplomacy

Characteristics of the modern diplomacy continued to evolve in the period after the Second World War. The major factors in world politics have been the prominent position of the two super powers as well as their rivalry, the continuing reduction of the power of European states, and the rise of new states in Asia and Africa. The new states in various stages of development, aspired to rapid industrialization and to acquire the status of modern nations. Communications technology, trade and the influence of western ideas, contribute to the formation of a community and their state aspiration and development. Moreover, these new states were unfamiliar with the established rules and principles of diplomacy led to the first important attempt to give them the status of international law, notably in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. During this period, two political facts characterize the new world situation as follows: the state interests were numerous and complex; and the rivalry of super power. Nevertheless, it provides a new and important stage on which diplomacy had functioned.

The ideological confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union was characterized on the international scene by three basic political phenomena: the bipolarity of international politics, the tendency of this bipolar political system to transform itself into a two–block system, and the policy of containment. The diplomatic activity mainly focused the need to avoid a nuclear war but also to ‘win’ the cold war produced a very delicate, dangerous form of diplomacy. The most important types of cold war diplomacy were nuclear diplomacy, crisis diplomacy, and summit diplomacy. Nuclear diplomacy refers to the interactions between states which possess nuclear weapons where one or more states threaten to use them either to dissuade an opponent from undertaking an action or persuade them to call a halt to some action that has begun. In fact, after the Second World War, United States and the Soviet Union both sides relied upon their nuclear weapons in political and psychological terms to achieve their objectives, but also sought to avoid triggering a nuclear war. For the destructive nature of nuclear war, there were unprecedented risks attached to this type of diplomacy and crises frequently emerged as a result. So, in turn, required a particular diplomatic response and the challenge of successfully managing a crisis is a special area of diplomatic concern which refers to the crisis diplomacy. Crisis diplomacy refers to the delicate communications and negotiations involved in a crisis. The successful resolution of the most serious nuclear crisis in October 1962 over soviet missiles in Cuba is an example of crisis diplomacy. Moreover, the summit became a regular mode of contact during the cold war. First super power summit was held in Geneva in 1955. The Cuban missile crisis introduced the agreement to set up a ‘hot line’—a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington that would maximize the chances of negotiating a direct settlement between the principal parties. By the 1970s, they had become a useful forum for negotiating tangible agreements that contributed to a reduction of East-West tensions. By the mid-1980s, a
A series of superpower summits played a significant role in bringing the cold war to an end.

Post Cold War / Modern Diplomacy

At the beginning of twenty-first century, diplomacy at the level of world politics can be characterized in two ways. First, diplomacy is now global in scope and secondly, the contemporary diplomacy can also be characterized as complex and fragmented. The continued expansion of international society has been major factors shaping a number of features of modern diplomacy. The growth of states and their interests and perspective has continuously fashioned the agenda of issues address by UN, or other institutions such as EU. Another important effect of expanded membership has been on the entry into force of conventions such as the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention and the Montreal Protocol on Ozone Depletion (1987). Moreover, economic regionalism has become a marked feature of international system since 1990. The proliferation of groups of states within regional setting for their joint economic development has become a common feature. These grouping range in scale and scope from the comprehensive and well established European Union (EU) to the embryonic and issue specific Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), and South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA).

Consequently, diplomacy has changed substantially in its methods, content and style. The major effects have been felt nationally in terms of decline of decision making power of the ambassador, but widening of his area of competence through economic and commercial diplomacy. The greater use of personal diplomacy and the burden created by multilateral diplomacy, with its accompanying growth in the use of specialists has changed the diplomatic character. The increase in direct involvement of heads of government in details of foreign policy and diplomacy and ministers other than foreign ministers are involved in diplomacy. The growth in importance of news media and the non-state actors are involved in modern diplomacy.

The role-played by professional diplomat since the First World War, or at least by professional diplomat in the nineteenth century pattern has been declined. First, the role of resident ambassador and his mission has declined in relations to that of other conductors of international business. Second, bilateral diplomacy has declined in relation to multilateral diplomacy as a consequence of the proliferation of international organizations. Third, diplomatic institutions- the rules and conventions that make diplomatic intercourse possible and facilitate its working have also declined in this century.

Diplomacy plays a key role in the foreign policies of states and other international actors. Diplomacy is one of a set of instruments through which decisions are implemented, policy activated, and policy objectives are achieved. Diplomacy as a government activity then refers to not only a particular policy instrument but also to the whole process of policymaking and implementation. A diplomatic institution may be highly developed or rudimentary depends upon the actor but it performs important functions in making and implementation of foreign policy. Moreover, the functions remain the same in the context of political change, though the diplomatic agenda and techniques have been changing continuously.

Conclusion

Diplomacy is a continuous process. It always embraces the new international environment and adapts with the system. Diplomacy as the art of negotiation has gradually adjusted itself to change in political and international conditions. The diplomacy has been changing with domestic, societal and international factors and other elements as well. The relations between state and international society, domestic and international relations are changing rapidly. Certainly the functions of professional diplomats remain the same. The ability and knowledge to sense what is going on and to inform his own government is still important, as is the supplying of political intelligence as a basis for the policy at home toward the state to which he is accredited. However, the diplomatic agenda is changing. The distinctive feature of the new agenda is that it increasingly featured highly specialized issues that raised question marks about the adequacy of the training given to diplomats.
Notes


5. Mokerjee, *op. cit.*: 44.


9. Abba Eban, *op. cit.*: 32.


22. *Ibid*.


27. Brian White, *op. cit.*: 324.


32. Brian White, *op. cit.*: 325.