

Prequel

This special issue of RECERC (an electronic journal of the Consorci of Catalan Studies) regroups the contributions to the cycle of conferences "European micro-states: Diplomacy and cooperation" which was organized in Barcelona by the Institut Estudis Catalans (Barcelona) and the Institute of Political Studies (IEP Strasbourg) from September 2017 to February 2018.

These States, characterized by their small scale, constitute a singularity in Europe in view of the privileged relations they have with one or more neighboring States, on the one hand, and their special link with the European Union (EU), on the other hand.

First, through bilateral conventions, the micro-States are closely linked to their neighboring State. Liechtenstein is for example linked to Switzerland by means of a customs union and has been sharing with it the use of the Swiss Franc since 1919. France for its part assures the defense, the diplomatic and the permanent representation of the Duchy of Monaco in States where the latter is not present, whereas Italy assures that of San Marino. The Duchy of Andorra is jointly represented by France and Spain, according to the terms of a trilateral Treaty from 1994. At the same time, the small size of these micro-States does not reflect their vulnerability within the international system. It is therefore through their diplomacy that they intend to surpass this vulnerability and develop specific behavior on the international scene. In Europe, these micro-States try to keep the largest possible diplomatic presence despite their relatively low attractiveness. This is the case, for example, for San-Marino which counts up to 55 embassies in the world whereas it only receives two. To a lesser extent, this is also the case for Luxemburg. Andorra has established diplomatic relations with 129 States. In 1993, it signed a trilateral Treaty with France and Spain, which gave it guarantees in case of threat or violation of its sovereignty or the integrity of its territory, as well as the possibility to be represented in third States by France or Spain.

Second, although most of them are not part of the EU, the micro-states are often indirectly integrated into it and thus find their full place in Europe. Only Luxemburg has been from the start in the heart of the project of European Integration which started with the creation of the European Steel and Coal Community (ECSC) in 1951. The other micro-states (Malta, Liechtenstein, San-Marino, Andorra, Monaco) joined from the mid-1960s onwards –not without opposition- the Council of Europe, but only Malta integrated the EU in 2004. Besides, Liechtenstein became part of the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1992. Finally, the Vatican presents a very specific case: it is the smallest of the micro-states and has a particular statute which allowed it from 1970 onwards to obtain an observer status among the Council of Europe. Today, all micro-States are therefore more or less concerned by the Community acquis and are *de facto* integrated into the vast set of free circulation that surrounds them. Their borders are open, even if random checks are made. San Marino, Monaco and the Vatican produce their own Euros without being part of the monetary union. They do not have a central bank and these Euros are therefore fabricated in factories of neighboring States. Liechtenstein has ratified the Schengen Convention, whereas the Vatican has also announced its intention to

join this group of States. Different Treaties have also been signed between the EU and Andorra, which wants to deepen relations with the EU and progressively integrate Andorra into the internal market. This was one of the main reasons for the different fiscal reforms which have been implemented in recent years. For Andorra, Monaco and San Marino, a mandate for negotiation of an association Treaty has been adopted at the EU General Affairs Council on 16th December 2014 will allow for these three micro-states to have access to the internal market.

This special issue highlights both the diplomatic relations that micro-States hold in the world and their relations with European Organizations. What is their role in European Integration? Why do they demand for accession to the Council of Europe, but for most of them do not join the EU? What is their strategy to safeguard their integrity? How do they develop the micro-state diplomacy? What roles do they play on the European and international scene? In this edition, a focus is drawn on Malta, Monaco, the Vatican City, San Marino, Andorra, Liechtenstein and Luxembourg.

At the outset, Birte Wassenberg, in "The Accession of Micro-States to the Council of Europe: A First Step Towards their Recognition as Actors of European Integration", presents the ascension of these Micro-States to the Council of Europe. Each of them testifies the different trajectories for admission to the Council of Europe as an itinerary indispensable for validating its sovereignty and international recognition. Endowed with this new recognition, they participate in different international organizations. The concept of "laboratories of governance" is put forward by Birte Wassenberg in order to demonstrate how their small dimensions tend towards constant adaptability. Since the end of World War II, the Micro-States have indeed demonstrated their willingness to participate in European cooperation. Thus they have already proven their determination, via the admission to the Council of Europe, which offers them a foothold in order to stay in the concert of nations.

The article "*Les relations internationales de la République de Malte et de la Principauté de Monaco : coopération et diplomatie*" by Pierre-Alexis Blevin then follows on with a comparison. He distinguishes between two distinct families: the historical micro-states from the old continent and then the others, more recent, as a result of decolonization. He therefore puts on parallel level the Principality of Monaco (first generation) and the Republic of Malta (second generation). Although belonging to two different generations of micro-States, they had the intention of guaranteeing their international recognition through international agreements. Pierre-Alexis Blevin determinedly highlights the international and diplomatic relations of these two States, i.e. relationships that are related to their history and to the willingness to ensure the exercise of their sovereignty. This is a very singular European history which also accounts for the imperative need to reduce the isolation due to their geographical location.

In the article "*Le Vatican et l'Union européenne*" Rémi Caucanas returns to the various levels of papal diplomacy and the relations with neighboring Italy. Beyond the cooperation with the EU, the latter also contextualizes relations between the EU and the Holy See through Pope Pius XII's support of the Treaty of Rome (1957). Many European or global themes are regularly addressed by the EU and the Vatican, including a broad field of cooperation and reflection (e.g. environmental sustainability, human rights and freedom of religion).

The article "*Diplomazia e integrazione europea: Il caso di San Marino*" by Michele Chiaruzzi, gives an account of the foreign policy which arose with the national diplomacy efforts of San

Marino to integrate the EU. Before dealing with the joint Association agreement with Andorra and Monaco to get closer to the EU, Michele Chiaruzzi explains that San Marino has already had diplomatic relations with the latter since 1983. The first Treaty which was adopted was the Cooperation and Customs Union Agreement signed on 16 December 1991 and ratified by France in February 1995. This micro-state wishes to deepen its relations with the EU, mainly to get access to the internal market. In this sense, San Marino adopted the euro (2002) and signed an agreement with the EU to strengthen the fight against money laundering and fraud (2012).

Like Andorra, San Marino tends to reach the European standards in order to get closer to the EU. Josep Dallères addresses this topic via the negotiations for the Association Agreement which have been under way since 2015 between the EU and the three micro-States (Andorra, Monaco and San Marino). In order to understand the real stakes, he focuses his article "*Andorra, Diplomàcia i Cooperació*" on the first steps towards the international recognition of Andorra. The development of services and the diplomatic corps is the very illustration of the fierce will of these valleys to inset themselves into the international concert.

It has to be pointed out that the resolution of the three micro-States to engage in negotiations for closer links with the EU is based on the model of the agreement obtained by Liechtenstein. In reality, these micro-States also serve as a model for each other with regard to their persistent interest of long-term sustainability. Wilfried Marxer, in his article "Liechtenstein's Foreign Policy between Regional Cooperation, Europeanization and Globalization", retraces Liechtenstein's path in quest of sovereignty. He points out the priorities of government-driven national diplomacy and presents the various embassies and representations of Liechtenstein throughout the world.

Sylvain Schirmann's article "*La politique extérieure du Luxembourg : caractéristiques générales et réflexions d'ensemble*" underlines the symbolic importance of Luxembourg in the heart of the European space. Indeed, the capital Luxembourg-Ville is the seat of European institutions (the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors and the European Investment Bank, the General Secretariat of the European Parliament, etc.). Through a historical analysis, he closely examines the framework of multilateralism by addressing several advantages for the Grand Duchy. The national State of Luxembourg tends to correct the image of the country which seems to be too much linked to its financial position. That is why a political reorientation is indispensable. Thus, the structuring of the diplomatic apparatus is seen as a means of readjusting foreign policy. Given the new context, adaptability is now necessary for this State.

Overall, when it comes to adaptability, these micro-States with their small dimensions seem to have more facility than the large States. Often they are also laboratories of interculturality, of governance, small enough to remain free without being big enough to be strong.

Martine Camiade, Professor of Studies Catalans, UPVD,
member of IEC, delegate IEC Perpignan

Birte Wassenberg, Professor of Contemporary History,
IEP, Strasbourg.