Contents

List of Tables x

Acknowledgements xii

Introduction: The 'Return to Europe' and the Rediscovery of the East 1

A social constructivist approach of IR and FPA 4

Investigating ECE foreign policies: A framework for analysis 9

Selection of cases and methodology 15

Structure of the book 19

Part I The 'Return to Europe' and the Definition of East Central European Foreign Policy Roles in the Eastern Neighbourhood

Investigating political and historical identities in foreign policy 21

Solidarity with and responsibility for post-communist countries as an expression of political and historical identities 22

1 The 'Return to Europe': Redefining ECE Political Identities after 1989 25

The Soviet past as the political *other* 26

One communist ideology, several pathways 27

The role of revolts in the relations to Moscow 30

Foreign relations during the Cold War 32

Dissidence and the shaping of symbolic metaphors 35

The various meanings of the 'return to Europe': What the metaphor reveals in terms of political identity 40

The European aspect of the political *self* 42

The transatlantic aspect of the 'return to Europe' 62

From a consensual to a heterogeneous political identity 77

Conclusion 80

2 Defining the Historical *Self* 84
The weight of a nation's history in the definition of foreign policy identity 85
The nation states and Europe 85
The meaning of the Soviet past in foreign policies 95
'L'Union fait la force': Reinforcing foreign policies with sub-regional identities 100
The Visegrád Group: Long historical roots 100
The Baltic States: Institutional unity instead of a common identity 105
The countries of the Balkans 108
Conclusion: A historical European identity in search of sub-regional identities 110

3 East Central European Solidarity and Responsibility Towards the Post-Communist Neighbourhood 112
Common norms and values as the basis of solidarity 114
Common history as a way to reinforce the *self* and the *other* 124
Sub-regional identities, between solidarity and responsibility 139
Conclusion 140
Conclusion to Part I: Defining new foreign policy roles after EU and NATO accessions 143

Part II The 'Europeanisation' of Foreign Policy Behaviour or the Reconstruction of the *Self*?
Investigating consistency between identity and behaviour 147

4 Participation in EU Policies as a Turn in ECE Foreign Policies 151
ECE and EU policies in the Western Balkans 152
Foreign policy behaviour in the Eastern neighbourhood 166
Conclusion 183

5 Foreign Policy Consistency Through the Presidencies of the Visegrád Group and of the EU Council 185
The presidencies of the Visegrád Group: Common priorities and Europeanisation 187
After EU accession: The new birth of the Visegrád Group 187
Preparing EU presidencies and defining foreign policy goals 188
Sharing experience with further potential candidates 194

East Central European countries and the presidencies of the European Union 198
The Slovenian presidency of the EU 199
The Czech presidency of the EU 203
The Hungarian presidency of the EU 208
The Polish EU presidency 213
Conclusion 218

6 Between Solidarity, Responsibility and Interests: Assistance Policies and Economic Ties 220
Bilateral assistance policies: Between democracy promotion and development 221
An efficient bilateral assistance with scarce human and financial means 222
A civil society vivifying foreign policy in the post-communist space 244
Participation in EU assistance programmes 256
TAIEX 256
Twinning 259
Economic interests and strategic issues 266
Conclusion 274
Conclusion to Part II: Foreign policies looking for their *self* in the EU 274

Conclusion: The Dilemmas in Interpreting Foreign Policy Identity 276

Annexes 281
Notes 286
Bibliography 288
Author Index 320
Subject Index 322