# Small States International Relations and Diplomacy

Luxembourg

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# Small States International Relations and Diplomacy - Historical Background

- 963: Ardennengraf Siegfried acquires a fort on the Bock-rock called Lucilinburhuc -> hence the name Luxembourg
- Over time, develops into a 'Grafschaft' and then a duchy (1354)
- 4 members of the House of Luxembourg are Kings of Germany on the throne of the 'Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation', before they die out in the 15<sup>th</sup> century
- Luxembourg becomes part of the Netherlands under Burgundian, Spanish and then Austrian rulers. Briefly part of France from 1795 onwards.
- Congress of Vienna 1815: **independence** as a Grand Duchy as private property of William I King of the Netherlands, but also becomes a member of the German Confederation. But is de facto treated like a province of Germany.
- Luxembourg joins the Belgian revolution in 1830 and is subsequently divided into a Belgian part and a Luxembourgish part (corresponding roughly to language divisions).
- 1842: Member of the German customs union
- 1867 Luxembourg is declared a neutral territory.

#### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy – Priorities / focus of Foreign Policy I

#### Main priorities

- Sovereignty
- Trade, financial sector
- Reputation (esp. since the 2000s and again following LuxLeaks)

#### Main topics

- First and foremost the EU's economic and trade policy
- The EU's foreign and defense policy
- The EU's Neighbourhood
- Bilateral relations with countres (especially trade: US, China, Turkey)
- International organisations (CoE, OSCE, UN)

#### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy – Priorities / focus of Foreign Policy II

#### Focus on Trade:

- Due to its size and limited military resources, Luxembourg does not carry much weight in armed conflicts.
- But in certain economic sectors it can punch above its weight
- It has a long experience working with disproportionately large sectors:
  - Early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: steel
  - Today: finance
- Dynamic and very open economy
- Massive dependence on imports/export markets (e.g. currently exports more than 85% of its production)

### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy – Institutions/Agencies I

- The Prime Minister
- The Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs
  - International relations: foreign and security policy;pPeacekeeping operations; international cultural relations; international organisations and conferences; international treaties and agreements; diplomatic and consular service
  - European policy: Coordination of European policy between ministerial departments
  - International economic relations: multilateral economic organisations; international commercial policy
  - Seat/headquarters of European institutions and bodies: Comité de Coordination pour l'Installation d'Institutions et d'Organismes européens (Coordinating Committee for the setting-up of European institutions and bodies).
- Ministry for Cooperation and Humanitarian Action
- Ministry for Defence
- Luxembourg for Finance (agency for the promotion of the financial place)

### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy – Institutions/Agencies II

- Embassies:
  - In 16 countries
  - Mainly in Europe, but also Russia, the US, China, Malaysia.
- Consulates:
  - In 12 further countries (e.g. Australia, Canada, Brazil)
- Consuls honoraires
  - 153
- In other countries often represented by Belgium, or by other EU countries (e.g. the Netherlands).

# Small States International Relations and Diplomacy - Bilateral Relations

- Luxembourg exports 85% of its production of these roughly 87% to the EU.
- Asia, America and the Middle East have a growing importance.
- China:
  - Finance/Fintech
  - The new silk road initiative
  - LuxCargo, plans to connect by train
- Important for finance also:
  - Switzerland, US, UK

### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy - Multilateral Relations

- Participation in International Organizations / multilateral schemes
  - 1920 League of Nations
  - 1930 Recognizes Jurisdiction of the International Cort of Justice (ICJ)
  - 1961 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), now OSCE
  - 1949 Council of Europe
  - 1945 United Nations (UN); joined as smallest state, before Switzerland
  - 1995 World Trade Organisation (WTO) (GATT since 1948)
- What criteria are used for choosing allies and alliances?
  - Sovereignty (e.g. NATO, UN, EU)
  - Economic development (e.g. EU, OECD)
  - Like-mindedness (e.g. EU, NATO)

# Small States International Relations and Diplomacy – Diplomatic Types

- Especially important: Economic diplomacy:
  - State: EU, WTO, OECD but also bilaterally
  - Luxembourg for Finance: the Agency for the Development of the Financial Centre (founded 2008). A public-private partnership between the Luxembourg Government and the Luxembourg Financial Industry Federation (PROFIL)
  - Economic associations such as:
    - The Association of the Luxembourg Fund Industry (ALFI)
    - Luxembourg Chamber of Commerce
    - The Luxembourg Bankers' Association (ABBL) founded in 1939
- Cultural diplomacy:
  - Cultural players: theatre, literature, music, academia/research (e.g. via the FNR Fond National de Recherche)
- Sports:
  - Olympic Games
  - World- and European Championships
  - Small States Games
  - Paralympics

# Small States International Relations and Diplomacy - Societal Beliefs

- Public opinion is massively supportive of EU membership (typically 80-90 percent).
- Similar levels of support for an EU defense policy (reflected in the government's support for this).
- In case of issues where a strong public opinion exists (e.g. EU enlargement to Turkey), there can be a gap between actions and rhetoric:
  - E.g. Asselborn's harsh words on Erdogan vs the active pursuit of economic cooperation with Turkey.
- The size and ressources of the state influence foreign policy in so far as the big international security questions/conflicts are largely left to NATO, EU and bigger member states.
  - No expectation on the part of the public that the governments should try to solve these.
  - Luxembourg focuses on economic/trade questions and bilateral cooperation.

### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy - Societal Beliefs II

- But media attention to foreign policy issues tends to be low (unless they are directly relevant to the country).
  - -> Foreign policy is not an issue on which parties compete much
  - -> The public possesses limited information
- 1 foreign policy statement per year in parliament (in Luxembourgish
  - Although a few years without statement
  - Great attention to EU politics (around 50%)
  - Otherwise focus on current crises, relations to major powers or important partners

### Small States International Relations and Diplomacy - Challenges

- Luxembourg has been relatively successful
  - E.g. leadership roles in the EU
  - Seat of EU institutions
  - Mediator ('Honest broker') at key times (seat of institutions, Luxembourg Compromise, the creation of the Euro and the Stability and Growth Pact)
  - The defense and phasing out of the banking secret
- BUT: It also has to stay on the ball:
  - Highly dependent on imports and export markets
  - Vulnerability due to dominant sectors
- In ability to play a big role in international security questions and major conflicts.

#### Useful link

- <a href="https://maee.gouvernement.lu/fr/missions-diplomatiques/missions-diplomatiques-et-consulaires-luxembourgeoises.html">https://maee.gouvernement.lu/fr/missions-diplomatiques/m
- <a href="https://maee.gouvernement.lu/en/le-ministere/declarations-poletrangere.html">https://maee.gouvernement.lu/en/le-ministere/declarations-poletrangere.html</a>
- https://www.luxembourgforfinance.com/en/homepage/
- https://www.abbl.lu/
- https://www.cc.lu/en/home/