

Europeanization of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs

A study of the effect of the Common Foreign and Security
Policy

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Abstract

This paper explores Europeanization of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs by looking at the impact of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) on the Ministry. Despite being intergovernmental, voluntary, governed by treaties and not laws previous studies suggest that CFSP has an impact on the domestic arena. The analysis is based on the conceptual framework developed by Smith (2000) in which bureaucratic adaptation and possible socialization in the Czech Foreign Ministry is analyzed. The analysis confirms previous studies. CFSP contributes to the Europeanization of the Czech Foreign Ministry by influencing organization and working practices of the Ministry. It results in the creation of new posts, new department, adaptation of everyday practices as well as change in the working practices of the Czech embassies. However, despite being a forum for socialization, change in the attitude from old nation-state sovereignty model towards pursuing foreign policy as a collective endeavor in the Foreign Ministry did not happen. Interests of the Czech Republic are still a cornerstone in the work of the Ministry. The period of study is 2000-2010. The empirical evidence used in this paper is derived from the interviews with senior officials of the Ministry as well as official documents, speeches and interviews of different foreign ministers in various media.

Keywords: Europeanization, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, CFSP, the Czech Republic, socialization, bureaucratic adaptation.

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List of Abbreviations

CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
COREU	European Correspondents Cipher Network
DA	Diplomatic Academy
EC	European Community
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEAS	European External Action Service
EU	European Union
EPC	European Political Cooperation
FAC	Foreign Affairs Council
GAC	General Affairs Council
HoMs	Head of Missions Meetings
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PSC	Political and Security Committee
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
UN	United Nations

1 Introduction

For many years Common Foreign and Security Policy was outside of the legal and institutional framework of the European Union. Member states were reluctant to give up any sovereignty and advance this policy area to the new level. However, the last decade has seen resurgence of the CFSP. Common Security and Defence Policy is now an integral part of this policy area and the EU has deployed many military, peacekeeping and observer missions around the world. European External Action Service, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy all gave new momentum to the CFSP. Despite such advances, influence of this policy area on domestic policy, politics and institutions remains understudied (Major 2005; Pomorska 2007). Explanation to such limited attention might lie in the fact that CFSP is strictly intergovernmental and transformations are expected to be voluntarily rather than coercive (Pomorska, 2007). Treaties not laws govern CFSP, and thus CFSP triggered adaptations should be more about socialization than forced adaptation (Wong, 2008). In spite of methodological constraints associated with studying CFSP, most previous research suggests that CFSP can trigger adaptation and changes (i.e. Europeanization) in the foreign ministries of the EU member states (Pomorska, 2007; Hocking & Spencer et al. 2005; Rua, 2008; Allen & Olliver, 2004).

My intention in this thesis is to test whether CFSP has triggered adaptation and change in the case of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Czech Republic is arguably one of the most likely cases of this since its Ministry has very little experience in independent foreign policy making. Czech MFA had to reorganize and ‘reinvent’ itself and EU membership became the material to fill up the holes in the civil service traditions and practices left open by the communism and Habsburgs (Murphy, 2008). The road ‘back to Europe’ for the Czech Republic started as soon as it became independent. European integration was announced as the country’s main political goal and, therefore, it is arguable

that the Czech Republic was and still is very open to the EU influences. Finally, in the last decade a lot of research has been dedicated to the impact of the EU on the economics, politics and society of the Czech Republic¹. However, no attention has been paid to the effect of the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic². This leads me to my research question.

Research Question:

How has participation in the Common Foreign and Security Policy affected the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Using Smith (2000) framework with this work I hope to contribute to the limited literature on the CFSP triggered Europeanization in the member states and present empirical data that could be further used when making comparative studies.

1.1 Relevance

There are a few reasons why studying Europeanization of the foreign ministries of the EU member states is relevant and very important topic for the academia. National bureaucratic structures in Europe today are involved in the ‘process of becoming’ (Hocking, 2005: 273). The outcome of transformation of state in response to globalization, localization and political process of ‘ever closer union’ is uncertain. The consequences of such broad changes are particularly noticeable in the case of foreign ministries as they are located on the border between domestic and international policy environments (Hocking, 2005: 273). Foreign ministries remain important players both on the national as well as international

¹ Impact of EU on minority rights (Vermeersch, 2003), social policy (Potucek, 2004), regionalization (Brusis, 2005), Europeanization of the social movements (Cisar and Vráblíková, 2010), Europeanization of the Czech politics (Baun, Durr, Marek and Saradin, 2006).

² Slovarcik (2006) only looks at the dynamic of relationship after accession between two major and traditional centres for the management of foreign policy - Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Prime Ministers Office.

levels. They have been ‘pioneer ministries’ in the development of the integration enterprise. Furthermore foreign ministries are also actively involved in the creation of the Union’s foreign policy and their possible Europeanization might have an impact on it too. After all national institutional arrangements privilege policy choices and outcomes both in the European and international contexts (Hocking & Spence et al., 2005: ix). Finally, investigating Europeanization of the foreign ministries will help to improve our overall understanding of the complex processes that have been caused by the creation of the hybrid state-organization - European Union and its influence on the nation state level. ‘The nexus between member state governmental and administrative systems and the EU processes is critical to an appreciation of the character and development of European integration’ (Hocking & Spence et al., 2005: 2).

1.2 Material

This paper is based on various sources of information. Contributions to Europeanization theory has been made by scholars such as: Börzel & Risse, Bulmer & Radaelli. CFSP and its influence on foreign ministries of the EU member states have been studied by Hocking & Spence et al., Allen & Oliver, Pomorska, Rua, Manners & Whitman et al. As for methods and research design I will use advices from George & Bennet, Flick, May and particularly helpful guide to interview research by Gubrium, Jaber & Holstein. Empirical analysis will include both primarily and secondary sources of information. The background into the development of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the last two decades, is based on Murphy’s account as well as official history of the Ministry written by Janas and supervised by Vytopil. Possible CFSP triggered changes will be analyzed with the help of Annual Report on the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic in the period from 2000 – 2010, Commission Reports during 1999-2003 on the progress of the Czech Republic towards accession, official speeches and articles of foreign ministers in the last decade that can be found in the data base of the Foreign Ministry “Bulletin on the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic”. Finally, crucial source of information are 9 interviews that were conducted by the

author with senior officials from the Czech Foreign Ministry in the spring of 2012. These interviews should provide essential data on the informal practices, way of doing things in the Ministry and bring the author closer to the object of the study.

1.3 Thesis Outline

After the introduction chapter the structure of this paper is as follows. First, I give an overview of the Europeanization theory, how has it been used until today and why it is possible to assume that intergovernmental and non-hierarchical pillar of the EU also contributed to the changes in the domestic arena. Second, among the previous studies on the topic of CFSP triggered Europeanization I uncover and present conceptual framework for identifying CFSP influence on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the third chapter explanations behind research design, case selection and data gathering techniques are given. Fourth chapter encompasses the biggest contribution of this thesis – empirical evidence where analysis of the primary sources in the form of interviews, official documents and speeches is presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion. Finally, I summarize this thesis' main findings, its limitations and offer some suggestions for the future research in this area.

2 Theory

2.1 Europeanization

In the last decades the studies on Europeanization have sky rocketed. Many have tried to define what Europeanization is and how should we go about studying it. Initially the studies were dominated by the *bottom up* perspective with the aim to use the knowledge of domestic societies and explain why the EU was emerging. The focus was on the effect of the member states on the processes and outcomes of the European integration (Major, 2005).

The focus has now shifted from understanding ‘the nature of the beast’ to studying the impacts of the European integration on the member states/*top down approach* (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004). Such attention is not surprising taking into account the vast and ever increasing amount of legislature originating from Brussels. To be precise in 2000, the Community Legislation comprised 5000 Directives and Regulations (Börzel & Risse, 2000: 4). 80% of existing policies in such areas as environment and agriculture were made at the EU level (Börzel & Risse, 2000: 4). Decisions in the first pillar are now taken by the qualified majority voting instead of unanimity and the commitment of the member states to new laws is guaranteed by the European Court of Justice. Previously guarded foreign policy is also expanding under the EU umbrella to include new issues, new competences and even common diplomatic service. It is no longer questioned whether EU matters, rather how it matters. In sum, the top down literature argues that domestic political behaviour, processes, institutions, and outcomes are increasingly affected by the European integration (Anderson, 2003).

However applying Europeanization is a challenge. There are separate phenomena that have been covered by this term. As has been mentioned it can either be bottom up approach or top down. Very widely cited work by Olsen

summarizes Europeanization studies into 5 categories: changes in external boundaries; developing institutions at the European level; central penetration of national systems of governance; exporting forms of political organization; and political unification project (Olsen, 2002). It is impossible to combine all of the 5 into all encompassing definition and it is doubtful whether it is at all needed. Combining only the top down and bottom up approaches would blur the boundaries between cause and effect, dependent and independent variable (Major, 2005). Problem of concept formulation also leads to the methodological problems. How does one measure the degree of the Europeanization of national policy and institutions? Furthermore different mechanisms are at work in different policy areas (Major, 2005). Despite these challenges Olsen notes:

that research on European transformations need not be hampered by competing definitions as long as their meaning, phenomena in focus, the simplifying assumptions behind definitions, the models of change and the theoretical challenges involved, are clarified and kept separate (Olsen, 2002: 943).

In this paper Europeanization is understood as a **‘process of domestic adaptation to European regional integration’** (Graziano & Vink et al., 2007: 7). I recognize that this is only one aspect of the complex process of Europeanization – its top down dimension or ‘the way that the national administration has adjusted to working with its European counterparts’ (Pomorska, 2007: 27). Such definition is still quite broad and can encompass many different phenomena’s without yielding any significant results. Therefore, I use Olsen’s advice and further narrow down my area of research. One way of doing this is by specifying what is not Europeanization. First of all Europeanization is not the same as European integration (Major, 2005: 178). European integration ‘focuses on what happens to the state and its sovereignty whereas Europeanization analyses what happens to domestic institutions and actors’ (Major, 2005: 178). Second, Europeanization should not be confused with convergence. In fact, opposite has been observed due to varying national political and cultural structures (Major, 2005: 178). Page & Wouters conclude that ‘there is no clear EC model, distinctive and relevant to the national bureaucracies of nation states, that is likely to find its way through contagion, emulation, the demonstration effect or the natural process of adaptation

to an important source of political power' (Radaelli, 2000: 9). However, the most important aspect of Europeanization for this paper is its scope. Europeanization is much broader than simple incorporation of *acquis communautaire* and includes voluntary incorporation of change beyond the obligatory imposed adaptation to EU templates (Radaelli, 2000: 9).

2.1.1 CFSP as a Trigger of Europeanization

Role of second pillar (CFSP) in the Europeanization of national bureaucracies has been analyzed very scarcely compared to the first pillar (Major 2005; Pomorska 2007). Most of the early Europeanization literature is concerned only with the impact of the EU's first pillar on the domestic policy and politics (Major, 2005). Initially it was believed that there has to be *goodness of fit*, misfit between EU and national policy, for Europeanization to occur as well as facilitating factors, actors and institutions (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2000). 'Goodness of fit' assumes a clear, vertical, chain-of-command, in which EU policy descends from Brussels into the member states' something that is clearly lacking in the case of CFSP (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004). Later scholars such as Simon Bulmer & Claudio Radaelli disagreed and argued that Europeanization occurs not only through the enforcement of the supranational institutions but through *facilitated coordination* (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004). This occurs precisely in the area of foreign policy and is also called Open Method of Coordination (OMC). Even though supranational institutions cannot act as agents promoting Europeanization it does not mean that it is not happening, as Radaelli and Bulmer puts it, it is 'simply much more voluntarily and non-hierarchical'. Many scholars picked up studies on the CFSP triggered Europeanization of foreign policy: Smith & Wong 2011; Major 2005; Tonra 2001; of foreign ministries: Hocking & Spence 2005; Pomorska 2007; Rua 2008; to name a few. I will look at the findings of the last ones in the next section.

Coordination in the second pillar created new set of norms that causes adaptation and change not only in the foreign policies of the member states but also its foreign ministries. One of these norms is regular *communication and consultation* on foreign policy issues (Smith, 2000). Diplomats in the national capitals now have to consult and negotiate with their opposites in the member states and the European Commission much more frequently (Spence, 2005).

Furthermore, foreign ministries have been sharing increasing amount of sensitive foreign policy related information (Spence, 2005). Between mid-1970s and the Treaty on European Union the number of telegrams to each other regarding political issues grew from 4,800 a year to 13,000 (Smith, 2000: 616). Another norm is the *confidentiality* of the CFSP discussions. Unlike in other multilateral forums member states can be more open about their policies and do not have to fear public politicization of the issues discussed in the CFSP meetings (Smith, 2000: 616). This creates a club like atmosphere between participants in which socialization is striving making room for the creation of the unique European Diplomacy (Jørgensen, 1997). This is happening not thanks to the vertical EU mechanisms of adaptational pressure originating from the supranational institutions but to the ‘horizontal exchange between member governments and the resultant learning of shared policy principles’ (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004: 7). This process is voluntarily and it works through ‘alteration of beliefs and expectation of actors, thus socialization processes’ (Major, 2005). As a consequence the CFSP triggered Europeanization can be described as a ‘learning process about good policy practice for elites for which the EU sets the scene, offering a forum for discussion and a platform for policy transfer, as opposed to obligatory imposed adaptation’ (Major, 2005: 179).

These norms have created trusting and cooperative environment and it is these norms, believes Smith, that not only have contributed to the growth of *acquis politique* but also to the changes in the domestic arenas. As Wong and Hill have noted:

CFSP, one of the most intergovernmental of EU institutions has over the last 30 years moved a long way from its original *anti-communautaire* approach towards a *reflexe communautaire*... it is a critical set of social forces that shapes perceptions, structures policy choices, and privileges certain course of national and collective action while constraining others (Wong & Hill et al. 2011: 9).

To sum up, the late Europeanization literature suggests that neither domestic arena nor the foreign ministries of the EU member states are immune to the CFSP triggered Europeanization. It is happening through the processes of interaction, cooperation, learning, and socialization. Yet in order to step on the path of studying CFSP triggered Europeanization one needs to understand the challenges.

CFSP is very different to the highly institutionalized horizontal first pillar. CFSP remains intergovernmental pillar of the EU where each of the member states has a right to veto any of the decisions. It is prescribed by the Art. 24 of the TEU where it is stated: ‘the Union shall conduct, define and implement a common foreign and security policy, based on the development of mutual political solidarity among Member States, the identification of questions of general interest and the achievement of an ever-increasing degree of convergence of Member States’ actions’ (Consolidate Treaties, 2010). European Court of Justice has no jurisdiction and European Commission has very limited right of the initiative almost non existent when compared to the rights granted to it in the first pillar. Treaties and not legislation govern CFSP (Miskimmon & Paterson, 2003). European Parliament only approves CFSP budget but does not have any other powers over this policy area. CFSP budget has always been very small. In 2012 it constituted 0.27% of the total EU budget of €147.2 billions (Commission, 2012).

Therefore unlike in the first pillar where there are clearly defined laws to which member states should adapt, in the intergovernmental CFSP there are no such rules and therefore it is not that easy to pinpoint influences on the national level (Pomorska, 2007). Moreover CFSP triggered Europeanization brings out a problem of equifinality (different causes producing equal results) (Muller & Flers 2009; Miskimmon & Paterson, 2003). Since member states of the European Union are global players it is very hard to attribute institutional and policy changes only to the effects of the CFSP. Membership in such organizations as NATO or UN can also trigger changes. Developments in the world politics after Cold War or 9/11 as well as cooperation and integration in other non-CFSP related EU frameworks can be another cause for transformations (Pomorska & Major, 2005). To make matters worse domestic institutional changes can be triggered by simple national administrative reforms which take place almost after every election in order to improve the work, suit the needs or likes of the newly appointed Minister.

Therefore, it is particularly important to adopt the framework that will limit the challenges associated with this non-hierarchical and voluntarily area. It is to the search of such framework that I turn in the following sections.

2.2 Europeanization of Foreign Ministries: Previous Research

I now discuss what is already known particularly about the CFSP triggered Europeanization of foreign ministries. Most of the studies are single case studies: Allen & Oliver 2004, Pomorska 2007, Rua 2008, Popescu, 2010. An in depth comparison of 13 member states have been provided in the edited volume by Hocking & Spence. Manners & Whitman et al., 2000 and Tonra 2001 only partly relate to the CFSP triggered Europeanization in their volumes.

One of the issues covered in this literature is whether foreign ministries have benefited from the CFSP. Hocking & Spence stresses that while foreign ministries have lost some of the role in the first pillar issues, this has been reinforced by their role in the CFSP preparations and negotiations (Hocking and Spence et al., 2005). Example of this is Finland where foreign ministry has become mainly a 'mail box' between Permanent Representation and domestic sectoral ministries in the first pillar but has monopoly over foreign policy making in the CFSP (Antola, 2005). Especially for the smaller member states engagement in the CFSP meant 'more policy, more of a role in world affairs and hence more role for their foreign ministries' (Spence, 2005: 32). The CFSP is also part of the explanation of resource increase in the Finnish Foreign Ministry (Rua, 2008). The declining resources of the Ministry were reinforced due to more activism and participation in the world affairs associated with the CFSP. This has helped to reconfirm the role of the Ministry in the Finnish core executive.

Furthermore, previous studies suggest that the working practices of the foreign ministries have been transformed by the CFSP (Hocking & Spence et al., 2005; Alen & Oliver 2004; Pomorska 2007; Rua 2008, Correia, 2005). Correia in his study of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry concluded that CFSP affects work of the foreign ministry on 3 distinct levels: enlarging external relations to new areas; changing internal structure of the FM; and affecting the work of the embassies and consulates (Correia, 2005). Pomorska (2007) discovered new department responsible for the CFSP in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, new posts such

as European correspondent and the Political Director and the Political and Security Committee Ambassador.

Whether it is a new or old, small or big member state the changes are present. However, one needs not to forget that historical context, forces of domestic and international change and status, prestige and norms within bureaucratic structures all have an impact on the outcomes (Hocking & Spence et al., 2005). As has been rightly pointed by Olsen:

Domestic institutional structures, and the values, norms, interests and power distributions are embedded, are monuments of historical battles, join problem – solving and peaceful conflict resolution (Olsen, 2002: 944).

Some adaptation in the institutional culture of the Foreign Ministry in terms of values and norms has also been observed in the following studies by Pomorska 2007; Rua 2008; and Manners & Whitman et al., 2000. Rua concludes that:

Finnish Foreign Ministry has internalized the value of cooperation and collective action in the CFSP framework... Yet, the institutional identity of the Ministry has not been transformed: the CFSP is a mean to Finnish ends, a tool for the promotion of the Finnish national interest (Rua, 2008: 78).

Manners & Whitman in their edited volume on the foreign policies of EU member states have presented evidence of socialization among foreign policy makers. European identity and priorities have been incorporated into the discourse of the governing elite and European orientation and practices (ex. Greece) transforms traditional identity of policy makers through altering attitudes, self images and interests (Manners & Whitman et al., 2000: 251). Socialization is more noticeable in the smaller member states (Portugal, Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark and Ireland) than the larger and the length of the membership does not seem to be very important, argue the authors. For example, in Belgium, the foreign-policy makers have fully adjusted to taking into account the view of the others (Coolsaet & Voet, 2005). This is visible in informing and consulting all member states through COREU and bilaterally. Also they define Belgian foreign policy in terms of common position. If common position has been agreed Belgian government will for sure adopt it as its own national position.

However, as discovered by Pomorska, ‘a direct result of participation in CFSP meetings has been a growing gap between officials posted to Brussels and those [working] in Warsaw’ (Pomorska, 2007:42). Officials in Brussels were ‘going native’ and learning the rules of the game faster than those working in the capital who on the initial stages in the extreme cases could even treat growing communications from Representation as unnecessary junk mail and completely ignored it (Pomorska, 2007:42). It took time before officials in Warsaw understood importance of EU throughout the Ministry.

In 1973 in the Copenhagen Report it was noted that national diplomacies are displaying coordination reflex and becoming more ‘European’ (Wong & Hill et al. 2011). Prolonged participation in the CFSP feeds back into EU member states and reorients their foreign policy cultures along similar lines (Smith, 2000: 164).

From perspective of diplomat in the foreign ministry of a member state, styles of operating and communication have been transformed. The COREU telex network, EPC working groups, joint declarations, joint reporting, even the beginning of staff exchanges among foreign ministries and shared embassies: all these have moved the conduct of foreign policy away from the old nation-state sovereign model towards a collective endeavor, a form of high – level networking with transformationalist effects and even more potential (Wong & Hill et al. 2011: 10).

In sum, previous research suggests that CFSP triggers adaptation and change in the foreign ministries of the EU member states. The changes have been observed both in terms of institutional transformations as well as shifts in norms, values and beliefs of the foreign policy makers. Thus the following hypothesis can be proposed:

Hypothesis 1: CFSP leads to bureaucratic adaptation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Hypothesis 2: CFSP leads to socialization in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

However, earlier studies focus exclusively on the older member states of the EU and until today there has been only two studies on the newcomers:

Europeanization of the Polish (Pomorska, 2007) and Romanian (Popescu, 2010) Foreign Ministries.

2.3 Framework for Analysis

In this section I turn to the framework of my study which has been identified among the previous literature. To my surprise finding it was a challenge. Apart from Rua's research on the Europeanization of the Finnish Foreign Ministry others have not based their research on any conceptual framework which makes it difficult to trace CFSP related transformations. Since there is no horizontal chain of decision making in the CFSP it is especially important to establish such framework for analysis. In the literature I have found only one author that has developed framework of indications of the CFSP triggered changes in the EU member states. It is this framework that has already been successfully used by Rua (2008). Using Smith (2000) framework Rua was able to successfully establish link between adaptation and change in the Finnish Foreign Ministry and the CFSP.

In my paper I also plan to use Smith (2000) framework with some additions. In order to trace domestic adaptations to political cooperation Smith offers to look at the following: elite socialization, bureaucratic adaptation, constitutional change and increase in public support for European political cooperation (Smith, 2000). Miskimmon & Paterson have tried to apply all 4 indicators in their study of the adaptation of the German foreign policy (Miskimmon & Paterson, 2003). Yet, it was very brief and inconclusive study. Since my research is not concerned with the foreign policy as such I adopt only 2 indicators from the Smith's framework those that are in line with my hypotheses, elite socialization and bureaucratic adaptation. In the next sections I discuss these indicators.

2.3.1 Bureaucratic Adaptation

Smith suggests to look at the following when studying bureaucratic adaptation to the CFSP:

New Posts

The first and most visible indicator of the change resulting from the participation in the political co-operation is establishment of new posts and new officials to serve it (Smith, 2000). CFSP relies on the regular meetings among political directors of the EU member states and ‘the appointment of specific individuals would provide a key source of continuity in national attention to CFSP’ (Smith, 2000: 619). Furthermore new officials have to be created in order to collect the knowledge and expertise necessary for the negotiations in the CFSP matters. Taking into account always growing CFSP it would be a great burden for the already existing officials to also take care of the CFSP matters.

Diplomatic network

The second change that can result from the political co-operation is expansion of the diplomatic network of the member state, in other words increase in number of embassies (Smith, 2000). CFSP introduces many, previously not very important, parts of the globe to the member states and that is why there is a need to collect expertise and form positions on various new countries and various new issues. The growth of the diplomatic network is a direct result of this, believes Smith (Smith, 2000).

Reorganization

The third adaptation can be observed in the reorganization of the internal structure of the Ministry. There is reorientation of national foreign ministries toward ‘Europe’ in order to improve their handling of European affairs (Smith, 2000: 619). Reorganization should be directly caused by the CFSP, and one has to be careful distinguishing it from the frequent restructuring of the national foreign ministries that take place on request of every new government. It is very important not to overemphasize the impact that CFSP might produce.

Change in the every day practices

The last indicator is borrowed from Pomorska's articles and can also be found in the Rua's (2008) research. This indicator aims at capturing whether the ministry has adapted its schedule, agenda, working 'tempo' and routines to the CFSP.

2.3.2 Elite Socialization

The final part of the analysis will concentrate on the possible socialization in the Czech Ministry of foreign affairs as the study of national adaptations would be incomplete without these. Socialization has been most often defined as '**a process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community**' (Checkel, 2005: 804). Traces of EU related socialization of national officials have already been found by such scholars as Pomorska 2007; Hocking & Spence et al. 2005 (see section 2.2). What are the rules and norms of the CFSP? Rua argues that:

The CFSP challenges the Westphalian norms, promoting a 'common', collective, shared understanding of sovereignty. In other terms, the CFSP transforms sovereignty as it gives a value added to the national foreign policy; EU-level political cooperation leads indeed to an extension of national sovereignty through sharing capabilities based on common interests, values and principles (Rua, 2008: 24).

Therefore, socialization triggered by the CFSP might result in foreign ministries working with both European and national interests in mind or in the extreme and yet unknown cases only with the European. Europeanized foreign ministry would evolve from 'the old nation-states sovereign model towards [pursuing foreign policy as] a collective endeavor' (Wong & Hill et al. 2011: 10)

Particularly the way the ministry officially sees the CFSP might be indicative of how deeply EU foreign policy norms have been internalized by it (Rua, 2008: 12). Therefore one can say there is evidence of socialization if ministries see the CFSP as 'a way to enhance their own foreign policy capabilities' (Smith 2000: 619). Furthermore, I propose to look at the attitudes towards CDSP, an integral part of CFSP, voting in the Council as well as how the

ministries have adapted their training programs as to accommodate the CFSP. The last one has already been employed by Rua in his research on the Europeanization of the Finnish Foreign Ministry.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research Design

I have designed this thesis as a qualitative case study with theory testing ambition. I apply Europeanization theory and Smith's framework with intention to answer the question of how has the Czech Foreign Ministry been influenced by the cooperation in the Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Case – is an instance of the class of events (George & Bennet, 2005) and in my thesis, the case is Czech Foreign Ministry and the class of events is CFSP triggered Europeanization.

A qualitative case study is the most suitable for my research as it can both test theory as well as generate new hypothesis (George & Bennet, 2005). The strength of the case study is that it can take an example of an activity – an 'instance in action – and use multiple methods and data sources to explore it and interrogate it' (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011: 54). Thus a case study can achieve a very thick description of the phenomenon. Furthermore the benefit of the case study method lies in answering Why? and How? questions, particularly what interests me. On the contrary quantitative research is best used when testing competing theory which is not the goal of this thesis and answering What? How many? and When? questions (Somekh, Burman, Delamont, Meyer, Payne, & Thorpe, 2011). Another reason for rejecting quantitative methods stems from the absence of sufficient empirical data on Europeanization of the foreign ministries in the EU member states. Most of the previous authors used different framework for analyzing the change and thus it is not possible to compare the findings on this stage.

However, single case study method is not without its flaws and one needs to keep these in mind. One of the commonly stated weaknesses is limited ability, as result of looking only at one particular case, to generalize the findings to the

larger population. Yet, some will argue that ‘case studies need not make any claims about the generalizability of their findings, that what is crucial is the use others make of them’ (Gomm, Hammersley, Foster et al. 2000: 5). Case study will allow me to examine one instance of the class of events in great depth adding experience and improving understanding. It might generate new hypothesis about CFSP triggered Europeanization in the Foreign Ministries and provide empirical evidence for later in depth comparison between the Ministries.

3.2 Case Selection and Time Frame

The Foreign Ministry of the Czech Republic was chosen because of few reasons. First of all, single case studies serve the researcher particularly well if they are ‘most likely’, ‘least likely’ or ‘crucial cases’ of the event (George & Bennet, 2005: 120). ‘In a most-likely case, the independent variables posited by a theory are at values that strongly posit an outcome or posit an extreme outcome’ (George & Bennet, 2005: 120). I argue that Foreign Ministry of the Czech Republic can be regarded as one of the most likely cases of the CFSP triggered Europeanization. It is one of the newest member states and has very little experience in the independent foreign policy making. Czech MFA had to reorganize and ‘reinvent’ itself and EU membership became the material to fill up the holes in the civil service traditions and practices left open by the communism and Habsburgs. It is therefore plausible to believe that the Czech Republic was and still is very open to the EU influences. One might hold against me the fact that the Czech Republic has only been EU member state for 6 years and thus there has not been enough time to Europeanize. However Czech engagement with the CFSP dates back to the late 1990s when on number of occasions the Czech Republic was already aligning with EU positions and also became an active observer prior to enlargement (Commission Report, 1999: 56).

Secondly I have not yet come across research on the impact of the CFSP on the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Such research has previously been conducted on other new member states such as Poland (Pomorska, 2007) and

Romania (Popescu, 2010). Finally Foreign Ministry of the Czech Republic was also chosen for pragmatic reasons such as access to the crucial interview data.

The period of this study is 2000-2010. I start my analysis with year 2000 since changes in the Ministry could not happen overnight or straight after enlargement in 2004. It is more likely that transformations were made in the anticipation of accession. Therefore time during negotiations as well as active observer period are crucial for understanding the full depth of the changes.

3.3 Methods of Analysis

Original Greek meaning of the word *method* is ‘a route that leads to the goal’ (Warren, 2002:86). Methods are integral part of any research as they give researcher the tools to answer research question(s). And it is researcher’s lead responsibility to prove that the route that has been taken is indeed appropriate in addressing the posted question (Flick, 2009:15). To do so the process has to be made as transparent as possible to the reader and this is what I intend to do in the following section.

In my paper I will use different methods of analysis in order to increase reliability of my findings. Firstly, I will contact primary and secondary sources to trace creation of new posts and officials as well as reorganization in the Ministry. Primary sources have been identified on the official web page of the Czech Foreign Ministry and include detailed foreign policy reports (both in English and Czech languages) during 2000-2010. These include detailed organizational charts of the Foreign Ministry, its goals and achievements. Furthermore I will use previous findings of Roger Murphy *Czech Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities* (2008) where he traces changes in the structure and operation of the Czech Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs caused by the fall of communism, entry into the European Union and changes in the ways international diplomacy is being conducted in the 21 century more generally. Finally, the most important contribution and source of data in this thesis will come from the semi-structured interviews with the diplomats and officials of the Ministry. This will mostly help to evaluate socialization and change in the everyday practices in the Czech MFA,

nonetheless where relevant I will still ask my interviewees questions concerning structure and organization of the Ministry.

I have chosen semi-structured interviews over other forms of interview research because of the advantages it provides the researcher. Even though some of the questions are specified by the interviewer, the interviewee is free to answer them on his/her own terms and open ended questions often directly probe interviewee to elaborate in detail on the issue in question. Furthermore depending on the answer the researcher can ask new questions. Hence there is a great degree of naturalism involved in this method (May, 1997). Also when compared to the other methods, the semi-structured interviews allows to capture and develop responses in greater depth since during the process the interviewer can clarify and confirm already said statements (May 1997). Moreover this method is “attentive to the variety of meanings that may emerge as the interview progresses” (Warren, 2002: 87).

However, in order for the researcher to be able to extract important data from the interviews few conditions should be met and May (1997) elaborates in great detail on these. I have tried to include all of May’s recommendations when constructing my interview questions. Firstly, I have tried to design comprehensive, understandable and easy to follow questions. For this purpose I have divided my interview questions similar to that of my empirical chapter into two sections: bureaucratic adaptation and socialization. Furthermore, I have excluded ‘yes’ and ‘no’ questions from my semi-structured interviews as they would not provide any meaningful and analyzable data. Unlike in the surveys, with the semi-structured interviews researcher is trying to grasp much deeper aspects of the issue and the above mentioned questions would not provide these (May, 1997). Moreover, there is also a problem of leading questions. Inexperienced interviewer can post questions in such way as to suggest the desired answer. Such questions can undermine the empirical data if not jeopardize the whole interview process since the interviewee is unintentionally expressing his or her own stand point through usage of the leading questions (May, 1997). In order to prevent usage of the leading questions I have shown my interview questions to other students and my thesis supervisor ahead of the scheduled interviews and have rewritten some of the questions based on their remarks.

Secondly, there is a question of accessibility. Who does one interview? (Warren, 2002: 87). In order to increase validity of my interview data two different techniques were used in this research: targeted interviews and the ‘snowball sampling’. I have contacted diplomats who are currently working in the Ministry based on the organizational chart of the Ministry. I targeted 3 main sections: Security and Multilateral issues, European and Non- European Countries and Development Cooperation section. Some of the interviewees have also recommended their colleagues. In total I have concluded interviews with 9 officials, one of them via Skype. Furthermore, when it comes to the accessibility one needs to also ask: does the interviewee possess the information that interviewer needs? (May, 1997:116) To address this question and limit the problems that may arise as a result of disinformation or misunderstanding I have informed the interviewees about my research topic and the information I am looking to hear from them in the email letter ahead of the interviews (1.5 months prior). I have also only contacted senior diplomats. As result the average service for those interviewed has been 15 years. This has enabled my interviewees to reflect on the important changes over required period of time (2000-2010) – one of the most important prerequisite for yielding required data. Only one of the interviewed has worked in the Ministry for 2.5 years but due to the nature of the work, dealing primarily with the CFSP issues, the information received from this interviewee has been valuable in providing clues on how the CFSP unit in the Ministry operates.

Third condition to be taken into account is motivation – “the interviewer must make the subjects feel that their participation and answers are valued, for their co-operation is fundamental to the conduct of the research” (May, 1997: 117). If my interviewees feel that they are contributing to the valid cause their responses and involvement during the interview process will yield better results (May, 1997: 117). This has been done by explaining the gap in the research on the CFSP triggered transformations and adaptations and limited knowledge on the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Despite my undertakings, Czech Foreign Ministry is very dynamic institution and its staff is often very busy. Even though I have asked minimum of 40 minutes interview time most of the interviewees were only able to provide half an hour or even less of their working time. Thus the interview times varied from 22 minutes to 1 hour 44 minutes.

Finally, the presence of the tape recorder is important quality guarantee that also helps researcher to better analyze post interview data. Being warned by my former professor about the old (grounded in the communist surveillance) resentment of the Czech civil servants to be tape recorded and taking into account the secretive nature of the foreign policy domain I have presented all of my interviewees with anonymity letters with the hope to convince them to be recorded. Despite this only 4 out of 9 of my interviewees agreed to be recorded. Yet, as I was prepared to take notes the former has had limited impact on my data.

4 Empirical Analysis

4.1 Background

In order to trace CFSP triggered transformations in the MFA one has to begin by looking at the circumstances in which Czech Foreign Ministry has developed. Institutions do not operate in the vacuum and MFA is no exception. Last decades are full of historical events that left their mark on the work of the MFA and its organization and excluding them would undermine the later analysis of the CFSP triggered changes. The events that stand out the most are the fall of the communism in 1989 that led to the independence of the country and the EU's accession negotiations. Both of these developments have redefined the course of history of the Czech Republic and the work of its institutions. Yet, it must be noted that it is not always straight forward whether the first, the second or both are triggers. Due to the lack of time and resources it is not possible to conduct my own in depth analysis of the developments that took place in the MFA after the above mentioned events. Therefore the following part is largely based on the previous research of Roger Murphy *Czech Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities* (2008) in which the author presents in depth account of transformations and also official history of the Czech MFA from the official website of the Ministry.

4.1.1 Early Years and the Fall of Communism

Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs has very short but turbulent history. Its roots date back to the 1918 proclamation of the independence of Czechoslovakia that

happened as a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The newly created diplomatic service was largely inspired by the practices and institutions of the former empire (Murphy, 2008); however, its independence did not survive for long time. In 1939, after Nazi Germany invaded the country, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was abolished and the embassies abroad were closed. The work of the Ministry in Prague was restored only after the defeat of the aggressor in the end of the Second World War (Janas & Vytopil, 2005a). Yet this was not the end of the turbulence for the Czech Foreign Ministry. Soon in 1948 the communist coup took place resulting once again in the abandonment of the independent foreign policy. In the next 5 years rapid Sovietisation of the Czechoslovak society including its Foreign Ministry took place (Janas & Vytopil, 2005b). This meant that all of the diplomats and civil servants who opposed the communist ideology or spoke openly against it were fired and even persecuted. Moscow was in control and during these years the reputation of the Ministry was seriously undermined. The civil servants were viewed as subordinated, politically loyal, lacking any skills or efficiency, working in the patronage environment (Murphy, 2008).

After the collapse of the communist system in 1989 the Ministry had to undergo profound reforms in order to change the negative image, increase professionalism, efficiency, transparency, independence, responsibility, become responsible and regain public trust (Murphy, 2008). Foreign Ministry had to transform in order to serve the needs of the independent, democratic state. Post-1989 reforms and brake up of the Czechoslovakia resulted in the major and complete change of the course for the Czech MFA. Below are extracts from the official history of the Ministry and Robert Murphy's (2008) account of the transformations that took place.

First of all, new recruitment practices had to be adopted. Previously diplomats were recruited on the basis of their loyalty to the party and not their language skills or knowledge of the regions of the world (Murphy, 2008). These people had to be replaced with young new professionals ready for international and later EU related work. Staff of the Foreign Ministry was also compromised due to its ties with the Secret Services (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c). In 1990 among 2500 of its staff 168 secret agents were disclosed. Many others were also politically compromised and fired due to their failure to meet national security requirements (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c). The new law was passed in 1991 that

explicitly prohibited employment of anyone who either had been member of the State Security Service (its informers, or collaborators), high ranking members of the Communist Party, officers in People's Militia (Murphy, 2008). As a result by 1992 another 700 people left the Ministry. All heads of departments were replaced and 53 new ambassadors appointed (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c). Surprisingly, according to Murphy, many of those who left the Ministry did so voluntarily as they received attractive offers from the private sector (Murphy, 2008). This created colossal pressure on the Ministry and the necessity to find vast numbers of the new qualified and professional staff.

The first open and transparent recruitment competition took place in 1990 and was met with high number of applicants largely due to the attractiveness of the postings abroad, something that has previously been a luxury (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c). The ambassadorial positions attracted 2000 applications (Murphy, 2008). However, because the Ministry needed a lot of new personnel, demand for quantity, in the early years, exceeded demand for quality (Murphy, 2008).

As soon as the initial shortage was overcome, Diplomatic Academy was found in 1997. Its task is "to raise the professional standards of the Czech diplomatic service, to improve the theoretical knowledge and skill of its staff and organize the education of the personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (MFA Report, 1998). The main study program includes variety of courses: communication with the media, written communication, contemporary world politics, European policy, diplomatic protocol and social etiquette (Diplomatic Academy, 2012). Furthermore, DA provides courses for diplomats arriving to serve their countries in the Czech Republic. Every year among its graduates MFA selects thirty –five to fifty people who will begin their career at the MFA (Murphy, 2008). Overall, as a result of the post communist transformations 87% of the staff has been replaced since 1989 (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c). Czech Foreign Ministry is the most transformed organization and has one of the youngest (in terms of age and experience) personnel among the Ministries in the Czech Republic (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c).

Transparency became another issue that had to be addressed throughout 1990s. Driven by the need of transparency and globalization in 1999 the official internet web page of the MFA was created (MFA Report, 2000). It offers

information on the foreign policy of the Czech Republic, its international agreements, organizational structure of the MFA, official statements and official reports, state visits, and history of the Czech Foreign Ministry. Since 1998, MFA also produces yearly Foreign Policy Reports (both in Czech and English) which includes information on diplomatic achievements, relations with countries, detailed description of the events organized by the Czech embassies in the third countries and information regarding the economic and cultural dimension of Czech foreign policy. Furthermore in 1999, Career Code for diplomats was adopted. The last one comprises guiding principles for recruitment of diplomats, training in the Diplomatic Academy, career advancement, requirements for filling the posts of the Czech Embassies abroad, and principles of rotation (MFA Report 1998). The Report on the Czech Foreign Policy predicts that Career Code is 'expected to result in a substantial raising of professional standards, an improvement of language skills and of the standards required for multilateral diplomacy, especially in relation to EU accession' (MFA Report, 1998). Yet, despite the above mentioned efforts to make the work of the Ministry more transparent I was not able to find any external governmental review of the work of the Foreign Ministry in the last 20 years. This is rather surprising as such practice should be common by now.

Third change was reorientation and restructuring of the embassies and missions of the Czech Republic abroad. During the communist era, Czech posts in capitalist states were mostly bases for ideological propaganda and information gathering, and those in socialist 'friendly' states were unreasonably overstaffed (Murphy, 2008). The 'Velvet Divorce' in 1993 further intensified the need to reevaluate the size of the diplomatic network (The Czech Republic kept about two-thirds of the former Czechoslovakian posts) (Murphy, 2008). Despite the staff opposition, afraid to lose the job in the areas that were not longer prioritized and having limited rotation opportunities, the embassy size began to reflect the new priorities of the Czech Republic (Murphy, 2008)

Foreign Ministry also acquired new responsibilities. One of these was the promotion of the Czech culture abroad. Under the communist rule the Ministry was largely concerned with the promotion of the communist ideology as such and less with the representation of the Czech nation (MFA Report, 1998). After fall of communism new emphasis on the export promotion, desire to encourage foreign

investment, and opportunity to seek new markets resulted in the creation of the Economic Cooperation and Promotion Section in the Ministry (Murphy, 2008). The goal was to use the opportunity that fall of the communism presented and make Czech exports known and attractive outside the former Soviet Union. In majority of the embassies abroad Trade and Economics sections were created whose main task is to present the Czech Republic as reliable business partner something the Ministry now shares with the Ministry of Trade and Industry (Murphy, 2008).

Overall, as a result of the changes that took place after the fall of the communism the MFA has transformed from being a puppet of the regime to serving the needs of the democratic state. Replacement of the compromised staff, new recruiting practices, reorientation of the embassy networks, new culture of transparency and openness to the wider world have all contributed to this development.

4.1.2 Accession Negotiations and European Integration

Soon after the fall of communism people of the Czech Republic chose the path of the European integration. The application for accession was accepted by the EU in 1996 and this created yet another opportunity for the institutional learning as well exchange of the practices between aspiring and old member states. European Commission was going to monitor and report yearly not only on the economic and democratic progress of the country as a whole but its public service thus becoming an independent supervisor to the process. MFA had to demonstrate new diplomatic skills representative of the democratic state and continue creating new identity and reputation among the partners. This task was particularly pressing owing to the role that MFA acquired that of the main negotiator (Murphy, 2008). It was responsible for negotiating and coordinating the Czech Republic's position, monitoring the complex preparations to adopt the *acquis communautaire* and coordinating EU units in different ministries. After the entry, in addition to its coordinating functions, the MFA started overseeing preparation of briefings between Prague and Brussels (Murphy, 2008).

In the early stages of accession negotiations it became clear that despite the necessity to close chapters on different issues such as agriculture, transportation, industry, the sectoral Ministries of the Czech Republic were not prepared for this work (Interviewee 7). They had no knowledge of the EU requirements or processes and no language skills needed for negotiations. Furthermore some of the Ministries did not have basic information about the situation of the different branches of the Czech industry (Interviewee, 7). Very often there were no contacts established between the industry and the Ministries. Even the business sector which in the West has very good knowledge of what issues are important for its survival and growth, at the time of the negotiations, was in the dark because it was newborn. Therefore it could hardly make any predictions about the future and the dangers that EU legislation entails for it. Hence, it was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who took over the process and became the only real connection between sectoral Ministries and the EU. As one of the diplomats from the Foreign Ministry remembers:

We started as the most qualified ministry because of languages because of ability to understand some processes... Our people were travelling around Czech Republic even measuring nets for chickens because we were not able to get information from the Ministry of Agriculture (Interviewee 7).

With such responsibility came the pressure to transform the way in which Ministry operates. First, the MFA had to establish personal connections and define the contacting persons in various sectoral Ministries something that was hard to do in the short period of time due to the traditionally high degree of independence of the Czech Ministries and limited cooperation among them (Murphy, 2008). Another obstacle was the lack of understanding of the EU and its importance for the domestic policies. The sectoral Ministries simply did not understand that the EU will soon become part of their daily work and were often resisting the changes. Partially this blindness, believes Murphy (2008), was caused by the old mentality of the civil servants. In contrast to the MFA the pre-1989 staff of the sectoral Ministries remained much the same and most of them lacked incentives to adapt new techniques or change their methodology (Murphy, 2008).

Second, even after the post-1989 wave of new recruitment the MFA still was lacking qualified personnel. There were not enough people with good knowledge of French and most of the employees did not have any idea about the EU. To fill this gap courses on EU affairs at the Diplomatic Academy were introduced for both the diplomats of the Foreign Ministry as well as for the staff of other Ministries (Murphy, 2008). By January 2000, deputy ministers, senior directors, directors of departments, and selected groups of officials at ministries and other central bodies of the state administration completed the first training in European Affairs (MFA Report, 2000). EU Commission also assisted in the preparation creating a twinning project, a two-way exchange of officials between EU member and applicant states (Murphy, 2008).

Third, MFA was entrusted to carry out new communication strategy. The nature of the communication strategy was mainly educational (MFA Report, 2000). The task of the MFA was to provide information about the EU to the Czech nationals as well as present “Czech Republic as a candidate country capable of fulfilling commitments arising from EU membership without major problems and prepared to accept its share of responsibility for the future progress of Europe” (MFA Report, 2000: 35). Most of the activity on the last one was carried out by the Czech embassies in the EU member states.

Yet, one of the biggest changes brought by the European integration became organizational restructuring of the MFA. A lot of new departments dealing with European Affairs were established and MFA got a deputy minister for EU affairs. The nature of very complicated and demanding negotiations and high priority it was given further resulted in the EU departments in the MFA being the largest in terms of staff and the new fast track system enabled the most able to fill the posts (MFA Report, 2000). Those dealing with accession negotiations were perceived of somewhat like ‘Gods’ recalls one of the interviewees:

They used name Brussels to push through anything... They became Gods of the God and no one could say anything or check if it’s true or not. Laws had to be adopted because of the others. This group made tremendous work in terms of quantity but not quality (Interviewee 3).

As has been already noted by Murphy (2008) something of 'EU club' has developed within the MFA.

However, after the entrance, the role of the Ministry changed. As accession negotiations empowered MFA and made its decisions unquestionable, the entrance reduced its power. This has happened because of the nature of the EU's decision making process. During accession negotiations MFA had more time to collect information from the sectoral Ministries and prepare Czech positions on each of the *acquis communautaire's* Chapters but after the entrance the time became very scarce commodity. There was no more time to carefully plan and collect necessarily and very specific technical information because meetings take place daily. Instead of MFA's staff extracting the information from Ministries the whole of the state's bureaucracy had to embrace EU in their daily work, coordinate with others be flexible and responsible. As a result, nowadays sectoral Ministries have their own EU units that possess the necessarily information and language skills required for independent negotiations in Brussels. As has been noticed in other studies (Pomorska, 2008) the sectoral Ministries have become much more confident in the first pillar issues and thus MFA has lost its position of authority in the first pillar issues.

During accession negotiations MFA has once again shown flexibility, ability to transform itself and meet the challenges. As has been seen MFA had to undergo a process of learning in order to carry out the tasks that were often not quite appropriate for MFA's domain. After accession the things took on the natural course, sectoral Ministries took over the first pillar agenda. What about CFSP? Has it affected the MFA, if so how? It is to the analysis of this that I now turn.

4.2 CFSP and Bureaucratic Adaptation in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs

In order to find out whether new posts were indeed established in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs I will study organizational charts of the Ministry

beginning 2000 and ending 2012. I will also contact Commission Reports as they describe institutional changes that happened in preparation to accession. The same will be done for looking at the possible reorganization. In order to analyze the diplomatic network of the Czech Foreign Ministry I will use Yearly Reports of the MFA that have detailed list of all of the embassies of the Czech Republic around the world. I will compare numbers of embassies in the last 6 years in order to see whether there have been any changes. Finally, interviewee responses to the following questions: *Does CFSP affect your work in the Ministry, and if yes, please provide some examples? Have you noticed growth in the workload when it comes to the foreign policy? Have you noticed any change in the working practices of the Czech embassies since Czech Republic has joined the EU?* should give me information about any change in the everyday practices.

4.2.1 New Posts

Smith states that ‘political co-operation requires the establishment of new national officials to serve it. These institutional roles persist beyond the appointment of specific individuals and provide a key source of continuity in national attention to CFSP affairs’ (Smith, 2000: 619). The need to establish new posts is primarily related to the fact that political cooperation relies in part on the regular meetings among the political directors of EU member states and thus there is need to create new officials that would assist political directors in their CFSP related work (Smith, 2000).

While European integration resulted in few new posts being created in the MFA only two administrative positions can be directly attributed to the CFSP, position of the European Correspondent and Political Director. Both of these are very foreign to the Czech MFA. The roots of the first one can be found outside the country, specifically, in the Copenhagen Report of 1973. The Report advises creation of such position in each of the member states capitals in order to improve political cooperation and coordination between member states. European Correspondent main task lies in ‘preparing meetings of political directors and liaise with their counterparts in other EU states’ (Smith, 2000:619).

The post of the European correspondent in the Czech MFA was created in anticipation of accession in 2000 (Commission Report, 2001). One of the interviewees recalls that the position existed already in 1997 at the time when there was still no separate CFSP department. Initially it was located in one of the departments dealing with the EU affairs and only after creation of the separate CFSP department in 2002 it became an integral part of this department. This is confirmed by the MFA's yearly Reports on the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic where during the negotiating process 2000-2004 regular meetings between European correspondents are mentioned to have taken place (Yearly Reports of the MFA, 2000-2004). European Correspondent assists Political Director, coordinates the work in relation to the preparation of Foreign Affairs Council and Political and Security Committee meetings.

Position of the Political Director also dates back to 2000 as becomes clear from the Commission Report that welcomes creation of the post and recognizes administrative capacity of the Czech Foreign Ministry to implement provisions related to the CFSP (Commission Report, 2001). Creation of this post as a response to CFSP has been previously noticed in Sweden (Rua, 2008). In the Czech MFA Political Director has very powerful position within Foreign Ministry. He/She controls section of multilateral security, responsible for the Czech Republic's participation in the CFSP also NATO, UN and OSCE. Political Director approves opinion of the MFA in the proceedings for permission to import and export of military equipment. Finally, Political Director represents Czech Republic in the PSC meetings.

4.2.2 Diplomatic Network

Smith (2000) believes that political co-operation and growing workload associated with it causes expansion of the most national diplomatic services. Foreign Ministries need to expand its diplomatic representation in order to get information and expertise in the regions and countries that have previously been not very important to the member state, but now become a frequent topic of discussion during CFSP negotiations. These previously left out countries are now being actively discussed within CFSP agenda and this agenda is growing every

year to include more and more areas and issues. Smith is so sure about the expansion that even economic crisis of 1970s seemed not to have slow down the expansion in the older member states (Smith, 2000: 621). Has there been the same development in the Czech Republic? If so, can it be directly linked to the CFSP?

Looking at the diplomatic network of the Czech Republic since its accession in 2004 and until 2010, with few exceptions, there seems to be no major expansion taking place. In 2004 Czech Republic had 91 embassies; in 2010 this number became 95 (MFA Reports, 2004-2010). In the year of accession Czech Republic did not have embassy in FYROM (instead embassy in Serbia and Montenegro³ was used), in Afghanistan (embassy in Pakistan), in Azerbaijan (embassy in Turkey), in Moldova (embassy in Romania) and there was no embassy in Kosovo since it was not yet independent. 6 years after its accession there is a clear attempt to establish embassies in the EU's neighborhood where previously Czech Republic had no representatives and instead close down the embassies in the less important countries such as Colombia (embassy in Peru) and Uruguay (embassy in Argentina). The Czech Republic opened its embassies in Moldova in December 2005 and in Azerbaijan in 2010. I argue that this small expansion of the diplomatic network to Moldova and Azerbaijan can be linked with the goal to establish stronger profile within the CFSP and EU in general when it comes to this region and defend Czech Republic's interests there. As has been noticed by observers since its accession Czech Republic became very active in this region by developing not only geographic focus but also thematic specialization in the promotion of democracy and human rights (Baun & Marek, 2010: 10). Czech Republic became strong supporter of the EU's Neighborhood Policy and its Eastern Partnership of which Moldova and Azerbaijan are signatories. Thus, the creation of the embassies in this important region seems to be a rational and long expected move. New embassies will provide more access to the officials of these countries and they will strengthen Czech Republic's role and expertise in the negotiations on this region.

³ This was in 2004 when Serbia and Montenegro were still united.

Yet, the increase of Czech Republic's embassies is far from that of Finland where 19 new embassies were established during 13 years of membership in the EU (Rua, 2008). Also this expansion of the Czech diplomatic network is extremely small when compared to the post-1989 transformations when 18 embassies were closed and many new diplomatic relations were established with the countries once rejected by the Soviet Union (Vatican, Israel, Chile, South Korea) (Janas & Vytopil, 2005c).

The assumption that cooperation on CFSP triggers expansion of the diplomatic network is weakened when one considers the practices of sharing the embassy facilities with the EU member states something that is common among Nordic countries. The Czech Republic has also adopted this strategy and there is now Czech Representative in Polish embassy in Armenia (Interviewee 4). In the wake of the economic crisis most of those who I interviewed thought it to be very positive idea yet it should be done with great caution. Therefore in the future one can expect reduction of the embassies and not its expansion. This will also happen if European External Action Service is successful and efficient in collecting information, believes one of the interviewed. In such circumstances smaller member states such as Czech Republic might want to close down embassies in the least important and far away locations and instead rely on the EEAS expertise. The first call to reduce the number of Czech diplomatic and consular missions and spare some costs during economic crisis was made in 2010 (Šlosarík & Weiss, 2010).

Furthermore, as has already been pointed out by Rea (2008) it is hard to distinguish between CFSP and the influence of the EU in general on the diplomatic network. Therefore, I argue that this is very weak indicator and instead one needs to look at the impact of the CFSP on the work of the Czech embassies.

Change in the working practices of the Czech embassies

There are few ways in which the work of the Czech embassies changed as a result of the CFSP. First of all, the embassies' working routine was adjusted to that of Brussels since embassies are central players when it comes to the preparation of the background material for the FAC and GAC meetings. Ministry's staff in the

capital always contacts them prior to negotiations for their input and their expertise making the rhythm of the work of the embassies much faster. The more important and visible the third country is on the EU agenda the more dynamic has the work of the embassy in this country become.

Second important innovation for the Czech ambassadors is the regular heads of missions meetings (HoMs). They are prescribed by the Treaties. According to Article 32 of Treaty of the European Union (TEU) ‘the diplomatic missions of the Member States and the Union delegations in third countries and at international organizations shall cooperate and shall contribute to formulating and implementing the common approach’. Furthermore, Article 35 of TEU stressed that ‘they [the diplomatic missions of the Member States and the Union delegations] shall step up cooperation by exchanging information and carrying out joint assessments’. HoMs meetings take place depending on the seriousness of the situation/issue in the hosting country. These meetings take place anywhere from once a month to as often as 5 times a week. They are chaired by the Head of the EU delegation. During these meetings different positions of the EU member states are being discussed and often common strategy or statements are being produced. Through HoMs Czech embassies take part in the drawing up review, situation and recommendation reports in the third countries (MFA Report, 2008). It is also during these meetings that the visa ban lists are being created. Yet the progress of the HoMs meetings very often depends on the personality of the Head of the EU delegation (Interviewee 1). The stronger is the personality the bigger are the ambitions to produce common positions.

However, one has to distinguish between HoMs meetings in the third countries and the EU member states. When comparing the two, senior diplomat in the Czech Ministry noted:

Inside EU, we are basically a debate club... we do not discuss EU policy towards host country which is exactly what EU countries’ embassies are doing in the third countries. So they are shaping positions they are writing reports, they are formulating positions. They work together and it’s where HoMs becomes working body (Interviewee 6).

Hence as a result of the CFSP related negotiations in Brussels, the rhythm of the work of some Czech embassies has increased. Furthermore HoMs meetings

contributed to moving embassies of such small country as Czech Republic to the 'front line' of the major world events.

4.2.3 Reorganization

The goal of this section is to see whether CFSP has had any impact on the organization of the MFA. Suggestions that this might be the case can be found in the earlier studies by Smith 2000; Pomorska 2007; and Rua 2008. Smith (2000) argues that member states restructure and reorient their foreign ministries 'toward Europe' in order to improve their handling of European affairs, particularly as EC and CFSP activities are increasingly expected to function in a coherent manner' (Smith, 2000). Analysis of the organizational structure of the Czech Ministry is based mainly on the organizational charts of the Ministry during 2001-2012 found in its yearly reports as well as Commission Reports.

During 2001 – 2004 departments of the Ministry were rapidly changing. New departments whose work was directly linked to the larger process of the European integration were being established. These include: European Coordination unit (OKEU), Communication strategy unit (OKS), Department of the European Union and Western Europe (EUZE) and Security Policy Department (OBZ). In 2003 just one year before accession more EU related departments were established such as: Department of the Internal Market and Sectoral Policies (OVTSP), Department of Agriculture and Trade Policy, (OPZE) Department of Internal and External Relations of the Member States of the European Union (OVVZ) (MFA Report, 2003). However, apart from the Security Policy department none of those exist today. All of the above mentioned departments were created only on the temporary basis for the purposes of preparing the country for the EU accession. Moreover, such departments as Agriculture and Trade Policy were simply not suited for the Ministry. However, despite the temporary changes during these 4 years there was also deeper restructuring taking place that is now rooted in the structure of the Ministry. One of this can be directly attributed to the CFSP and others have more general EU background.

In its Yearly Report in 2000 on the overall readiness of the Czech Republic to join the EU, Commission implicitly stated that 'to further strengthen

coherence of Czech foreign policy with the CFSP of the EU, a reorganization of the structures in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been undertaken'. This includes making Political Director directly responsible to the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and First Deputy Minister (Commission Report, 2000). Furthermore, Commission praised that more staff was being allocated to the Department for Political Relations with the EU which at the time was primarily responsible for the CFSP.

However, the most visible and profound effect of the CFSP on the Czech Foreign Ministry took place in May 2002 when CFSP department (*odbor Spole né zahrani ní a bezpe nostní politiky Evropské unie*) under the control of the Political Director was created (MFA Report, 2002). Main responsibilities of the CFSP department include assisting Political Director, coordinating different positions of the Czech Republic concerning CFSP and ESDP, tasks associated with the work of the European Correspondent, and supervision and distribution of the COREU messages. CFSP department also sends out the agenda that they received from Brussels to the rest of the Ministry asking relevant departments to respond by preparing instructions within certain time frame. There is also a complicated multiple layer mechanism of approving instructions by heads of the departments and finally Political Director. CFSP department in the Czech Foreign Ministry is not the first time such department has been created in the Foreign Ministry of the EU member state. The same impact CFSP has also had on the Finish Foreign Ministry (Rua, 2008). Yet it took Finland 10 years after accession to create same department. Czech Republic prepared for the CFSP in advance. CFSP department is located under Security and Multilateral Section together with the Security Policy Department, Department of Human Rights and Transformation Policy, Security Department and UN Department (Organization Chart, 2012).

Among the EU member states there are two ways of approaching the economical and political aspects of the work of the Ministry. Some of them prepare to 'maintain a distinction between their economic (EC) and political (CFSP) departments'; others have maintained much 'closer linkage between the two in the hopes of maintaining consistency of external policy' (Smith, 2000: 619). Czech Republic is one of the countries that preferred to separate political from economic departments in the very beginning. As such there is separate

section dealing with Economic Cooperation and Promotion Abroad that is divided into bilateral and multilateral issues.

Another important change that still remains today is split of the section of the bilateral relations into: European and Non-European Countries. First these two were called Territorial Section I and Territorial Section II and only in 2008 were they renamed and the European Section was divided into EU affairs and European countries. However in 2010, 2 European sections (EU and European countries) were joined into one. In 2012 European Section had EU General Affairs department, EU policies department, Central Europe Department, North and Eastern Europe department, South and South East Europe Department. Section on Non-European Countries and Development Cooperation has American, Asia and Pacific, Middle East and North Africa and Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid Departments (Organization Chart, 2012). While this is a clear sign of Europeanization, reorienting Foreign Ministry 'toward 'Europe', it is not possible to directly attribute it to the CFSP. The change is much more likely to have been caused by the European integration in general.

Finally, one noticeable change has been taking place in the Middle East and North Africa (BVA) and Sub-Saharan Africa (AFR) departments. In 2005 these two departments were one, but in 2008 they were separated. Thus one can assume that such visible restructuring took place as a result of the need to process more information and prepare positions for the growing number of CFSP negotiations on these regions in Brussels. However, when one looks deeper into the restructuring it becomes clear that neither CFSP nor even European integration in general have anything to do with it. This is confirmed by one of the interviewees who describes this restructuring as having to do with 'personal reflections of the concrete Ministers' (Interviewee 5). One Minister believes that these two are similar and thus should be under the same umbrella, others think they are completely incomparable and face very different challenges and thus should be separated.

4.2.4 Everyday Practices and the CFSP

Pomorska (2007) and Rua (2008) suggest that there is also a change in the informal practices, everyday practices of the Polish and Finnish Foreign Ministries. Has there been some change in the Czech Foreign Ministry too? The conclusions in this section are based on the interviews with the officials who have worked in the Ministry at least 10 years and can compare working practices and routines before joining the EU and after the accession.

First of all, all of the interviewed have confirmed that their work in the Ministry in one or another way has been affected by the need to cooperate in the CFSP. As has been noticed by one of the senior diplomats one of the strongest impacts has been on the work of the territorial departments or those departments that take part in the working groups. These departments had to learn how to coordinate their work with the newly created CFSP department. This included learning both official practices of coordinating Czech position as well as unofficial by getting to know the people in the CFSP department including their positions on various issues.

Second, all of the interviewed have observed that the speed of the process has increased as result of the need to follow the rhythm and schedule of the CFSP meetings in Brussels.

We have much more European part in our politics. We have to see how Brussels negotiates, what will be the individual agenda in the Foreign Affairs Council and in the General Affairs Council. For us is very important that we accept and follow the rhythm of the work of Brussels... We have a lot of documents to prepare for FAC and GAC (Interviewee 5).

However, there is no universal increase of the tempo throughout the Ministry resulting from CFSP. Czech Republic is rather small country with few foreign policy priorities and limited human and resource potential when compared to Germany or France. Ministry has neither opportunity nor the need to cover all of the topics and all regions that are appearing on the CFSP agenda with the same intensity and thus the departments whose work is connected with the least important areas for the Czech Republic (ex. Sub-Saharan Africa Department) do not need to work as intensive and coordinate their work as thorough. The speed of the process has been increased the most in the departments that deal with the areas and issues that are of the most importance for the Czech Republic where the

country is not only being reactive to the development but also tries to be proactive and set agenda. This includes human rights (ex. Cuba) and integration of South – Eastern Europe (Conceptual Basis of the Czech Foreign Policy, 2011). As one of the interviewees notes ‘setting agenda requires much more intensive work because it is not reaction to the development but it is an attempt to shape it’ (Interviewee 1).

Third, there is also much greater need to regularly study and collect positions of 26 member states on the global issues. This requires time and effort.

It was very difficult at first, after our entrance into the EU, because we were not used to do that. Now I think we are much better... It is very important part of our work, we do it regularly. We consult with our departments in the Foreign Ministry whether they know something about the positions of the others. We know how to do that. We are using a lot our embassies, because our embassies in different countries are able to see with their colleagues which will be the positions of their capitals for some meetings. So yes now we do that and we are much more able to do that than before. We understood how it works and how it should work (Interviewee 5).

To help Ministries in this task the COREU system was launched in 1973 (Bicchi & Carta, 2011). The term COREU (CORrespondence EUrope´enne) refers to the messages relating to EPC/CFSP exchanged between European Correspondents, Permanent Representatives of Member States in Brussels, the European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Commission and the General Secretariat of the Council (GSC) (Bicchi & Carta, 2011). Like in all of the other member states the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for the messages that come through COREU. On normal day the number of COREU messages reaches 40 however in times of crisis it can be as many as 100 messages a day (Bicchi & Carta, 2011). Like most of the new member states (apart from Poland) Czech Republic does not send a lot of COREU messages, only around 200 a year. While COREU has somewhat eased the process of collecting positions, the significance of this CFSP instrument should not be overestimated. As has been pointed out by one of the interviewed:

COREU is important just in official way to have a statement of some member state. But in general, at the moment COREU arrives we already know the information. COREU is important at the protocol way. We have

official written document where Germany explain its statement. It is important to have it and we can use it for the negotiations. But generally it is too late to work with it. So we have to know the information before. So it is good but in general the COREU doesn't have new information for us (Interviewee 5).

Therefore acquiring positions of the member states, finding out who is initiating the issue and whose interests are involved is still a matter of the unofficial diplomatic channels and it is a main tool of the Czech MFA.

4.3 CFSP and Socialization in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The last part of this paper will concentrate on the possible CFSP triggered socialization in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus socialization is the hypothesis here.

As all of the modern national diplomacies the work of the Czech Foreign Ministry has since its creation been based upon principle of states sovereignty. As such the task of any Czech diplomat lies in ability not only to present interest of his/her nation but also being able to defend these interests in every possible way. Yet after the accession, arguably, the new period for the foreign policy making has started. Czech Foreign Ministry became part of the collective endeavor, of the foreign policy system with its own practices, traditions, instruments and mechanisms. Has this led to the change in the attitudes of the Czech Foreign Ministry from the traditional nation-state sovereignty model towards pursuing foreign policy as a collective endeavor and putting priorities of the last one above the national? Or maybe the officials of the Czech Foreign Ministry have learned to work with both Czech and the community interests in mind when it comes to the foreign policy?

Possible attitude changes can be recognized by looking if the Foreign Ministry has 'learned to value political co-operation as a way to enhance their own foreign policy capabilities' (Smith, 2000: 619). The way to see this is by analyzing official documents and speeches of the foreign ministers of the Czech

Republic. Furthermore, I offer my own indicator of socialization by asking senior officials in the Ministry the following question: *Do you believe, in the future, CFSP should be based on the QMV or should the foreign policy always be based on unanimity?* If majority of respondents prefer QMV over unanimity in the CFSP matters this would signal the shift from the principle of state sovereignty towards foreign policy as a collective endeavor. Furthermore, I also analyze rhetoric of the MFA on the important part of the CFSP – Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Finally, I adopt Rúa’s approach and look at whether CFSP courses have been introduced at the Diplomatic Academy. Such four sided approach should provide a clear picture of whether Czech Foreign Ministry has been Europeanized and whether European interests prevails over Czech Republic’s in the MFA. I start my analysis by looking if the MFA has learned to value political cooperation.

4.3.1 Valuing Political Cooperation

It is clear from the Commission Reports that the Czech Republic embraced CFSP and started adjusting, where possible, its own foreign policy to that of the EU on the early stages of its integration. Throughout 2000-2003 the country was showing great interest in the development of the CFSP and regularly aligned its positions with those of the Union (Commission Reports, 2000-2003). In fact CFSP chapter was closed without major disagreements already in 2000⁴. After the entrance there is plenty of evidence, in the speeches of the Foreign Ministers as well as MFA yearly reports, to suggest that MFA perceives CFSP as an opportunity to enhance foreign policy priorities of the Czech Republic and not as constraint on its sovereignty. The benefits that CFSP brings to such small country as the Czech Republic are obvious in the MFA’s report:

The Czech Republic views the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy as an important tool for defending European values in the world and as an **important forum for articulating and coordinating the positions of**

⁴ This is also due to the fact that CFSP chapter is not as lengthy as others (ex. Agriculture or Free Movement of Goods) yet countries do have problems fulfilling it, especially if there are some border disputes (ex. Turkey).

individual member countries ... The Czech Republic participates, and intends to continue to participate, in the active formulation of the EU CFSP, based on its view that the EU CFSP is founded on member countries' mutual solidarity and support. That creates room **for smaller countries to promote their interests and preferences, whilst simultaneously giving them an opportunity to be involved in the promotion of common goals reflecting their national priorities and needs** [emphasis added] (MFA Report, 2005).

4 years later the rhetoric on the CFSP seems to only strengthen:

The Foreign Ministry will continue to emphasize quality work within the Union. This is **the best platform** for the promotion of Czech foreign policy interests [emphasis added] as well as a **unique opportunity** to participate in shaping attitudes to major global issues [emphasis added]. The use of this potential is indeed a challenge for every government and every foreign minister. Work on a strong and respected by the international community EU is also undoubtedly one of my primary interests (former Foreign Minister Kohout in the interview to Pravo 2009).

Finally, those who I interviewed were also very positive about CFSP and its added value for the Czech Republic. When asked if they believe CFSP enhances foreign policy capabilities of the Czech Republic all answered positive. One of the interviewees perfectly summarized the thoughts of the others:

CFSP of course enhances our capabilities because it enhances our leeway. The enhancement is in two ways. Firstly, CFSP reinforces our ability in areas in the world we are operating now. Our intention is of course to avoid some contradictions between "our" and "EU" policies here. Secondly, CFSP enlarges our activities (and capacities) in areas in the world we are not present today. This is rather complementary part to our foreign policies without substantial contradictions (Interviewee 4).

From the above statements it is clear that MFA is appreciating CFSP however what is also obvious is that it is perceived as a forum for promotion of the Czech interests. Of course it has taken time for the Czech Republic to learn how to use this complicated, multi-actor mechanism but one can already recognize attempts to create unique Czech profile within the Union's foreign policy. Czech Foreign Ministry has been actively contributing to this. Czech Republic feels it could help the EU understand its neighborhood since no one knows it better than the people who live there (Interview 7). Key priority regions for the Czech Republic are Eastern Europe and Western Balkans. Thus MFA has been actively promoting

together with its partners in Poland and Sweden European Neighborhood as well as Eastern Partnership. The last one was initiated during Czech Presidency in 2009. EU member states are being criticized for not devoting enough time and resources to this vital part of Europe. One of the interviewed diplomats regretted that the EU is spending too many resources on the Mediterranean ‘black hole’, and the money invested in this region simply disappeared after the Arab revolution (Interviewee 7). Eastern Europe and Western Balkans are much more promising in this regard (Interviewee 7). Another part of Czech’s identity within CFSP has become active engagement in international human rights issues particularly human rights violations in Belarus, Cuba and Myanmar. These are the ‘red light’ areas for the country.

To sum up the Foreign Ministry is valuing political cooperation and it has recognized ways in which Czech Republic can become an active player with its unique profile in the formation of the CFSP. Thus there seems to be indication of socialization as described by Smith. Czech Foreign Ministry does not see CFSP as reduction of sovereignty of the Czech Republic on contrary it is an opportunity to enhance it. Furthermore, in the official rhetoric a lot has been said about strengthening EU position in the world, making it important global player, with instruments to influence the situation in the world. This is also a sign of ‘devotion to a common enterprise’ something that Smith (2000) has been predicting would happen as a result of socialization. At the same time the Czech interests are being uploaded to the EU level via promotion of the Eastern Europe, human rights issues in Cuba and Myanmar. What do other indicators tell us about socialization in the MFA?

4.3.2 View of the Common Security and Defence Policy

Czech Republic was taken by surprise when the rapid development of this area happened after St. Malo summit (Khol, 2003). It complicated ‘their original expectations about a clear division of roles between EU and NATO in foreign, security and defence policy areas’ (Khol, 2003: 8). Despite this Czech Republic expressed positive attitudes towards CSDP. Ministry of Foreign Affairs thought that CSDP is the ‘logical part of the process of European integration’ together

with other CFSP instruments it will improve effectiveness and increase the credibility of the European Union in international relations (MFA Report, 2002: 33-34). It is a very desirable development since the international situation after 9/11 and fragile situation in Western Balkans requires 'reinforcement of the Europe's ability to provide actively for its security and to act, as part of the Petersberg Tasks, as a security provider (MFA Report, 2002: 33-34). However, official reports of the MFA as well as various Czech foreign Ministers kept stressing that CSDP should be complementary to NATO and should not in any way rival or undermine transatlantic relations (MFA Reports 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007). On number of occasions it was mentioned that involvement of USA in Europe is crucial for the Czech Republic and thus the country would like to see strengthening of the relations between these parties. Such attitudes are not surprising taking into account that Czech Republic with some of the CEE countries has often been called American 'Trojan Horse' (Edwards, 2006).

Yet if the Czech Foreign Ministry would be becoming more Europeanized one would had to see some changes in the ways MFA views CSDP. This did not happen. After accession attitude towards CSDP as a complement to NATO remained the same. Czech Foreign Ministry continues to view NATO as a primarily security provider for Europe. Improving relations between EU and USA was high on the agenda of the Ministry during Czech Presidency and EU-USA summit was held in Prague on the 5 April 2009 with the goal to 'ensure that the cooperation between the two organizations [EU and NATO] is established in systematic, mutually complementary cooperation in the development of military and non-military capabilities' (Work Programme of the Czech Presidency, 2009).

Of course it would be desirable for Europe to have in some issues common opinion. One of the major issues is energy safety, because Europe dependents on external resources, whether oil, gas, or the like, and if Europe would be able to speak with one voice, it would strengths Europe's position significantly. However, **if common foreign and security policy became firmer and more compact, I would have liked that it was not at the expense of the transatlantic alliance.** Because this would mean building a fortress Europe, which gets into a competitive or conflicting state with the United States, and **I think for us it is not worth it** [emphasis added](Foreign Minister Alexandr Vondra interview to Reflex Magazine).

To summarize it is clear from this analysis that there has been no shift in the ways MFA views CSDP.

4.3.3 Unanimity or QMV

Further indication of the extent of Europeanization of the Ministry is the attitudes that Foreign Ministry has towards important components of CFSP: the type of voting in the Council. If the views on QMV in the foreign policy decision making are positive than socialization hypothesis would be largely confirmed as it would signal the willingness of the MFA to give in interests of the Czech Republic for the pursuit of common foreign policy.

The official view of the MFA towards decision making in the CFSP remains the same as before accession. MFA is of the opinion that unanimity voting is the most appropriate method for the decision making of this very sensitive area and member states should have the right to veto proposals (Interview). Is the same view shared by those officials who I interviewed?

Most of those who I interviewed were negative about introducing QMV in the CFSP issues since, they believed, foreign policy is an indispensable part of the sovereignty of the member states. It is neither something medium, small size countries, nor the big players want. In the words of one of the most outspoken opponent 'foreign policy should always stay unanimous; otherwise it will be the end of the EU. We would kill this great project' (Interviewee, 2). Two of the interviewed were not so fast to dismiss the QMV and even though they recognized that neither EU nor Czech Republic is ready for such step they saw it as a possibility:

Normally I prefer communitarian method but there are some exceptions. This is one of them. I would first like to be assured that this system really works and that there is uniform system of decision making, uniform system of instructions for EU delegations and so on. This is something which is in the process now. I am not the one who is in the hurry to do it (Interview 4).

In

4.3.4 Courses at the Diplomatic Academy

Final evidence of CFSP triggered socialization can come from analysis of how has the MFA adapted its training programs for diplomats. “Training provides arguably the first phase in the socialization of the Ministry’s personnel” (Rua, 2008: 73). The content of training programs might reveal how adapted the MFA is to the CFSP.

Diplomatic Academy in the Czech Republic was created in October 1997 and became a separate department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 1 January 2007. Its creation in itself can be considered a part of the general process of the Europeanization of the Czech Foreign Ministry. It was established in collaboration with the Netherlands Institute of International Relations at Clingendael and the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna and backed by the Delegation of the European Commission in Prague. European Union provided 305,000 ECU from the PHARE programme for its implementation (MFA Report, 1998). The task of the Diplomatic Academy is to ‘raise the professional standards of the Czech diplomatic service, to improve the theoretical knowledge and skills of its staff and organize the education of the personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ (MFA Report, 1998: 270).

During first years of 2000s the priority of the DA was to prepare staff of the MFA for the accession. EU training courses were introduced in the DA with the Government Decision No. 841/1999 and on the basis of the Decision of the Minister No. 6/2000 of 28 April, 2000 which gave responsibility of the EU training courses primarily to the DA (MFA Report, 2000). EU courses mostly concentrated on Comitology, European Affairs Management and French language courses focusing on EU issues and were organized in cooperation with the International Centre for European Training (CIFE) in Nice. Furthermore starting from 2000 every August European Summer School in Horaž ovic was held where Czech and foreign diplomats as well as other staff of the Czech state administration could participate in the seminars and discussions on the current European Affairs such as EU’s Constitution, Europe after the Lisbon Treaty. Intensive training in the DA on the European Affairs also took place prior to Czech Presidency of 2009. The special focus in the DA was given to the ‘acquisition and assimilation of negotiation and communication skills, leading

working groups, knowledge of the practical and procedural aspects of negotiating within EU structures, decision-making processes, relations between EU institutions and coordination at the national level' (MFA Report, 2008-2009). EU Affairs training module for the first time was absent in 2010. Thus there has been a clear EU presence in the preparation of the diplomats of the MFA.

Despite such attention and importance of the EU affairs in the diplomatic training, no special training programme was introduced to cover specifically CFSP. When asked *Are there any courses on the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union in the Diplomatic Academy?* one of the interviewees that has, since its creation, been involved with the DA responded:

It is first the diplomatic academy 1, the entrance course for youngsters and there is a huge part of EU matters... There is part of these meetings about common this and that EU matters including CFSP. But frankly it is not the main issue for foreign policy. Economy is number one...Development policy is a huge amount of money and there is no real coordination... But we feel it as the same part as the CFSP and the strongest one because there is the main part of money (sic). There is not so much money for the Embassy for CFSP like they have for development assistance provided through Delegations of the EU (Interviewee 7).

Hence, while there are clear indicators of Europeanization in the Diplomatic Academy through presence of the various courses on the EU affairs, it is not possible to specifically separate the CFSP effect, since there has not been any specific CFSP training modules introduced after accession and attention to CFSP matters does not seem to be too high on the agenda.

4.4 Discussion

Following analysis in the previous chapter it has become evident that intergovernmental CFSP has indeed contributed to the Europeanization of the Czech Foreign Ministry. The extent of Europeanization varies across the Ministry.

Starting with bureaucratic adaptation the rhythm of the work and the workload of the Ministry have increased compared to before and are now tightly linked with Brussels. While the last one is a direct consequence of the European

integration in general the need to follow FA and GA Council meetings are more CFSP specific. The MFA has to regularly gather member states positions regarding CFSP matters, find allies and defend the areas of primarily interest for the Czech Republic. As has been mentioned by some of the interviewees, initially, this has not been very easy to do. MFA's staff lacked experience in the multilateral diplomacy and 'red light' areas were often undefined. Nonetheless, the Ministry has not been silent follower in the CFSP matters. Nowadays it is able to actively engage and contribute to building unique foreign policy profile within EU with the prime areas of interest being human rights and Eastern Europe. Foreign Ministry now shares foreign policy information between and among European partners and views of other member states are becoming more known in the Ministry. Furthermore, positions of European Correspondent and Political Director as well as CFSP department are clear indicators of the CFSP influence on the internal structure of the MFA.

The work of the Czech embassies has also been affected. Czech embassies have become part of the inclusive 'club' and are participating in discussions and resolutions on the world's most visible events through HoMs meetings. This has fundamentally changed not only the way in which Czech embassies operate but also, arguably, how they are viewed by the non-EU member states. Contrary to expectations the lack of change has been observed in the diplomatic network of the MFA. Apart from opening embassy in Moldova 2005 and in Azerbaijan in 2010, there has not been any large expansion of the diplomatic network as was predicted by Smith (2000). It seems that the opposite is happening and MFA is looking for ways to reduce the number of embassies, unite embassy facilities with its partners and close neighbors, as well as hopes that in the future the European External Action Service will replace some embassies and provide information in the countries that are less important for the national interests of the Czech Republic.

Another important observation is that the affect and extent of the CFSP triggered Europeanization varies across departments, depending on the issue and region. Those departments and also embassies that deal with areas of primarily national interest for the Czech Republic are affected the most. In order to build a strong profile and make Czech Republic visible they have to be pro-active, and this requires much more resources and time in comparison to a simple MFA's

response to the event. This finding is in line with the previous study by Rua. Overall, hypothesis 1 can be said to be confirmed, CFSP have contributed to the bureaucratic adaptation in the Foreign Ministry.

As for hypothesis 2, it has been only partially confirmed. MFA has learned to value political co-operation and officials in the Ministry see it as an enhancement of the power and interests of the Czech Republic. Yet MFA has remained trustworthy to the core priorities of the Czech national foreign policy and they clearly are above the European. Diplomats in the Ministry expressed a clear dissatisfaction with unanimity voting with regards to the CFSP. Nor has the view of the CSDP changed. The last one is still viewed as complementary to NATO, the first line of defense for the Czech Republic. It can be argued that appreciating CFSP is the first step on the path to deeper socialization. After all Czech Republic has been a full member only for 6 years and it would be too ambitious to expect very profound changes in the century long and persistent attitudes about states sovereignty during such short period of time.

4.4.1 Smith's Framework and Generalization

Overall I believe that Smith's framework in combination with suggestions from previous research and my own contribution of indicators has been successful in answering my research question. It has encompassed both bureaucratic adaptation and socialization hypothesis. However, it is important to speak about limitations of this framework for the benefit of the future studies. First of all, I believe that expansion of the diplomatic network is very weak indicator of the CFSP's influence. It is not only hard to establish causal linkage, but embassies' operation can also be suspended due to some political issue, or there might be consulate opened in the place of embassy. As has become obvious from my interviews, the working practices of embassies are more reliable indicator. In relation to this second observation, Smith completely excludes change in the everyday practices from his framework. It was a right choice to adopt this from Pomorska (2007) and Rua (2008) as it has proven to be very insightful indicator. Therefore I would recommend future application. Third, indicators of socialization still need to be better advanced. Process of framework formulation is time consuming and only

through try and error can we establish what is best suited for such complex phenomenon as socialization. Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that due to many different historical and cultural reasons, it will not be always possible to successfully apply same framework in all of the member states. This, however, should not stop anybody from trying as only with the help of frameworks can we yield more general results about class of events.

This leads me to my final conclusion about generalization of this particular case study. While a lot of the changes such as the CFSP department, European Correspondent, change in the working practices of the embassies have been observed in other studies of the foreign ministries of the EU member states (Rua, 2008; Pomorska, 2007; Hocking and Spence et al., 2005) this single case study does not provide opportunity nor the need for generalizations.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Main Findings

This paper has tried to discover the effect of the Common Foreign and Security Policy on the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In order to find possible changes I have used Smith's framework and analyzed bureaucratic adaptation and possible socialization in the Ministry. The empirical analysis allows me to make the following conclusion: *CFSP has contributed to the Europeanization of the Czech MFA; extent of change varies across the Ministry*. Those departments and also embassies that deal with the areas of primarily national interest for the Czech Republic are affected the most.

As this case study shows Foreign Ministry had to adapt to the CFSP as a result of the need to defend Czech foreign policy interests. COREU, participation in regular meetings of GAC, FAC, PSC and HoMs have all contributed to the changes. Transformations can be found in terms of bureaucratic adaptation particularly everyday practices, creation of new posts and new CFSP department. As for socialization, Czech foreign policy interests remain dominant in the Ministry and there has not been any change neither towards CSDP nor unanimity. At the same time the staff of the Ministry appreciates CFSP and recognized the benefits it brings to such small country.

Initially there has been knowledge gap and limited experience of the Ministry officials in the multilateral diplomacy however Czech Foreign Ministry has shown flexibility and willingness to adapt in order to better represent Czech foreign policy interests in Brussels. Czech Ministry transformed from being

‘acquis takers’ to ‘acquis makers’ and this is visible in the pursuit of the independent foreign policy profile. This however, cannot be only attributed to the CFSP. It is likely the result of the combination of different processes on different levels and it is far from being over.

5.2 Limitations

There are few challenges that I have come across while doing my research. Until today no grand theory on Europeanization exists however, ‘exploring a score of each model is a beginning’ (Olsen, 2002). Furthermore, in some cases it has been difficult to differentiate between CFSP influence and the influence of the EU in general. It has also been hard to assess the magnitude and quality of the changes. More specific framework of defining what is the ‘core’, and ‘peripheral’ change in the Foreign Ministry would be useful. I have also not been able to look at whether Czech MFA has lost or won from the CFSP. This happened as result of my inability to acquire information about the staff size and budgets of the MFA’s departments. However, I do recognize that this might be very important indicator of influence.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

I have chosen a single case study method due to the lack of resources and time to analyze other foreign ministries; however, my recommendation for the future studies would be to take on a bigger challenge and compare foreign ministries of many different member states. This has already been attempted by Hocking and Spence et al. 2005. Despite great contribution, this edited volume is lacking all of the newest member states. I would welcome further expansion. Experience and transformation in the foreign ministries of the newcomers could provide clues and more information on the dynamics of change. Furthermore, only such large scale studies can give answers to whether there is a divergence or convergence between the foreign ministries of the EU member states, differences between old and new. Finally, studying mechanisms of socialization is very promising. How does

processes of socialization and also learning happen in the EU's CFSP? What is the role of the supranational institutions and what is the role of the member states? Arguably, the research on the mechanism of socialization and learning should start at the European level, particularly in the permanent representations of the member states.

6 Executive Summary

Research Problem

For many years Common Foreign and Security Policy was outside of the legal and institutional framework of the European Union, and despite recent resurgence impact of this policy area on domestic policy, politics and institutions remains understudied (Major 2005; Pomorska 2007). Explanation to such limited attention might lie in the fact that CFSP is strictly intergovernmental and transformations are expected to be voluntarily rather than coercive (Pomorska, 2007). Treaties not laws govern CFSP. In spite of methodological constraints associated with studying CFSP, most previous research suggests that CFSP can trigger adaptation and changes (i.e Europeanization) in the foreign ministries of the EU member states (Pomorska, 2007; Hocking & Spencer et al. 2005; Rua, 2008). My intention in this thesis is to test whether CFSP has triggered changes in the case of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Czech Republic is arguably one of the most likely cases of CFSP triggered Europeanization since its Ministry has very little experience in the independent foreign policy making. In the last two decades Czech MFA had to reorganize and ‘reinvent’ itself and EU membership became the material to fill up the holes in the civil service traditions and practices left open by the communism and Habsburgs (Murphy, 2008). Therefore my research question is following:

How has participation in the Common Foreign and Security Policy affected Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Methodology

This thesis is designed as a qualitative case study with theory testing ambition. The period of this study is 2000-2010. I start my analysis with year 2000 since

changes in the Ministry did not happen overnight, straight after enlargement in 2004. It is more likely that the transformations were made in the anticipation of accession (Pomorska, 2007). Therefore time during negotiations as well as active observer period are crucial for grasping the full depth of the possible changes. I will use primary and secondary sources of information. Primary sources include detailed foreign policy reports during 2000-2010 with organizational charts of the Foreign Ministry, Commission Reports during 1999-2003 on the progress of the Czech Republic towards accession, official speeches and articles of foreign ministers in the last decade that can be found in the data base of the Foreign Ministry "Bulletin on the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic". For the information on the background of the Ministry I will use previous findings of Murphy and official history of the Ministry written by Janas and supervised by Vytopil. Finally, crucial source of data in this thesis will come from 9 semi-structured interviews with senior officials of the Ministry. This will mostly help to evaluate socialization and change in the everyday practices in the Czech MFA.

Theoretical Framework

I begin by locating my research on the CFSP triggered adaptation and change within the broad theory of Europeanization. While the *bottom up* perspective aims to use the knowledge of domestic societies and explain why the EU emerged, *the top down* literature argues that domestic political behaviour, processes, institutions, and outcomes are increasingly affected by the European integration (Anderson, 2003). Therefore, my research concerns the later dimension and in my paper Europeanization is defined as a **"process of domestic adaptation to Europe"** (Graziano & Vink et al., 2007:7). Furthermore, Europeanization is not the same as European integration (Major, 2005). European integration 'focuses on what happens to the state and its sovereignty whereas Europeanization analyses what happens to domestic institutions and actors' (Major, 2005:178). Second, Europeanization should not be confused with convergence. Finally, the most important aspect of Europeanization for this paper is its scope. Europeanization is much broader than simple incorporation of *acquis communautaire* and includes

voluntary incorporation of change beyond the obligatory imposed adaptation to EU templates (Major, 2005: 178).

Next I look at the CFSP as a trigger of Europeanization and why it is possible to assume that it can cause adaptation and change (i.e. Europeanization) in the foreign ministries. Scholars such as Simon Bulmer & Claudio Radaelli argued that Europeanization occurs not only through the enforcement of the supranational institutions but through *facilitated coordination* (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004). This occurs precisely in the area of foreign policy and is also called Open Method of Coordination (OMC). Even though supranational institutions cannot act as agents promoting Europeanization it does not mean that it is not happening, as Radaelli & Bulmer puts it, its ‘simply much more voluntarily and non-hierarchical’. Scholars picked up studies on the CFSP triggered Europeanization of the foreign ministries: Hocking & Spence 2005; Pomorska 2007; Rua 2008 to name a few. In sum, their findings suggests that:

Hypothesis 1: CFSP leads to bureaucratic adaptation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Hypothesis 2: CFSP leads to socialization in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yet, in order to find possible changes one needs a suitable framework for analysis. Smith (2000) proposes comprehensive framework for studying impacts of CFSP in general. His indicators are elite socialization, bureaucratic adaptation, constitutional change and increase in public support for European political co-operation (Smith, 2000). Since my research is not concerned with the foreign policy as such I adopt only two Smith’s indicators, those that are in line with my hypotheses, elite socialization and bureaucratic adaptation. Bureaucratic adaptation is analyzed in terms of new posts being created, expansion of the diplomatic network, reorganization and change in the everyday practices. The last one is adopted from Pomorska (2007) and Rua (2008). Socialization is **“a process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community”** (Checkel, 2005: 804). What are the rules and norms of the CFSP? Rua argues that CFSP challenges Westphalian norms, promoting a ‘common’, collective, shared understanding of sovereignty (Rua, 2008: 24). The way the ministry officials sees

the CFSP might be indicative of how deeply EU foreign policy norms have been internalized by it (Rua, 2008: 12). Therefore one can say there is evidence of socialization if ministries see the CFSP as ‘a way to enhance their own foreign policy capabilities’ (Smith 2000: 619). Furthermore, I propose to look at the attitudes towards CDSP, an integral part of CFSP, voting in the Council as well as how the ministries have adapted their training programs as to accommodate the CFSP. The last one has already been employed by Rua in his research on the Europeanization of the Finnish Foreign Ministry.

Empirical Analysis

New posts: While European integration resulted in many new posts being created in the MFA only two administrative positions can be directly attributed to the CFSP, the position of the European Correspondent and Political Director. Both of these are very foreign to the Czech MFA.

Diplomatic Network: Contrary to expectations lack of change has been observed in the diplomatic network of the MFA. Apart from opening embassy in Moldova 2005 and in Azerbaijan in 2010, there has not been any large expansion of the diplomatic network as was predicted by Smith. It seems that the opposite is happening and MFA is looking for ways to reduce the number of embassies by uniting embassy facilities with its partners and close neighbors. However, changes have been noticed in the work of the embassies. They have become part of the inclusive ‘club’ and are participating in the discussions and resolutions on the world’s most visible events through HoMs meetings. This has fundamentally changed not only the way in which Czech embassies operate but also, arguably, how they are viewed by the non-EU member states.

Reorganization: The most visible effect of CFSP on the structure of the Czech MFA took place in May 2002 when CFSP department was created (MFA Report, 2002). Main responsibilities of the CFSP department include assisting Political Director, coordinating different positions of the Czech Republic concerning CFSP and CSDP, tasks associated with the work of the European Correspondent, and supervision and distribution of the COREU messages.

Change in the everyday practices: speed of the process has increased as result of the need to follow the rhythm and schedule of the CFSP meetings in Brussels yet it is not universal and is the fastest in the departments that deal with the areas and issues that are of the most importance for the Czech Republic. There is also much greater need to regularly study and collect positions of 26 member states on the global issues. COREU facilitates this, yet as reflected by some interviewees it is often too official and that's why information gathering is still mostly done through unofficial diplomatic channels.

Socialization: Yearly Reports of the MFA, speeches and articles of different foreign ministers as well as the interviewees of the author all confirmed Smith's assumption that CFSP is viewed positively in the MFA, as a way to enhance foreign policy interests of the Czech Republic. However, other indicators painted different picture. After accession attitude towards CSDP as a complement to NATO remained the same. Czech Foreign Ministry continues to view NATO as a primarily security provider for Europe. Neither is unanimity wanted in the CFSP. In the words of one of the most outspoken opponent 'foreign policy should always stay unanimous; otherwise it will be the end of the EU. We would kill this great project' (Interviewee, 2). Finally, while Diplomatic Academy has been influenced by the EU in general, there are no indicators of CFSP's impact and attention to it does not seem to be very high on the agenda. Therefore, hypothesis 2 can be only partially confirmed.

Conclusion

The empirical analysis allows me to make the following conclusion: *CFSP has contributed to the Europeanization of the Czech MFA; extent of change varies across the Ministry.* The departments and also embassies that deal with areas of primarily national interest for the Czech Republic are affected the most.

As this case study shows Foreign Ministry had to adapt to the CFSP in order to defend foreign policy interest of the Czech Republic. COREU, participation in regular meetings of GAC, FAC, PSC and HoMs have all contributed to the changes. The most profound transformations can be found in terms of bureaucratic adaptation particularly everyday practices, creation of new

posts and new CFSP department, change in the working practices of the Czech embassies.

As for socialization, Czech foreign policy interests remain dominant in the Ministry and there has not been any rhetoric towards greater reliance on the EU's security and defense structures. At the same time the staff of the Ministry appreciates CFSP and recognizes the benefits it brings to such small country as Czech Republic.

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