

Liechtenstein's Foreign Policy between Regional Cooperation, Europeanization and Globalization

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Introduction

It is not a matter of course that small states are granted a right to exist at all by larger states and that their sovereignty is recognised. With an area of 160 square kilometers and a current population of 38,111 inhabitants¹, Liechtenstein is one of the smallest states in the world. The first census in 1812 numbered only 5,797 residents. Nevertheless, a few years earlier the Principality of Liechtenstein had been elevated to the status of sovereign state as a result of its admission to the Rhine Confederation. However, the international community did not finally recognise 'micro-states' until the second half of the 20th century.²

Liechtenstein's prehistory within the territorial and governance borders of the present day goes back even further. In 1699, the Princely House of Liechtenstein, as a wealthy and influential noble family with residences and spheres of influence in the power centres of the Holy Roman Empire in Vienna, Prague and adjacent lands, took control of one of the two present-day parts of Liechtenstein: the former Lordship of Schellenberg. In 1712 the Princely House also took over the second part of the country, the County of Vaduz. Finally, in 1719, these two parts were united to form the Principality of Liechtenstein. Since then the country has borne the name of the Princely House of Liechtenstein. However, the Princes of Liechtenstein continued to focus their attention on their ancestral territories, far from Liechtenstein. In 1938, Prince Franz Josef II became the first Prince of Liechtenstein to take up residence in the Princely Castle in Vaduz, the capital of Liechtenstein.³

Until after World War I, the government of Liechtenstein was exercised by princely officials. It was not until the new constitution of 1921 that a balance of power between prince and people was legally established. The Constitution, which remains in force today, still grants the prince important rights: not only the right to participate in the appointment of the government and the appointment of judges, but also the right of veto in legislation, financial decisions and the ratification of international treaties. On the other hand, since 1921 the government has consisted of Liechtenstein nationals, the parliament (Landtag) is elected by the electorate and acts as a legislature, and those entitled to vote can also intervene in the political decision-making process directly-democratically by means of the popular initiative and referendum.⁴

Research on small states shows that the sovereignty of very small states (micro-states) can be threatened from within as well as from outside and that in any case completely independent action is hardly possible. Very small states are economically more dependent on other states, they are not able to defend themselves militarily on their own, and are usually unable to provide all state services domestically or independently.⁵ Their vulnerability therefore forces them to depend on support from other states and on cooperation. The radius of these connections is constantly expanding, from the neighbourly and bilateral relationships to the wider European and global dimensions. This trend has occurred in the course of developments in technology and communication, the expansion of European and global trade relations, resulting in an increasing global interdependence.

Liechtenstein has risen to these challenges and has successfully pursued paths that have on the one hand secured state sovereignty and on the other have promoted not merely economic survival, but have led to a state with one of the highest per capita incomes worldwide.⁶

I. History of Sovereignty

2019 marks the 300th anniversary of the unification of the two parts of Liechtenstein into the Principality. The national territory, with the exception of minor border corrections, has thus existed for around 300 years. The ruling family, the Princely House of Liechtenstein, has also remained the same throughout this period.

1. From member state of the Holy Roman Empire to full state sovereignty

The territory of today's Liechtenstein belonged to the Holy Roman Empire (962-1806) until the latter's dissolution by Napoleon, who installed the Rhine Confederation as a counterweight against Prussia and Austria.⁷ When the Rhine Confederation was established, smaller dominions were combined into larger ones by mediatisation, becoming sovereign states. Liechtenstein, however, was not affiliated to any other state, unlike the present Austrian provinces of Vorarlberg and Tyrol, which Napoleon incorporated into the Kingdom of Bavaria.⁸

¹ Amt für Statistik. Bevölkerungsstatistik - Vorläufige Ergebnisse 31. Dezember 2017.

² Gstöhl 2001a: 101.

³ Historisches Lexikon: „Liechtenstein (Land)“ (Donat Büchel, Peter Geiger, Ulrike Mayr, Anna Merz, Alois Niederstätter, Rupert Quaderer).

⁴ Wille 2015; about direct democracy: Marxer (forthcoming); Marxer and Pällinger (2007). A popular initiative may amend the constitution or a law; a

referendum may be held against a decision of the Landtag on a law, on finances or an international treaty.

⁵ See articles in Langewiesche (ed., 2007) and Busek and Hummer (ed., 2004).

⁶ Merki 2007a, 2007b; Brunhart and Frommelt 2018: 7.

⁷ Historisches Lexikon: „Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation“ (Heinz Dopsch).

⁸ Historisches Lexikon: „Liechtenstein (Land)“ (Donat Büchel, Peter Geiger, Ulrike Mayr, Anna Merz, Alois

Thus, the history of Liechtenstein as a sovereign state begins in 1806. However, the Rhine Confederation only lasted until 1813, the year of Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Leipzig. At the subsequent Vienna Congress, a new order was established in Europe and the German Confederation of sovereign states was created, to which Liechtenstein once more belonged, Liechtenstein's sovereignty being thus formally recognized by the other members of the German Confederation.

The Prussian-Austrian War led to the end of the German Confederation in 1866 and finally to the foundation of the German national state (the German Reich) in 1871. Austria and Liechtenstein, however, as well as the Dutch-dominated duchies of Luxembourg and Limburg, did not join the German Reich and Liechtenstein thus continued to exist as a sovereign state. In 1868, military service - which had been an unpopular obligation arising from membership of the German Confederation - was abolished in Liechtenstein.⁹

2. Threats to sovereignty

Over the following 100 years or so, Liechtenstein maintained close relations with its immediate neighbours. Due to the history and the fact that the Princes of Liechtenstein resided in Vienna and other properties far from Liechtenstein, the period until the end of World War I and Austria's defeat was marked by close ties to the Austrian Empire. In the 19th century Liechtenstein was still a backward agricultural state.¹⁰ Liechtenstein legislation was very strongly oriented towards Austrian legislation. For example, the Common Civil Code has been in force from 1811 to the present day, largely in accordance with the Austrian original, with amendments and case-law based closely on the Austrian model. Liechtenstein's close ties with Austria called into question Liechtenstein's neutrality in World War I, although Liechtenstein did not have a military and had declared its neutrality before the war.¹¹

After the First World War, Liechtenstein underwent a turnaround in foreign policy, with the country becoming strongly aligned with Switzerland. Milestones in this development were a customs affiliation treaty with Switzerland in 1923, which is still in force today, and the introduction of the Swiss currency in Liechtenstein.¹²

A more recent threat to sovereignty arose with the rise of National Socialism. Germany's expansion policy under Hitler moved the Third Reich to the borders of Liechtenstein when Austria was annexed to Germany in March 1938. In August 1939, Liechtenstein again declared its neutrality and was not involved militarily in the Second World War.¹³

In addition to the World Wars, discussions about small and micro-states also put Liechtenstein's sovereignty and that of other very small states to the test. After the League of Nations (1920-1946) was founded, Liechtenstein also applied for membership. At that time, 32 victorious powers of the First World War and 13 neutral states belonged to the League of Nations.

Liechtenstein's membership was rejected, with the following arguments in particular playing a role: Liechtenstein was too small in area and population to be a sovereign state, it had no army of its own, and it delegated several sovereignty rights to its neighbouring states. The application was rejected by 28 members, with 13 abstentions. Only Switzerland voted for Liechtenstein's admission to the League of Nations.¹⁴

When the United Nations Organization (UNO) was founded in 1945 as the successor institution to the League of Nations, the question of the sovereignty of very small states and their membership arose again. In the 1960s, a debate on the issue of micro states was launched at the UN, which even led to the establishment of a mini-state committee in 1969 on the initiative of the USA. However, the debate was inconclusive, with no hurdles to micro-state membership or alternatives to full membership being introduced or offered.¹⁵

II. Foreign policy since the 1950s

After World War II, an increasingly active and independent foreign policy was developed with the aim of securing the country's sovereignty in the long term and of freeing itself somewhat from a foreign policy dependency on Switzerland. After the rejection of Liechtenstein's application for membership of the League of Nations, the country was aware that there might also be difficulties in acquiring UN membership. With a view to subsequent UN membership, a successful application was made for membership of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the most important judicial body of the UN, based in The Hague. Liechtenstein's accession took place in March 1950.¹⁶ Liechtenstein's participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which ended in 1975 with the Helsinki Final Act and led to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), was another notable foreign policy achievement, with the result that Liechtenstein has belonged to the OSCE from the very beginning.¹⁷

A clear and positive response to earlier micro-state discussions was given shortly afterwards with Liechtenstein's admission to the Council of Europe in 1978. This was an enormously important recognition of Liechtenstein's sovereignty in Europe. Accession had been carefully prepared following the micro-state debate. In 1969, five Council of Europe conventions were ratified; in 1971 Liechtenstein was granted the status of ad hoc observer, followed in 1974 by acceptance as an official observer. Liechtenstein acceded to numerous conventions both before and especially after its accession to the Council of Europe. The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) deserves special mention. Other important instruments include the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO), the European Council

Niederstätter, Rupert Quaderer, „Rheinbund“ (Franz Brendle); Frommelt F. (2016).

⁹ Historisches Lexikon: „Rheinbund“ (Franz Brendle), „Deutscher Bund“ (Rupert Quaderer).

¹⁰ In detail: Ospelt 1972.

¹¹ Historisches Lexikon: „Neutralität“ (Roland Marxer).

¹² This situation was only contractually sealed with the Currency Treaty of 19 June 1980 between the Principality of Liechtenstein and the Swiss Confederation (Liechtenstein Legal Gazette, LGBl. 1981 no. 51; enter into force on 25 November 1981).

¹³ Geiger 1990, 2007; Historisches Lexikon: „Zweiter Weltkrieg“ (Peter Geiger); Geiger 2010.

¹⁴ Konrad 1979; Gstöhl 2001a: 106-112; Historisches Lexikon: „Völkerbund“ (Susanna Biland).

¹⁵ Gstöhl 2001a: 108.

¹⁶ Historisches Lexikon: „Internationaler Gerichtshof (IGH)“ (Roland Marxer).

¹⁷ Historisches Lexikon: „Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (OSZE)“ (Roland Marxer).

Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism, the European Convention on the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and others.¹⁸

Liechtenstein's ambitions continued, so that the application for membership of the United Nations (UN) was submitted and successfully approved in 1990. Liechtenstein joined the UN as its 160th member. It is also particularly noteworthy that this accession took place before that of Switzerland, further underscoring Liechtenstein's growing independence in foreign policy. Liechtenstein is also a member of several other sub-organisations of the UN: Universal Postal Union (UPU, 1960), International Telecommunication Union (ITU, 1963), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA, 1968), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO, 1972), United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE, 1990).¹⁹

As a member of the UN, Liechtenstein has ratified numerous conventions or is subject to UN monitoring. The following are some of the most important: the Mechanism of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of the UN Human Rights Council, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), the Convention against Torture (CAT), the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC), the Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the Chemical Weapons Convention etc.

Liechtenstein's membership of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is also worth mentioning. Liechtenstein was only indirectly involved in the predecessor organization - the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), founded in 1966 - as it was represented by Switzerland. In September 1995, Liechtenstein finally joined the WTO as an independent member in order to secure its international trade relations under international law.²⁰

Until 1991, Liechtenstein was also represented by Switzerland at the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which was founded in 1960 by Denmark, Norway, Austria, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.²¹ In the run-up to membership of the European Economic Area (EEA), Liechtenstein thus developed a somewhat more independent foreign and economic policy. The following years were very important for foreign and economic policy. In 1992, Switzerland rejected the EEA agreement in a referendum, whereas Liechtenstein - also in a referendum - had accepted it. Thus, the problem arose that Liechtenstein would be in two different economic areas, namely the EEA and - via the customs treaty - also the Swiss economic area, in which there are no border controls.²² Negotiations with Switzerland were therefore necessary to enable parallel participation in

both economic areas. Among other things, Liechtenstein had to introduce a market monitoring and control system (a Customs Office). There had been prior negotiations with the EU to the effect that the full right to freedom of movement of persons did not have to be guaranteed due to the already very high proportion of foreign residents (one third of the resident population) and the limited land area for housing.²³

In the context of European integration and growing globalization, other areas of relevance to Liechtenstein should also be mentioned: the EEA finance mechanism, the International Criminal Court (ICC), the European Patent Office (EPO), the cross-border co-operation and agreements on taxes, and others. Since 2011 Liechtenstein has also been an associate member of the Schengen/Dublin Association Agreement.²⁴

III. Regional Cooperation

As already mentioned, regional cooperation and bilateral cooperation with neighbouring countries are of great importance for Liechtenstein, despite international agreements. Several studies have examined the fact that a considerable proportion of Liechtenstein's state tasks are performed in cooperation with neighbouring states, cantons and federal states due to Liechtenstein's own resource weakness.²⁵

Salomon (2012) has shown that cooperation agreements with one or more of the neighbouring countries - Austria, Switzerland and Germany - have increased massively over time. Between 1910 and the end of 2009, 346 agreements were concluded. Between 1910 and 1949, 34 agreements were concluded. From 1950 to 1989 there were 104 agreements. In the next ten years from 1990 to 1999 alone, 54 more were added, and in the following decade as many as 154, which means that cross-border cooperation has perpetually increased and has become more precise in terms of contracts.²⁶ Until the 1930s, Austria was the most frequent contracting partner, Switzerland in the following decades.

The most frequent agreements (135) concern health, work and social security. Agreements on construction and transport follow (66). 47 agreements concern the state, authorities and municipalities, 43 schools and science, 39 finance and customs.²⁷ The agreements are divided into different types: international treaties, government conventions, administrative conventions, private law treaties and others.

A few examples can illustrate the situation. Liechtenstein, for example, has only a very limited range of hospital and health care facilities. Most hospital surgeries take place in contract hospitals in Switzerland or Austria. Most of the vocational training and tertiary education takes place abroad, with vocational schools in Switzerland and universities in Switzerland and Austria being the most important. Liechtenstein has neither an airport nor its own railway company. The most important airport for Liechtenstein is in Zurich in Switzerland, while the railway line connecting Switzerland and Austria on Liechtenstein territory is operated by the Austrian

¹⁸ Seiler 1995, 2004; Historisches Lexikon: „Europarat“ (Philipp Mittelberger). Actions of the Council of Council of Europe in Liechtenstein at: <https://www.coe.int/de/web/portal/liechtenstein>.

¹⁹ Historisches Lexikon: „Vereinte Nationen (UNO)“ (Roland Marxer). UN treaties at: <https://treaties.un.org/>.

²⁰ Historisches Lexikon: „Welthandelsorganisation (WTO)“ (Roland Marxer).

²¹ Regierung 2016a.

²² Gey-Ritter 1994.

²³ Frommelt Ch. 2016.

²⁴ About EEA agreement see also: Breuss 2011; Bruha et al. (eds., 2005); Frommelt and Gstöhl 2011; Gstöhl 2001b; Prange 1999a, 1999b, 2000.

²⁵ Ganter/Eibel 1999; Salomon 2012.

²⁶ Salomon 2012: 62.

²⁷ Salomon 2012: 58.

Federal Railways. Other examples include prisons, the energy industry, telecommunications, a barely developed TV service of its own and many others. Regional Cooperation also includes cooperation and coordination with Swiss cantons and federal states of Austria and Germany. Examples include inter-cantonal agreements in which Liechtenstein is treated in a similar or equal way to a Swiss canton. Furthermore, there is close cooperation on transport issues or water protection and the management of the Rhine border river. Other connections include the Lake Constance region, including the INTERREG programmes funded by the EU. The list could be extended further and other aspects could be added.²⁸ It remains to be seen whether the concept of cross-border cooperation at regional level is about to flourish again, as Kirt has predicted.²⁹

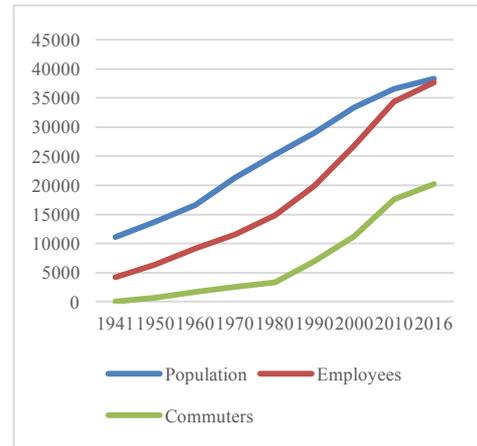
IV. Trends in employment and population

Liechtenstein experienced an enormous economic upswing in the second half of the 20th century.³⁰ In 1941, significantly more people from Liechtenstein worked in neighbouring countries than vice versa. Then the tide turned completely. In 1990, already over a third of Liechtenstein employees were commuters from Austria and Switzerland. With membership in the EEA, the Liechtenstein economy has continued to boom and the number of jobs has reached the number of the entire resident population up to the present day. This was only possible thanks to a growing number of commuters: by the end of 2016, 54 percent of all employees in Liechtenstein were commuters. It is remarkable that industry generates 39 percent of gross value added (as of 2015). This figure is significantly higher than that of other states, although Liechtenstein is perceived primarily as a financial center.³¹

The Liechtenstein economy has thus experienced a further and additional upswing with the EEA agreement and has not only continued, but even accelerated, its development since the 1940s.³² Even the global economic crisis after 2008 and the simultaneously increasing regulatory pressure on the Liechtenstein financial centre has not halted this development.

The accession to the EEA is positively evaluated by almost all stakeholders in Liechtenstein.³³ It ensures access to the extremely important European market without compromising access to the equally important Swiss market. The special regulation on the free movement of persons also prevents the high demand for labour from leading to a massive increase in the numbers of people taking up residence in Liechtenstein.³⁴

Graph 1: Population, employees and commuters in Liechtenstein (1941-2016)



Source: Amt für Statistik. Bevölkerungsstatistik. Beschäftigungsstatistik

Without this special arrangement, a high level of immigration to Liechtenstein would be expected.³⁵

In principle, the small state poses hurdles to prosperous economic development in terms of market size, difficult market access, and market and negotiating power. Straubhaar, on the other hand, sees the following advantages that the small state can exploit for its development: quick and flexible decisions, better coverage of microeconomic preferences due to decentralisation and taxation according to the principle of equivalence.³⁶ The question of the economic advantages and disadvantages of small states has not been conclusively answered scientifically, but at least it allows the option that by means of wise action or even through fortunate circumstance small states do not have to be among the losers. Merki also contrasts the disadvantages of small states - small domestic market, strong impact of external shocks and influences, increasing economies of scale as a disadvantage of small economies, especially in the provision of public goods - with numerous advantages: Structural openness in comparison to larger, internally oriented states, specialization in niche products, effectiveness of the political-economic regime, finally also the outsourcing of public tasks, which can prove to be cost-saving for the state.³⁷

V. Foreign policy and diplomacy priorities

It can already be deduced from the statements made so far that securing state sovereignty on the one hand and promoting economic development on the other are the main driving forces and goals of Liechtenstein foreign policy. However, the government also points to a number of other objectives.

²⁸ Regierung 2016.

²⁹ Kirt 2004: 169

³⁰ Merki 2007a, 2007b; Simon 2008.

³¹ Brunhart and Frommelt 2018: 10.

³² Prange 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Brunhart 2013.

³³ Frommelt 2015.

³⁴ Frommelt 2012, 2016; Marxer (ed.) 2012.

³⁵ Marxer, Märk-Rohrer and Büsser 2016: 56-60; Stokar et al. 2016.

³⁶ Straubhaar 2005: 159-160.

³⁷ Merki 2007b, S. 215-219.

1. Foreign policy priorities

The government's brochure on Liechtenstein foreign policy (Liechtenstein's foreign policy - reliable, committed, showing solidarity)³⁸ lists six priorities:

- Neighborhood policy and relations with other priority countries
- European integration
- Multilateral cooperation
- Foreign economic policy and financial centre policy
- Protection of human rights and the rule of law
- International solidarity

The first four priorities concerning regional cooperation and international agreements have been addressed above. They are essential for a dependent small state with limited resources, has to adapt to an increasing international regulatory network³⁹ and wishes to concentrate on promising niches.⁴⁰

The other two priorities relate to human rights and the rule of law on the one hand, and international solidarity on the other. In this context, it should be mentioned that Liechtenstein, as a small, vulnerable state, is particularly dependent on compliance with laws and regulations, also in an international context. In the absence of military and economic enforcement power, international treaties in particular offer economic policy protection and security. This security does not apply if principles of the rule of law are subverted or fundamental and human rights are violated. Respect for and promotion of human rights is not only a democratic and humanist imperative, but also a crucial means of curbing uncontrolled flows of migrants and movements of refugees around the world. A small state also has a particularly high degree of credibility in such matters and can present itself positively.⁴¹ A similar priority should be given to international solidarity. As a rich country, Liechtenstein sees it as its duty to help poorer countries and/or their populations. This is reflected in the goal of spending the 0.7 percent of gross national income demanded by the UN on official development assistance (ODA). This figure actually rose from 0.3 to 0.7 percent between 2000 and 201⁴², but has fallen slightly thereafter.⁴³

2. Embassies and representations

Due to the scarcity of resources, Liechtenstein must concentrate on the most important states and organizations with regard to its own embassies. The table lists the cities in which Liechtenstein is diplomatically represented. In Switzerland, it is Bern, with the Embassy to Switzerland, and Geneva with representation in several international organisations. The Embassy in Vienna is both an embassy to Austria and representation at the OSCE and the UN. Embassies for Germany and the United States are maintained in Berlin and Washington. Other embassies or diplomatic missions are located in Brussels (Belgium, EU, EEA), Strasbourg (Council of Europe), and New York (UNO). There is also a non-resident embassy to the Holy See in Rome.⁴⁴

Table 1: Liechtenstein embassies and representations

City	Country	Organisation
Bern	Switzerland	
Vienna	Austria, Czech Republic	UN, OSCE
Berlin	Germany	
Washington	USA	
Brussels	Belgium	EU, EEA
Geneva		EFTA, WTO, UN
Strasbourg		Council of Europe
New York		UN

Source: Regierung 2016b: 19.

The number of embassies is limited. However, since 1919 good neighbourly relations with Switzerland have guaranteed Liechtenstein citizens access to Swiss embassies in states without Liechtenstein representation.⁴⁵

Conclusion

In the second half of the 20th century, the Principality of Liechtenstein pursued an increasingly active foreign policy that reduced its dependence on neighbouring countries and expanded its network of relations to include the European and global dimension, without abandoning its close relations in the region and with neighbouring countries. This has not only strengthened state sovereignty and international recognition, but has also contributed to rapid economic development. With good relations with neighbouring countries and in the region, membership of important international organisations, in particular the European Economic Area, and a diversified economy, Liechtenstein currently finds itself in a comfortable situation. On the other hand, the Liechtenstein economy is highly dependent on foreign markets and reacts sensitively to economic developments. Therefore, changes must always be responded to quickly and pragmatically. This has worked well in recent decades, but it is no guarantee for the future. It must also be pointed out that the electorate in Liechtenstein must support significant developments and that the political elites must work to convince them accordingly. This concerns measures at the legislative level - for example in tax law - as well as financial decisions and international treaties.

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³⁸ Regierung 2016b.

³⁹ Wille 2005; Frommelt and Gstöhl 2011.

⁴⁰ See Simon 2006; Kocher 2004.

⁴¹ Wenaweser 2004.

⁴² Amt für Statistik 2016: 29.

⁴³ Liechtensteinischer Entwicklungsdienst 2018: 4.

⁴⁴ Regierung 2016b; Historisches Lexikon: „Auslandsvertretungen“ (Roland Marxer).

⁴⁵ Regierung 2016b: 8.

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Resum

Wilfried Marxer en el seu article "Liechtenstein's Foreign Policy between Regional Coperation, Europeanization and Globalization" informa del camí realitzat per Liechtenstein dins la recerca de sobirania. Aquest mateix menciona les prioritats de la diplomàcia nacional impulsada pel govern i presenta les diferents ambaixades i representacions de Liechtenstein a través del món.

Abstract

Wilfried Marxer in his article "Liechtenstein's Foreign Policy between regional Copera, Europeanization and globalization" refers to Liechtenstein's path to the quest for sovereignty. It mentions the priorities of government-driven national diplomacy and presents the various embassies and representations of the Liechteinstein throughout the world.

Résumé

Wilfried Marxer dans son article « Liechtenstein's Foreign Policy between Regional Coperation, Europeanization and Globalization » fait état du chemin accompli par le Liechtenstein dans la quête de souveraineté. Celui-ci mentionne les priorités de la diplomatie nationale impulsée par le gouvernement et présente les différentes ambassades et représentations du Liechteinstein à travers le monde.