

Résumé

Since 2007 the Institute of International Relations continuously monitors the Czech foreign policy, and it has released seven analytical monographs about it, which have always corresponded to the same unified analytical framework. The books' structure is and always has been as follows: The first two chapters analyze the overall domestic political and media context of the Czech foreign policy and identify the influence and involvement of each of the main actors in it. The second part focuses on the most important thematic areas of the Czech foreign policy, specifically the Czech impact on the European Union and the Czech security and defense policy. The third part shows the main trends and dynamics of the Czech activities in the region that is geographically closest to the Czech Republic – Central Europe. The fourth section maps out various important bilateral and regional relations, and the fifth part analyzes the participation of the Czech Republic in other multilateral and thematic areas. Alongside this composition, all the chapters follow a unified analytical structure. Each chapter works with the Czech Republic's political and conceptual context as a basic internal basis for the Czech foreign policy. In the second part of each chapter, a specific agenda and some events of the examined year, as well as their impact and relevance for the Czech foreign policy, are analyzed. Most of the authors also included an analysis of the involvement of the different actors in the monitored area and also the media coverage of the given topic. The team of authors emphasizes continuity in both conceptual and thematic matters. For this reason, the analysis can build on a robust empirical basis and deepen people's understanding of the Czech foreign policy.

In the yearbook for 2013, there are two significant shifts from the above described concept. First, partly due to a three-year grant of the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic, the team of authors has enriched the conceptual framework by adding several further analytical categories that would allow them to qualitatively improve the theoretical knowledge of foreign policy-making in the future. Secondly, thanks to the deepened cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the long-discussed plan of the Ministry to replace the regularly published *Czech Foreign Policy Report* with a new output that would preserve the statistical level of the Report but would also include evaluations and analyses has been put into practice, as this book is precisely this kind of output. On the basis of these discussions, a new concept has materialized this year for the first time. In accordance with this concept, the Institute of International Relations' foreign policy analysis now includes, for the first time, parts dealing with statistics and surveys, and these parts were prepared by the Ministry of For-

eign Affairs. English versions of the yearbook will also be prepared with the support of the Ministry in the future.

Regarding the overall conceptual framework, there have been several changes in terms of the main questions that we are asking, as well as in how the above described concept will be fulfilled. The aim is to develop a new conceptual framework for explaining the foreign policy of small and medium-sized states, as well as a more general explanation of the Czech foreign policy as such.

A new question for this year's analysis is the following: *In what areas did the Czech Republic carry out a pro-active or a re-active policy (or no policy at all) and how successfully was it? Why did it carry out these policies? In what areas did a polarization and a politicization of the foreign policy-making agenda occur, and what impact did these factors have on the Czech foreign policy?*

The individual concepts have been created by our project team (consisting of Vít Beneš, Veronika Bílková, Mats Braun, Ondřej Ditrych, Vladimír Handl, Ondřej Horký-Hluchán and Michal Kořan). The application of the new concept of the study will be implemented gradually alongside the construction of the empirical base. Therefore this year we would prefer to bring forth our initial analytical and empirical information, as this information would serve as a basis for a more robust analysis in the future. The ultimate aim of all of the changes made in the book's format is to answer one essential question: *How does the Czech Republic react to challenges coming from outside the regional/international/global environment, and why? And how is the Czech Republic itself trying to influence the environment?*

CATEGORIZATION OF THE WAYS THE CZECH REPUBLIC ACTS IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY

The team of authors has prepared a basic matrix of possible foreign policy "actions", and they have also defined the concepts of "politicization" and "polarization" of foreign policy. For a description of the matrix, please see the table below.

	Offensive	Neutral	Cooperating
Pro-active action	IMPOSING ONE'S OWN POLICY	MEDIATION	CREATION OF A COMMON POLICY
"No" action	IGNORANCE	LACK OF INTEREST	FARE DODGER
Re-active action	ACTIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST EXTERNAL POLICY	ADAPTATION TO EXTERNAL POLICY	COMPLETE ACCEPTANCE OF EXTERNAL POLICY

RESULTS OF THE ANALYSES

In line with the long-term observed trends, most of the authors state that there is a *low or zero politicization level* of the Czech foreign policy. This applies especially to the overall political context, European policies and the security dimension (with the ex-

ception of sending soldiers on a training mission in Mali), to the Central European dimension, and most of the regional sessions (with the exception of those related to Russia, Eastern Europe at the end of 2013 and the Kosovo question) and also to all of the thematic dimensions. In the area of economic diplomacy, there has been one de-politicization of a previously politicized topic. In contrast, in the human rights agenda, an increased politicization has occurred in 2013. The overall lack of politicization and its consequences are noted to the highest extent in the first chapter, “The Context of the Czech Foreign Policy.” The authors reached similar conclusions in regard to *polarization* as well. A higher polarization has been identified in the case of human rights policy. In contrast, polarization has been weakening in economic diplomacy as well as development cooperation. Polarization also occurred in the case of Ukraine at the end of the year, and polarization also continuously occurred in the relations with Bavaria. A minimal polarization has also been identified in the case of the overall political context.

Regarding the types of behavior described in the table above, the authors have come to the following conclusions: The Czech Republic’s EU policy has been generally defined as *reactive*, with *fare dodger* features. That is related to the waiting strategy that dominated the Czech European politics at least since the crisis in 2009. The security policy authors note a shift from a generally *reactive* policy to an *adaptation* with some *reactive* features; the new behavior is still reactive, but it is a more positively and constructively tuned type of behavior. In the case of Germany, a strengthening of an *active* and *cooperating* approach has been evidenced. With the departure of President Klaus from the political scene an important institutional actor who conducted a long-term policy of active resistance to the German concept of the EU more or less stepped to the sidelines. With the fall of Prime Minister Petr Nečas’ government an actor who took a similar line but rather in the form of “*non-action*” – his government had ignored the German proposals on the EU institutional development and did not participate in them – left the scene. The caretaker government of Jiří Rusnok then rejected both of the above described approaches and announced a gradual adaptation to the German concept of solving the Eurozone crisis. Also, the newly elected president Miloš Zeman has claimed allegiance to the federal concept of European integration. In its relations to other neighbors of the Czech Republic and to the Visegrad cooperation, the Czech Republic has clearly shown features of an *active cooperative* policy or, alternatively, *mediation*, i.e. the best kind of foreign policy action. In the Czech relations to the USA there was a process of going from trying to respond through *adaptation* to American foreign policy (in regard to Afghanistan or some of the topics in the agenda of the mutual relations) to *proactive* negotiations with the aim to reach a common policy that would satisfy the interests of both the Czech Republic and the USA (e.g. finishing the electric plant Temelín) and then to various forms of “*non-action*”. Regarding Russia, the author of the related chapter has found two tendencies toward *pro-activeness* on the part of the Czech Republic in its relations with Russia – on the one hand, there was such a tendency in regard to the “traditional” human rights issues, and on the other hand, such a tendency also appeared in the field of the so-called economic diplomacy. Under the leadership of Foreign Minister Kohout

and under Rusnok's government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sought to conduct a rather *neutral* foreign policy; this policy was not characterized by *ignorance* or *indifference*, but it was rather conditioned by the absence of a political mandate for the government and its temporary character.

In 2013 the Czech foreign policy towards the Balkan countries represented a mixture of a *pro-active* approach in the case of Euro-Atlantic integration, and *re-active* coping with the immediate primarily economic stimuli. Other bilateral and regional relations of the Czech Republic have been somewhere between a *reactive* policy, a *complete acceptance* of the given external policy and a *lack of interest*. As for the Czech multilateral policy (without NATO and the EU), it showed features of a *pro-active* and *cooperative* approach. In the chapter on the economic dimension, the author stated that the Czech Republic's *adaptation* to external policy and international development cooperation can be described as a *reactive* and, at the same time, *neutral* part of the Czech foreign policy. The Czech Republic does not reject the development policy as such, but nevertheless we are also not *proactive*, but rather *reactive*, especially in relation to the EU level, where even though the attitudes of the Czech Republic might appear to be proactive, they are actually rather only reactions to the focus of most of the other member states in recent times, as these other member states gradually developed a firm preference for a common policy. In the area of energy policy, the *pro-activeness* of the Czech Republic has weakened after the resignation of Prime Minister Petr Nečas. However, in contrast, the adaptation to external policy in the external energy relations of the Czech Republic has been strengthened during the caretaker government of Jiří Rusnok. Finally, in the human rights dimension, a growing shift from *pro-active offensive* to *pro-active cooperating* policies has been evidenced.

In the upcoming years, we will dispose of more empirical and analytical information, which we will be able to use to draw conclusions concerning the reasons and impacts of individual modes of foreign policy negotiations. Nonetheless we can already say that in terms of modes of Czech foreign policy conducting, the ones that outweigh the others are *reactive action*, *lack of interest* and *adaptation to external policy*. We have also noted the prevailing low or even diminishing level of both *politicization* and *polarization*. Generally, inaction or reactive action could be expected in cases where a topic is too polarized and therefore there is no room for consensus in active negotiations. However, in the case of the Czech politics this argument does not apply, and the reasons for the passive Czech approach will therefore have to be defined elsewhere. The reasons, however, will most likely be discovered in the following years as further volumes of this yearbook are released.

The publication *Czech Foreign Policy: Analysis of the Institute of the International Relations* aims not only to enrich the theoretical and analytical understanding of the Czech foreign policy, but to reach the even broader objective of deepening the theoretical understanding of the formation of foreign policy as such. Another goal of the publication is to promote a research collaboration between various analytical centers in the Czech Republic and support the building of a reflective analytical community. In keeping with this goal, apart from the authors from the IIR, external collaborators from Charles University, the Europeum Institute and Masaryk University have also

participated in the creation of this year's volume. We would like to express our gratitude to all of them. We would also like to thank Professor Zdeněk Veselý from the University of Economics in Prague, who took the challenge of being the main reviewer, a task that requires considerable erudition and patience with the team of authors. The publication also owes much to the careful reading and valuable comments of Mr. Petr Kypr from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The writers, of course, are responsible for any inaccuracies, errors or omissions. Furthermore, the book would not have been possible without the organizational and analytical assistance of Barbora Fialová from the University of Economics. The team of authors also greatly benefited from the help of many professional trainees from the IIR and specifically from the cooperation with Vladimíra Dostálová from the Department of International Relations and European Studies of Masaryk University. For the first time the yearbook is enriched by data and statistics provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs thanks to the long-term support of the project by the Office of Strategic Analysis and Planning (KSAP) and, later, the Department of Policy Planning (OPP) and also by the Ministry's management. Also, another factor that helped us in our analysis was the open and helpful attitude of many of the Ministry's staff, who provided both valuable information and reflection on the texts. Last but not least, our thanks go out to the personnel of the IIR (especially the publishing department and the library) for their dedicated and very helpful professional approach during the development of this publication, which required, due to its nature and difficulty, an extreme flexibility and a high amount of understanding during its completion. The book has also been published with the kind support of ČSOB and the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic.

On behalf of our team of authors I would like to express the hope that the strengthening of the ambitions of this publication will further contribute to deepening our understanding of the Czech foreign policy.

*Michal Kořan with contributions from the entire
team of authors and Barbora Fialová*