

Boštjan Udovič and Nejc Hočevar (editors)

FOREIGN POLICY AND
DIPLOMACY OF SELECTED
(EU) COUNTRIES

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Foreword

The chapters following the presented study cover some of the European countries. The selection which countries should become part of this book was not made arbitrarily by the editors, but has been a process involving several steps and stages. The result was that twelve analyses were sufficiently qualified to become part of the book. The editors have decided that the common thread of the book should not be based on authors but on countries. To preserve the symbolical equ(al)ity of countries the editors decided to use the English names of the countries, since these versions are the most commonly used ones in everyday life. However, the editors maintained that for each country its original name should be listed. Thus the reader will also have the possibility to get acquainted with the original name of the country. Finally, the editors have decided to establish a unified form of analysing each state's foreign policy, which would allow comparisons among different countries. Here the editors followed the logic of comparative foreign policy analysis, as it is still an important part of foreign policy research in Diplomatic studies. However, since countries are different and cannot be put in the same framework so easily, there are some differences between chapters/countries, but we hope this will not decrease the value-added of the book.

Last but not least, it is necessary to thank all the people who have contributed visibly or from behind the scene to this book being issued. First, we thank the authors, who had the patience to follow our requirements. Many thanks go to colleagues from the Centre of International Relations and to all the colleagues inside and outside the Faculty, who constantly support our work.

Not to forget – Nejc wants to express his gratitude to Lidija and Aleš (as he says “for everything”), and to Ivanka and babi, and Boštjan to Mateja and Grega for ... “they know what”.

Boštjan and Nejc

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FOREIGN POLICY AND
DIPLOMACY OF SELECTED
(EU) COUNTRIES:
An introductory study

Boštjan Udovič, Marko Lovec and Milan Brglez

The modern international community, even though sometimes perceived differently, is still predominantly a state-centred international community. This can be confirmed just by looking at its most important actors and processes: the United Nations, the collective security organisations and the world (and regional) economic organisations. In all these systems, states still represent the elementary unit.

Taking this into consideration, it has to be emphasised that states are still the key *definer* of which and whose interests should be followed when bargaining with other countries. Here an important role is attributed to the national political elites, which have the possibility to (re) define national interests of a country – sometimes with and sometimes without the consent of their “subordinates”. However, the democratisation of processes that has started in late 19th century asked for greater involvement of civil society in defining national domestic and foreign policy. Whether “domestic affairs” are nowadays predominantly shared between political elites and the civil society or not, foreign policy mostly remains in the hands of political elites and their concentric circles, sometimes defined also as interest groups. Although some authors claim that foreign policy priorities should be “confirmed by each of us” (Šabič, 2015), the reality frequently differs from tautological conceptions. This can be attributed to two facts: first, foreign policy of a country is the most important means of positioning a country in relation to other countries; and second, foreign policy *per se* has no meaning, as foreign policy has mostly been about prestige and not about pragmatic solutions since the Middle Ages (Udovič, 2013a). That is why it is sometimes hard to understand some foreign policy activities of countries, which embrace ideological factors instead of reflecting pragmatic solutions. As such, foreign policy is not only *a means*, but is *the means* of modern states.

However, the understanding of foreign policy concepts (and conceptualisations) and of issues related to its execution varies with the perspective taken by the researcher. Thus, it is possible to study foreign policy with respect to its (lack of) activities, the decision-making process or structure, as well as the two-sided issues linked to it (structure and process), and finally, based on agent-structure relations. But the most

commonly used and known approach is to study foreign policy through the structural model between values/ideology, means and ends, where values/ideology represent an abstract framework for conducting foreign policy (often backed by clear or tacit consensus among nationals), deducted concretely in ends, which are perceived as “concrete issues” that should be achieved. On the other hand you have means and strategies as a sort of channels through which foreign policy decision-makers convert values into ends. Such a structural view on foreign policy formulation and decision-making process is the most straightforward, but at the same time the most complex approach to studying foreign policy, because (a) it lacks deep analysis of the processes within the foreign policy apparatus, (b) it omits that the adoption of foreign policy decisions is a complex process with lots of bargaining and compromises, defined mostly by the common sense of political decision-makers, (c) it tries to simplify agent-structure relations, leaving out important steps of the decision-making process not only within the major foreign policy players, but also outside them, and (d) it treats foreign policy as a sort of *modus operandi*, entitled to perform actions when agreed to do so, while such an approach neglects the prestigious force of foreign policy actions, often related to *non-prima-facie* factors, sometimes hidden in the national character, intra-state relations, national economic interests or just irrational (and therefore non-explanatory) factors.

Foreign policy research started developing in the mid-1950s and gained impetus in the 70s and 80s. There are three generations of (foreign) policy research. The first, known as the generation of the “founding fathers” (Snyder, Bruck and Sapin, 1954; Sprout and Sprout, 1956; Rosenau, 1966), investigates the external and internal milieu of foreign policy and in it the foreign-policy decision-making process. The second generation of foreign policy analysis goes a step further and analyses the issue of decision-making processes in foreign policy (Allison, 1971; Janis, 1972; Jervis, 1976; Hermann, 1978), while the third generation opens the box of intangible factors in defining and developing national foreign policy approaches (see more Hudson, 2007). Even though the three FPA generations analysed different factors influencing foreign policy activities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), its

constitution, role, activities, and its symbolic form have been left out of the research circle. This is quite intriguing if we take into consideration that the MFA has been an important player in conducting national foreign policy since its establishment in Richelieu's France in March 1626 (Lovec and Udovič, 2014).

The Richelieu invention is not only relevant because for the first time in history there was just one institution entitled to promote and steer national foreign policy, but also because the MFA in the next years, decades, and centuries became not only a real, but also a symbolic holder of four privileges belonging to the state: *ius ad bellum* (the right to declare a war), *ius tractandi* (the right to conclude international agreements), *ius legationis* (the right to establish a legation) and *ius representationis* (the right to establish a representation). With the right to *utendi et abutendi*, all these four privileges put the MFA at the centre of the national (political and economic) system. Being at the centre has meant not only holding greater responsibility but also having an important symbolic value and relevance. The symbolic value of ministries of foreign affairs can be seen simply by taking a look at their names. San Martin (Argentina), Wilhelmstrasse (German Empire), Quai d'Orsay (France), Farnesina (Italy), State Department (USA), Mladika (Slovenia) are only some of the few names marking the national MFAs. These names describe not only the building or street where the ministry is located but are used as synonyms for the whole process of conducting national foreign policy. However, to understand the decision-making process of national MFAs it is necessary to analyse their structure and logic, connectedness of different departments, the internal structure vs the external structure, and finally also the hierarchy of dossiers, which are often graphically reflected by the names and structure of MFAs' organisation charts (affirming the areas of work) (*cf.* also Lovec and Udovič, 2014).

An approach to national foreign policy should therefore follow two lines. Firstly, the researcher should be aware of the structure and systemic characteristics of national ministries of foreign affairs, and secondly, along with the structural issues substance is also relevant. This can be seen in domestic (usually binding) documents on national foreign policy, often named declaration or strategy; but sometimes these

documents have other names, such as act, guidelines, agenda, manifesto, etc. Only a combination of structural and substance factors and information gives an adequate approach to researching national foreign policies.

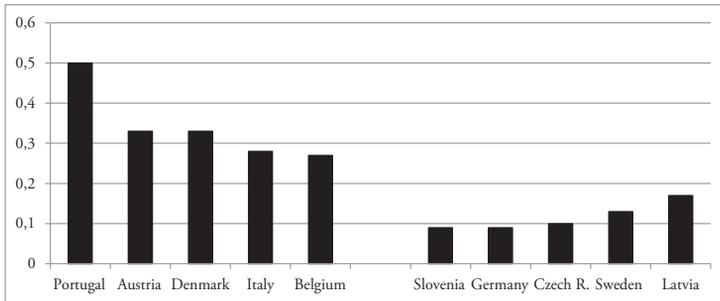
The structure of national diplomacies and its symbolic role: the case studies of (selected) European (Union) diplomacies

As stated, the formulation and conducting of national foreign policy differs depending on different factors (history, geography, cultural characteristics, economic performance, etc.). Since each of them is complex in itself, their combination can be fatal. Taking into consideration that foreign policy is the only policy that establishes and influences relations with other nations every day, it is possible to conclude that analysing the ministerial structure (of other countries) is not only a necessity, but should be a *conditio sine qua non* in the formation of national foreign policy.

Lovec and Udovič (2014) realised that MFAs can be structurally divided into two categories: *hierarchical*, i.e. centralised, and *horizontal*, i.e. dispersed.

The former have a pyramid structure, a clear chain of command and a larger number of vertical levels in relation to the horizontal ones. In such systems decisions are taken step-by-step, within the authorities given to a particular level. Since decisions are adopted only within limited decision-making power, the responsibilities (and possible failures) are also dispersed. Moreover, such a model allows that the final (usually high-level political) decision has nothing in common with the (expert-prepared) proposal. Udovič (2013a) has established that such MFAs can be found in “EU heartland” (i.e. continental Europe).

Figure 1: MFAs with respect to their concentration factor (selected countries)



Source: Elaborated on the basis of Udovič and Lovec (2014).

On the other hand, “horizontally established MFAs” have a larger and more intensive flow of information compared to vertical ones, and the decision-making process is teamwork. That is why adopted decisions are rarely changed or reversed (Udovič and Lovec, 2014). According to Udovič (2013a), such MFAs can be found mostly in Anglo-Saxon cultures and breed a strong conception of individual responsibility, where political decisions are often supported by a strong expertise of researchers and experts. Such decisions are frequently deliberated and hence solid. If the first system can be defined as static and gradual, the second is dynamic and sometimes functions with shock therapy. That is why the centralistic and hierarchical system is sometimes described as more stable compared to the variable and dynamic horizontal system (Udovič, 2013a). However, the theoretical conceptualisations are sometimes hard to apply in practice. That is why most modern MFAs combine both theoretical models, taking advantages from each of the two.

Table 1: Distinctive institutional characteristics of MFFs (and their implications)

Concentration in organisational structure	Hierarchical (flexible)	Dispersed (specialised)
Political term-based leadership	Term-based (responsive)	Permanent (stable)
Fields of work	Political (distributional) vs economic (allocation-based)	Regional (particular) vs global (universalist)

Source: Lovec and Udovič (2014).

However, analysis of the work of MFAs should not focus on structural issues alone (even though they reflect national priorities), but also on matters of substance. Hocking (2012) emphasise that national diplomacies should not be analysed only through the perspective of organisation charts, but with more focus on the activities national diplomacies are performing. According to them, modern diplomacies should (a) drive innovation in the development and management of delivery and knowledge networks, home and abroad, within and without government; (b) influence policy through ensuring that these networks map the objectives of international strategy; (c) in a post-Western world of fragmenting rule sets and contested values, serve as a GPS both to government and society as a whole; (d) provide the 4-dimensional vision that will ensure coherence over time and across geography (Hocking 2012). Thus, for modern diplomacies, choosing between specialists and generalists is a false dilemma, “since each diplomat should be a specialist and a generalist at the same time”. This is especially important for smaller states, which make up a relevant number of decision-making subjects in the European Union.

However, foreign policy is not only conducted in MFAs, but goes far beyond. Even though we agree with Haass (2013), that foreign policy begins at home, an important foreign policy player are also embassies and general and honorary consulates (collectively called diplomatic and consular posts – DCP).

To understand the role and the symbolic value of DCPs, it is necessary to delve deeper into the history of diplomacy. The evolution of DCPs and their growing symbolism starts in Ancient Greece with the role of *proxenos*, which was entitled to help incoming merchants establish their intercourse in the receiving city-state.¹ Since *proxenos* was understood as *amicus hostibus*, this position in society was understood as less relevant. This was confirmed also by the symbolic positioning within the city, where the residence (*proxenia*) was usually stationed on the margins of the city-state, far away from major political decision-making buildings/squares. A shift in importance of DCPs occurred in Rome with the establishment of *hospitium* and the nearing of diplomatic representatives to the city centre. The first symbolic step in the direction of “avvicination” to the heart of decision-making powers were the functions of *questor urbanus* and *praetor peregrinus*, which had different mandates but were elected in the same way – by the political authority. As such, they were also responsible to the central authority. This shift not only transferred the *potestas* from the individual representative to the central authority, but also made a symbolic translation, since from that point onward the diplomatic representative was a dual agent. On the one hand, they represented the interests groups, and at the same time they were also responsible to the state authorities. Throughout the Middle Ages DCPs were established in such manner. Although most of them were developed for pursuing economic advantages of merchants, they were at the same time entitled to the development of good inter-state relations. A peak of medieval diplomacy was the establishment of the Venetian representation in Byzantium (known as *bailo*) and Dubrovnik’s representative at the Ottoman imperial court (known as *poliksar harača*), which were the first known resident envoys in diplomatic history, representing the

¹ Today, this role is equal to that of honorary consuls. But this is not real equality, since a *proxenos* was not selected by the sending state but in most cases by the receiving state, to protect the (commercial!) interests of incoming people from the sending to the receiving state. As such, *proxenos* was also a protector of national habits and only translated (explained) these habits and practical issues to incoming agents.

state (and its interests). Although from today's point of view such a shift seems logical, this was perceived at the time as an important diplomatic innovation, which occurred especially because Venice and Dubrovnik had realised that their development depended on friendly relations with Byzantium/the Ottoman Empire. To cultivate such relations, states need strong support in information and intercourse. It could be said that the establishment of a permanent diplomatic post was a combination of evolution of diplomacy and a necessity of states. Since Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire were major forces in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, it was clear that the establishment of a representation was not merely "an option", but more of "a logical activity" (see Udovič, 2013b).²

The promulgation of permanently resident diplomatic representatives of Italian city-states left dire consequences in the structure and symbolic role of diplomatic intercourse, bringing about a revolution in diplomacy as all previously paradiplomatic activities were being centralized under one umbrella, i.e. the interests of the government. This way diplomacy became even more complicated – the state opted for the establishment of political diplomacy, which dealt with issues of political intercourse among states, while non-political activities (especially trade and other economic activities), sometimes also named consular activities, were partially still left to individual agents but had to be conducted with the consent of the state. This division into *high* and *low* politics lasted until the 18th century, when consular functions were merged under the control of the state. From that point on, the state was the one to decide on the establishment of DCPs. Although the state usually coordinates its actions with the business and other communities, the final instance is nevertheless the state and thus the final decision is still adopted by state authorities. That is why the conception, decision and establishment of resident embassies, consulates general, and honorary consulates represent not only the interests, but also symbolic ties of states. Thus the

² Three centuries later, Cardinal Richelieu followed the same logic, which emphasised not only the necessity of having a representative everywhere, but also the utmost necessity of having your representative at the court of the Papal state.

distribution of DCPs should also be treated as an important index of inter-state relationships, as a variable that strongly influences not only political but also economic and cultural relations. Table 2 presents an overview for selected EU member states, Turkey and United States.

Table 2: Number of embassies in different world regions (selected countries)³

	EU15+ EEA*	EU13+SU**	WB***	Asia	Africa	SS Africa****	North America	Central America	South America	Australia	MENA	Central Asia & Caucasus
Belgium	14	13	2	10	5	13	2	1	8	1	9	4
Cyprus	12	6	1	N/A	3	1	1	2	N/A	N/A	4	1
Denmark	14	18	2	10	2	10	2	1	4	1	6	2
France	20	14	7	18	7	41	2	12	13	5	13	11
Germany	18	17	7	20	5	43	2	15	12	1	14	11
Italy	20	16	7	13	6	18	2	4	16	2	15	7
Slovakia	17	11	8	4	2	4	3	1	2	1	6	6
Slovenia	12	8	6	3	1	N/A	2	N/A	2	1	2	N/A
Spain	18	15	4	12	6	22	2	11	11	2	12	2
Switzerland	17	12	5	15	6	15	3	5	10	2	10	6
Turkey	15	17	6	12	5	25	2	5	7	2	16	7
United Kingdom	17	14	7	13	7	11	1	8	10	N/A	16	8
United States*****	19	17	6	26	5	44	1	14	12	2	13	9

* European Economic Area; ** SU (Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Russian Federation, Georgia); *** Western Balkans, **** Sub-Saharan Africa, ***** even though not a European country, we have decided to include it as a control variable; the data differ across countries since some countries classify differently countries in different regions.

Source: Own elaboration based on chapters 1ff.

³ The number sometimes does not match official data (on the web page), as a combination of different sources was used (see subsequent chapters).

These countries have a joint total of 1362 embassies around the world. Among them, selected EU countries represent a share of 71%. The selected countries have the highest number of embassies in Sub-Saharan Africa (18%), followed by EU15+EEA (16%). While there are differences among the largest EU member states considering the number of embassies, smaller EU members have a similar number of embassies abroad. In the group of largest states, Germany is the country with the highest number of embassies abroad (165), while United Kingdom has 112 embassies abroad. However, the country with the highest number of embassies abroad is the United States, with 168 embassies. Two states (France, Italy) are present in all 20 EU15+EEA states, while in the Western Balkans one country only has one embassy and most of the analysed countries have six or seven embassies.

The analysis of available data shows that states establish their diplomatic intercourse in four circles: neighbouring countries, extended neighbourhood (in the case of Slovenia the Western Balkans and Eastern Europe (-EU13)), countries of special interest (Spain and France in their former colonies), while the fourth circle includes other possible countries that are interesting for different reasons.

Table 3 reveals that the distribution of consulates general (CGs) is quite different in comparison to the distribution of embassies, since more than a third of all CGs are located in Europe, followed by one sixth in North America. Slovenia only has 5 CGs, followed by Slovakia and Denmark, while Germany on the other hand has 338 CGs abroad, 40% of which are in Europe. An interesting fact is also that the UK and the US have a small overall number of CGs abroad. Here, the explanation is twofold: first, both countries are present almost worldwide (with embassies); and second, they do not have a historical tradition of establishing consular posts. Instead of classical CGs or consular posts, these two countries opt for trade representations (e.g. AmCham) or cultural institutes (e.g. British Council).

Table 2: Number of consulates general in different world regions (selected countries)⁴

	EU15+EEA	EU13+SU	WB	Asia	Africa	SS Africa	North America	Central America	South America	Australia	MENA	Central Asia & Caucasus
Belgium	4	1	N/A	4	1	1	4	N/A	2	N/A	2	N/A
Cyprus	28	8	N/A	9	3	16	19	8	7	3	10	3
Denmark	1	2	N/A				3	N/A	1	1	1	3
France	38	16	1	24	13	24	15	4	10	2	12	2
Germany	143	25	N/A	28	4	7	46	15	34	13	17	6
Italy	18	3	2	8	3	2	11	N/A	10	2	4	N/A
Slovakia	1	4	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Slovenia	3	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Spain	28	2	N/A	6	10	4	12	5	18	2	1	N/A
Switzerland	11	4	1	9	N/A	10	8	5	3	3	5	N/A
Turkey	35	9	1	11	2	N/A	6	N/A	1	4	11	4
United Kingdom	3	2	N/A	6	2	1	13	N/A	3	3	4	N/A
United States	15	4	N/A	20	1	1	16	3	N/A	3	6	1

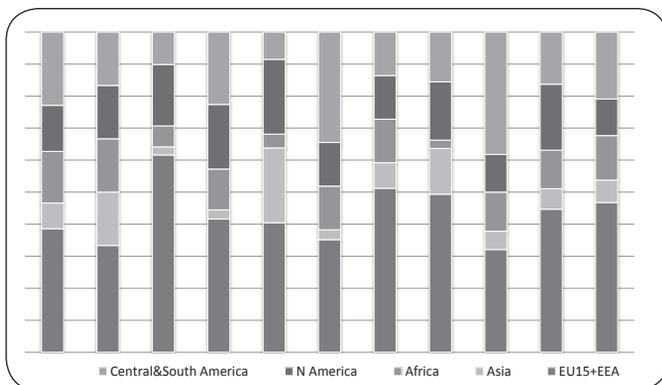
Source: Own elaboration based on chapters 1ff.

The distribution of honorary consuls and consulates (HCs) shows a totally different picture. Even though Europe still dominates in the distribution of HCs (almost 30%), it is way more leveraged among world regions. Here, the Americas have a share of 35%, followed by Sub-Saharan Africa with 12%. With respect to individual countries, it is surprising that the number of honorary consuls appointed abroad is the largest for France (almost a quarter), followed by Italy, Spain,

⁴ The number sometimes does not match the official data (on the web page), since a combination of different sources was used to obtain the data (see subsequent chapters).

Belgium, and the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Germany has a really small number of HCs abroad, even lower than Slovenia and Slovakia.

Figure 2: HC distribution on regional basis



Source: Source: Own elaboration based on chapters 1ff.

Concluding remarks

This analysis only represents a piece in the mosaic of foreign policy research. Thus, the idea behind it was not to present a complete apparatus of foreign policy conception, decision-making processes or its scientific elaboration and conceptualisation. It was rather aimed at opening some of the issues that are often neglected when discussing foreign policy and diplomacy. Other issues and challenges are unveiled in the following chapters, which take different approaches in their analysis of foreign policy and diplomacy.

THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM
Koninkrijk België / Royaume de
Belgique / Königreich Belgien

Kaja Konič

*“On behalf of the Belgian people, the Belgian National Congress proclaims the independence of the Belgian people, except for the Luxembourg relations with the German Confederation”*⁵
(Constitutional Decree, 1830).

Table 1: Basic data

Area	30,528 km ²
Population	11,150,516
Capital	Brussel / Bruxelles / Brussels
GDP p.c. (2014)	€24,178
GDP growth (2014)	1.0%
Inflation (2014)	1.5%

Source: Belgian Federal Government (2013); OECD (2014); Trading Economics (2013).

Introduction

The Kingdom of Belgium (Belgium) is a country located in Western Europe and marked by its cultural and ethnic diversity. It ranks high on the world’s gross domestic product scale despite its relatively small population (The World Bank, 2015a). Belgium’s open and private enterprise-based economy has had the opportunity to grow due to its geographic location, highly developed transport network and diversified industrial base. The country serves as a crucial link in the transport chain since Antwerp is known as the second largest port in Europe and the 13th largest worldwide (Service public fédéral (SPF) Affaires étrangères, Commerce extérieur et Coopération au développement, 2012a: 14).

By raising quality standards and enhancing the competitiveness of its workforce, Belgium has managed to adapt to the demands of globalisation. The country has focused on providing higher added value and

⁵ The translation is the work of the author.