

RIO – Grupo de Río /23 latinskoamerických a karibských států/
 RFE/RL – Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (*Rádio Svobodná Evropa / Rádio Svoboda*)
 RMB – renmibi /čínský jüan v zapsaný pinyin/
 SAR – Sjednocená arabská republika
 SERV – Strategicko-energetická rada vlády
 SNS – Společenství nezávislých států
 SOFA – Status of Forces Agreement (*Dohoda o postavení jednotek /NATO/*)
 SOG – Special Operations Group (*Útvar speciálních operací Vojenské policie*)
 SPD – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (*Sociálně-demokratická strana Německa /SRN/*)
 SR – Slovenská republika
 SRN – Spolková republika Německo
 START – Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (*Dohodu o snížení počtu strategických zbraní*)
 SZ – Stálé zastoupení
 SZ – Strana zelených
 SZBP – Společná zahraniční a bezpečnostní politika
 SZBP – Odbor společné zahraniční a bezpečnostní politiky /Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí ČR/
 TB/LNNK – Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/Latvijas Nacionālās Neatkarības Kustība (*Svoboda a vlast /Lotyšsko/*)
 UEAPME – Asociace řemeslných, malých a středních podniků
 ÚMEZ – Útvar ministra pro evropské záležitosti
 ÚMVEZ – Útvar místopředsedy vlády pro evropské záležitosti
 UN-Habitat – United Nations Human Settlements Programme (*Program OSN pro lidská sídla*)
 UNCITRAL – United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (*Komise pro mezinárodní obchodní právo*)
 UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme (*Program OSN pro životní prostředí*)
 UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (*Organizace Spojených národů pro výchovu, vědu a kulturu*)
 ÚS – Ústavní soud
 USA – Spojené státy americké
 USAID – United States Agency for International Development (*Americká vládní agentura pro mezinárodní rozvoj*)
 USD – americký dolar
 ÚZSI – Úřad pro zahraniční styky a informace
 V4 – Visegrádská čtyřka /skupina/
 V-EU – Výbor pro Evropskou unii
 VB – Velká Británie
 VEV – vnější ekonomické vztahy
 VS – Valné shromáždění /Organizace spojených národů/
 VÚSC – vyšší územně-správní celky
 WTO – World Trade Organization (*Světová obchodní organizace*)
 ZRS – zahraniční rozvojová spolupráce
 ZÚ – zastupitelský úřad /ambasáda/

Résumé

What was the Czech foreign policy in 2009 like and why? The team of authors from the Institute of International Relations and four other partner institutions have been looking for answers to these questions for three consecutive years. The book *Czech Foreign Policy in 2009: Analysis of the IIR* is thus the third volume of the IIR's series of books on Czech foreign policy, bringing together 21 chapters from 19 authors.

The analytical framework of the book remained unchanged. The analysis begins with a general chapter that explores the nature of the political context of the process of the Czech foreign policy making. The main argument is that even if the executive and administrative background of the Czech foreign policy is solid and full of potential, the worsening political context (embodied in the fall of the government as the Czech Republic was in the middle of executing the European presidency) seriously hampers the outcomes of Czech foreign policy. The second general chapter adds an important analysis of the media coverage of the Czech foreign policy as a part of the policy's context. This chapter has undergone a conceptual change since the last edition as it now also includes a qualitative analysis of the media coverage in addition to the quantitative one.

The following individual chapters follow the same structure as their counterparts in the previous two editions. Each chapter first inquires into the nature of the political and conceptual context of a given foreign policy dimension or theme, and then it goes on to follow the actual agenda and main events in 2009. Each chapter also contains an important part that consists of focusing on the key actors involved in the particular policy making, thus enabling us to point out possible changes in the process of the Czech foreign policy making. The last part of each chapter is devoted to the public and media substratum of a given policy.

After three years of working within this unchanging conceptual framework, several general features of the Czech foreign policy became clearly visible. Firstly, there is a lack of political interest in the vast majority of the issues. Secondly, related to this disinterest, most of the policy is handled exclusively by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs without much supervision by political actors. Thirdly, the general public and the media do not regard foreign policy as a vital part of the Czech politics and policies, and especially the media fail in their role of providing a vital and meaningful background for the foreign policy making.

Particular chapters are ordered the same way as their counterparts in the previous years. However, as promised last year, we decided to include for the first time a chapter on the Latin American space in the Czech foreign policy. The other change is that

starting with this edition, the United Kingdom and France will no longer have their own respective separate chapters. Instead we included a broad chapter analysing the general nature of the bilateral relations with the so-called EU “old member” countries.

The EU oriented chapter (3) of course mainly reflects the Czech EU presidency, the Czech positions on the Lisbon treaty, and the political debates on various EU issues. The fourth chapter is focused on the security dimension of the Czech foreign policy and it argues that the main issue of the past two years (the U.S. radar base) made its way to the Czech EU presidency and energy security.

These two chapters are followed by a part dedicated to the Czech Republic’s immediate Central European neighborhood, namely Germany, Poland, Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary, and the related regional – Visegrad – cooperation. Especially Germany proved itself as a key ally during the Czech presidency and what is also noted is the strong dynamics of the Czech – Polish relations. There are ten more bilaterally oriented chapters covering (as already mentioned) West European countries, the USA, Russia, Eastern European countries, Balkan countries, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Far East, Sub-Saharan Africa and newly also Latin America. The “West European chapter” (7) notes that bilateral relations are without exception good, yet without a particular bilateral flavor. The Czech – U.S. relations in 2009 (chapter 8) confirmed the exceptional importance of this country in the Czech foreign policy as illustrated by the fact that it is one of the few Czech foreign policy dimensions that are broadly discussed in the political, media and public space. Chapter 9 shows that there are several tendencies in the relationship towards Russia. The main tendency is that energy and economy play an increasingly important role, overshadowing other concerns (such as, e. g., hard-security). The rest of the chapters mainly notice the fact that the Czech EU presidency brought some traditionally marginal issues closer to the center of the Czech foreign policy interest and that there was some degree of activation of the Czech foreign policy *vis-à-vis* these regions.

Chapter 16 analyses the Czech policy at the multilateral platforms (except for those of EU and NATO, which are covered by the specific chapters related to these institutions). Unfortunately, the main conclusion – as for the past two years – is again that only marginal attention is devoted to this dimension of the Czech foreign policy. On the other hand, the economic dimension of the Czech foreign policy (chapter 17), especially in the context of facing the growing world economic crisis, remained high on the agenda despite the often pronounced neo-liberalism driven skepticism of the ruling ODS party. The Czech human rights policy (chapter 18) was also slightly impacted by the EU presidency as it had to seek a more moderate position in order to be able to moderate and articulate the EU position, which was often different from the Czech human rights tradition of the past 15 years. As for the Czech foreign development cooperation, chapter 19 stresses the fact that the EU presidency was a successful one in this area and that there is a tendency to highlight the existing differing opinions about the way the Czech development policy should be oriented. Chapter 20 observes a dynamic that catapulted the cultural dimension of the Czech foreign policy to a position high on the foreign policy agenda in relation to the Czech EU presidency, but

in this area, the Czech Republic shrank back to its original “business as usual” approach in the second half of 2009.

As usual, the book is concluded with a broad and critical assessment by Petr Druhlák, who particularly focuses on the fact that the ideological and political divisions about the Czech foreign policy orientation steadily give way to the “politics of disinterest”.

We hope that by maintaining a strict conceptual discipline for three consecutive years, the third volume of the annual Czech foreign policy analysis will provide a rich source of data, ideas and conclusions that will further contribute to a better understanding of the Czech foreign policy.