

Sustainable Governance Indicators 2016



#### Indicator

# **Domestic Adaptability**

#### Question

To what extent does the government respond to international and supranational developments by adapting domestic government structures?

41 OECD and EU countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels.

- 10-9 = The government has appropriately and effectively adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational developments.
- 8-6 = In many cases, the government has adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational developments.
- 5-3 = In some cases, the government has adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational.
- 2-1 = The government has not adapted domestic government structures no matter how useful adaptation might be.

#### Sweden

#### Score 10

Following Sweden's EU membership, which came into force in the mid-1990s, there has been a sustained effort to adapt government, policy and regulation to European Union standards. The bulk of this adaptation relates to changes in domestic regulatory frameworks and policies, a development that does not impact the structure of government.

Estimates suggest that some 75% of the regulations that pertain to Sweden are today EU rules, not domestic rules. This pattern is probably typical for all EU member states.

Most of the adaptation has taken place not at the policy level, but on the administrative level, for instance by integrating domestic regulatory agencies with EU agencies.

#### Citation:

Jacobsson B. and G. Sundström (2006), Från hemvävd till invävd: Europeiseringen av svensk förvaltning och politik (Malmö: Liber).

Zannakis, M. (2010), Climate Policy as a Window of Opportunity: Sweden and Global Climate Change (Gothenburg: Department of Political Science).

## Denmark

#### Score 9

Being a small and open economy, Denmark has a long tradition of adaptation to international developments. The most intrusive form of international/supranational cooperation Denmark takes part in is with the European Union. Since joining in 1973, an elaborate system of coordination within government administration has

developed. It involves all affected ministries and agencies, and often also interest organizations. In parallel, the European Affairs Committee in the parliament (Folketinget) has become an efficient democratic control of Danish-EU policy. Denmark speaks with one voice in Brussels.

#### Citation:

Peter Nedergaard, Organiseringen af Den europæiske Union. 4. udg. Copenhagen: Handelshøjskolens Forlag, 2005, chapters 20-23.

Finn Laursen, "Denmark: in pursuit of influence and legitimacy," in Wolfgang Wessels, Andreas Maurer and Jürgen Mittag (eds.), Fifteen into one? The European Union and its member states. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 92-114.

## Estonia

Score 9

The most important supranational organization affecting domestic policies is the European Union. Therefore, the coordination of national interests with the European Union has been Estonia's main priority since it joined the union in 2004. After consultations with the parliament and advocacy groups, the government has typically adopted a framing-policy document (e.g., "Estonian EU policy 2011 – 2015"; "Estonian EU Policy 2015 – 2019") that defines the main principles and national objectives Estonia wants to pursue through the European Union. Generally, the formation and implementation of national EU policy is the responsibility of the government. An interministerial Coordination Council for EU Affairs is tasked with facilitating coordination of these national efforts. The Coordination Council plans and monitors the initiation and implementation of all EU-related policy activities. Each ministry bears the responsibility for developing draft legislation and enforcing government priorities in its domain.

The secretariat for EU affairs continues to provide administrative and legal support in preparing EU-related activities. It advises the prime minister on EU matters (including preparations for European Council meetings), manages EU affairs across all government bodies, and offers guidelines for permanent representations.

The national parliament's European Union Affairs Committee issues political positions on draft European Union legislation, provides political opinions, and supervises the activities of the government as it implements EU policies.

Cooperation with other international organizations (e.g., WTO, OECD, NATO) is the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The vice chancellor for European-transatlantic cooperation is a member of the Coordination Council for EU Affairs.

#### Finland

Score 9

Most recent adaptations have resulted from Finland's membership in the European Union. Finland was among the first EU member states to adopt the euro, and government structures have in several instances adopted EU norms. The

Parliamentary Grand Committee is tasked with preparing and adopting EU legislation. Furthermore, oversight of the EU secretariat, responsible for the coordination of EU affairs, has been transferred from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the Prime Minister's Office. A coordination system exists to ensure that Finland maintains positions in line with its overall EU policy with regard to issues under consideration at the EU level. This system involves relevant ministries, a cabinet committee on EU affairs and various EU subcommittees. These subcommittees are sector-specific governmental organs, and constitute the foundation for the promotion of EU affairs within the state's structures.

## Ireland

Score 9

The key influence in this area is Ireland's membership in the European Union and, in the financial area, of the euro zone. Over the 42 years since Ireland became a member of the European Economic Community, the country has adapted institutions at all levels of government to allow effective functioning in Europe. Having successfully implemented the 2010 bailout agreement with the Troika, Ireland is now committed to adhering to the EU rules of economic governance contained in the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance and the fiscal procedures contained in the European Semester. The unexpectedly strong economic performance since 2013 has greatly facilitated compliance with these obligations.

#### Citation:

For a discussion of the framework of Ireland's economic governance see http://www.iiea.com/publications/reforming-european-economic-governance?gclid=CKCIzsatvcECFQRj2wodjz4A9w#sthash.ll8sWbHq.dpufin return for

# Latvia

Score 9

Latvia has adapted domestic government structures to fulfill the requirements of EU membership, revising policy-planning and decision-making processes. During the 2013 – 2015 period, Latvia adapted its domestic structures to comply with the demands of the 2015 EU presidency. Beginning in 2014, Latvia began adapting to the requirements associated with OECD membership. At the end of 2015, three chapters remained to be negotiated.

In order to ensure efficient decision-making and meet the obligations of IMF and EU loan agreements, Latvia created a reform-management group for coordination on major policy reforms. In 2012, this included changes to the biofuels support system, reforms in the civil service's human-resources management, tax-policy changes and reforms in the management of state enterprises. The group proved to be a useful forum for the consolidation of support across sectors for major policy changes and structural reforms. The inclusion of non-governmental actors in the group serves to facilitate support for upcoming policy changes. Although the reform management group was considered successful, at the time of writing it had not met since 2013.

## Lithuania

Score 9

Lithuania's policymakers have over time significantly adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational developments. A network of semi-independent regulatory agencies was developed during the pre-accession period. After the completion of EU accession negotiations, Lithuania's system of coordinating EU affairs was gradually moved from the core government to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and decentralized to line ministries in the case of specific sectoral matters.

Lithuania has managed to maintain a rather good record of transposition and implementation of EU law, as illustrated by the low transposition deficit and relatively small number of infringement cases initiated against the country. The absorption of EU funds takes place relatively quickly – indeed, with 83% of EU payments already disbursed by 31 June 2015, as compared to the EU total of 71%, the country was ranked 7th among all EU member states in terms of benefits gained from EU cohesion policy. This indicates that Lithuanian institutions and procedures have been quite adequately adapted to the implementation of EU-funded programs. However, adoption of EU policy has largely taken place on a formal basis, rather than indicating substantial policy learning. Institutional adjustment has not led to significant structural policy reforms, with the partial exception of the country's higher-education reforms. The central bank's capacities were strengthened as a result of preparations for the introduction of the euro in 2015, while the adoption of economic-governance rules for the euro zone resulted in an expansion in the role and capacities of the National Audit Office.

## Canada

Score 8

Organizational change is constantly taking place within the federal government and some of this change reflects international developments. However, unlike countries in the European Union, Canada is not a member of a supranational organization that may directly require periodic adjustments in the organizational structure and reporting relationships of the government and its public services. One notable exception has been the many changes over time in agencies relating to international matters, which include the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). In the March 2013 federal budget, CIDA was merged with DFAIT. The rationale provided for this reorganization was that an enhanced alignment of foreign, development, trade and commercial policies and programs will allow the government to achieve greater policy coherence on top-priority issues, and will result in greater overall impact. Development advocates have expressed concern that the reorganization will lead to a less focused and effective foreign-assistance program.

## France

Score 8

The French government has a good track record in adapting national institutions to European and international challenges. This can be attributed to the bureaucratic elite's awareness of international issues. This contrasts vividly with the government parties' weakened ability to adapt national policies to the challenges stemming from the globalization of the economy, as there is often fierce resistance from trade unions, most political parties and public opinion at large.

# Italy

Score 8

In the medium term, the most significant impact that international, and particularly supranational (EU-related) developments have had upon the structure and working of the government concerns the role of the minister of finance and of the treasury. Because of budgetary requirements deriving from European integration and participation in the euro zone, the minister of finance has acquired increasing weight in the governmental decision-making process, exercising an effective gatekeeping role with respect to the proposals of line ministries. Another example of this development is the strict internal stability pact, designed to meet the EU's stability and growth pact obligations across all administrative levels.

The prime minister and finance minister have been central to the development of the government program, guiding the most important decisions. Other ministers have had a secondary role.

Starting with the Monti government, the structure of the government has been further streamlined by keeping the number of ministers and undersecretaries smaller than in the past. The Renzi government has slightly increased their number. There are currently 13 ministers with portfolio, three ministers without portfolio, nine vice-ministers and 34 undersecretaries.

Prime Minister Renzi has been more active than previous prime minister's in articulating Italy's position within the EU in an attempt to increase Italy's influence over EU decision-making.

#### New Zealand

Score 8

New Zealand has ample experience in drastically restructuring its public sector and reforming policymaking to adapt to new challenges. Major reforms were accomplished from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. However, this was done under a majoritarian regime, based on a first-past-the-post electoral system. Part of the reform package involved the change to a proportional electoral system, a move that was initiated by the voting public rather than the governing elite. Today, given the

existence of a multiparty system and minority government, radical reform is much more difficult to achieve. In retrospect, institutional reforms delivered somewhat less than was anticipated and have at times been disruptive. The government at the time of writing was concerned with driving efficiency and performance improvements into the system, and was seeking to accomplish this with relatively limited emphasis on a major restructuring of government agencies.

# Norway

Score 8 Government structures have remained fairly stable over time. There are some ongoing efforts to improve the institutional framework, although not primarily in response to international developments. It is common for new governments to reallocate tasks across ministries.

Examples of adaptation include the country's early establishment of an Environment Ministry, the strengthening of the political leadership devoted to development cooperation, and the recent establishment of a Directorate of Integration and Diversity separate from the body dealing with immigration issues. In general, interdepartmental coordination has increased as a result of international activity, particularly so in relation to the handling of European affairs.

## Poland

Score 8 Government structures in Poland have been gradually adapted to international and supranational developments, most notably NATO and EU membership. Poland's good reputation and its growing influence in the European Union show that adaptation has been successful, as has the relatively high and increasing rate of absorption of EU funds.

#### South Korea

International and supranational developments that affect South Korea directly can trigger rapid and far-reaching change. For example, South Korea has reacted to the global financial and economic crisis with decisive action and massive government intervention. Global standards play a crucial role for the South Korean government. Reports and criticism issued by international organizations, such as the OECD or the IMF, or by partners, such as the United States or the European Union, are taken very seriously. The government has also declared its intention to increase its provision of overseas development aid in order to meet a global standard in the near future. However, the country's degree of adaptability largely depends upon compatibility with domestic political goals. For example, the government is relatively less

responsive to global standards in the area of labor rights or the reduction of non-tariff barriers. Yet in spite of quite a few "mock-compliance" practices, Korea is one of the most adaptive countries in the world. For example, the Korea-United States free-trade agreement has led to huge changes in a wide variety of legal arrangements. In other senses too, Korea is very vulnerable to external pressure.

#### Citation:

OECD, KOREA Development Assistance Committee (DAC) PEER REVIEW 2012, http://www.oecd.org/dac/peer-review s/korea.htm

# Spain

Score 8

The Spanish government has largely adapted its domestic structures to agreements made at international and supranational level, although this adaptation has not always been implemented effectively. The most important impact has been produced by EU membership, with government structures adapted to significant developments such as the monetary union, the internal market, access to EU funds, the launch of the External Action Service and the different sectoral aspects of EU law. The Spanish government's coordination with and adaptation to the European Union is mainly the task of the Secretariat of State for the European Union (within the Foreign Ministry). For obvious reasons, considering the economic significance of the EU agenda, the Prime Minister's Economic Office (dealing with the structural reforms), the Ministry for Economy, and the Ministry for Finance also have important responsibilities in terms of coordinating cooperation between ministries on EU matters.

More generally, all line ministries have to some extent Europeanized their organizations, although most ministries lack units dealing specifically with the European Union, and interministerial coordination is weak. Links with subnational levels of government (since the EU has a strong impact in many policy areas handled by the autonomous regions) are made through the network of intergovernmental councils or conferences (conferencias sectoriales), but this system has considerable room for improvement. The government has also responded to other international developments (such as NATO membership and the post-Kyoto climate-change regimes). In January 2015, an internal reorganization took place that created a new Directorate-General for United Nations and Human Rights following Spain's election to the U.N. Security Council for 2015 and 2016.

#### Citation:

Responsibilities and Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs https://www.boe.es/diario\_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-222

#### **United States**

Score 8 The United States has developed institutional structures that are able to respond to its international obligations. Climate-change negotiations, for example, have been

firmly institutionalized in the Office of Global Affairs in the State Department. Similarly, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security was a domestic structural response to the challenges of international terrorism. Whether the policies of these units and agencies have been successful or have facilitated multilateral cooperation has depended on the policy choices of each administration and the disposition of Congress.

The Obama administration has continued to develop new institutional structures to adapt to policy challenges. The United States has been less prone to adapt domestic-policymaking structures to the requirements of the international-trade regime, in some cases resisting compliance with fully adjudicated obligations under the WTO and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Given the domestic political orientation of most members, Congress has placed low priority on compliance with international-trade agreements and regimes.

## Iceland

Score 7

While not a member of the EU, Iceland has since 1994 been a member of the European Economic Area (EEA), and has integrated and adapted EU structures into domestic law to a considerable extent. Under the EEA agreement, Iceland is obliged to adopt around 80% of EU law. Iceland is also responsive to comments made by the Council of Europe, countries belonging to the Schengen Agreement, and UN institutions. As one of the five full members, Iceland is bound by every unanimous decision of the Nordic Council of Ministers. However, the council deals only with issues connected to Nordic cooperation. The structure and organization of Iceland's government accords well with international practice, and seems to be under constant review. The previous government attempted to streamline and rationalize the ministry structure in order to weaken the long-standing links between special-interest organizations and the ministries. Through a process of mergers, the number of ministries was reduced from 12 to eight. Among these, the Ministry of Interior was established through the merger of the Ministry of Communication and Municipal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice. Similarly, the Ministry of Industries and Innovation was established by merging the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Fisheries and the Ministry of Industry together. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Welfare was established by merging the Ministry of Social Affairs with the Ministry of Health Affairs. The current government has partially reversed some of these mergers and has increased the number of ministers from eight to 10. The Ministry of Welfare has been split between the Minister of Health, and the Minister of Social Affairs and Housing. Similarly, the Ministry of Industries and Innovation has been split between the Minister of Fisheries and Agriculture, and the Minister of Industry and Commerce.

## Israel

#### Score 7

Following OECD and academic recommendations, the Israeli government advances various administrative reforms regarding regulatory burdens, decision-making and long term planning. Periodic progress reports show gradual improvement in the dissemination of information as well as in decision-making. The government continues to adapt its domestic structures to international and supranational developments in an ongoing and constructive process.

#### Citation:

# Luxembourg

#### Score 7

Luxembourg has made progress in implementing European legislation. In terms of the transposition of EU directives, Luxembourg's performance is moderate, yet it has improved in recent years. Given the size of the country, there is limited scope for improving the government administration's human resources. A single civil servant is typically responsible for a number of tasks that would be assigned to an entire team in other member states. For example, European Social Fund (ESF) activities fall under the responsibility of only four civil servants who have other responsibilities in addition to European programs. Despite a lack of personnel, work expected by European and supranational institutions is completed. The government presented its national plan (Luxembourg 2020. Plan national pour une croissance intelligente, durable et inclusive) in April 2013, in which budgetary mechanisms are adapted.

Luxembourg often responds to international requests by launching an ad hoc group. The country has also done well in conforming national law to EU directives, sometimes transposing laws verbatim. However, this does not guarantee that the law will be followed verbatim; differences between de jure and de facto interpretations have emerged.

#### Citation:

 $http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat\_general/eu2020/docs/luxembourg\_gov\_fr.pdf$ 

 $http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2014/annex32014\_luxembourg\_en.pdf$ 

 $http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2014/csr2014\_council\_luxembourg\_en.pdf$ 

http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2014/eccom2014\_en.pdf

 $http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/europe-2020-in-your-country/luxembourg/national-reform-programme/index\_en.htm$ 

http://www.mf.public.lu/publications/programme/16th\_update\_stability\_growth\_programme.pdf

 $http://www.mf.public.lu/publications/divers/previsions\_fin\_180412.pdf$ 

 $http://www.odc.public.lu/publications/pnr/2013\_PNR\_Luxembourg\_2020\_avril\_2013.pdf$ 

http://www.gouvernement.lu/4789506/30-gramegna-stabilite

http://www.gouvernement.lu/5363183/22-closener-competitivite

<sup>&</sup>quot;OECD economic surveys: Israel," OECD publication, December 2013, (English).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Progress report on the implementation of the OECD recommendations: Labor market and social policies," Ministry of industry, trade and labor official report, June 2012, (English).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Working plans book for 2014," official state publication, March 2014, (Hebrew).

## Malta

Score 7

The capacity of government structures to adapt to change has increased since Malta began applied to join the European Union. Consequently, there is greater awareness of the need to respond to international developments. Participation within the EU and other international organizations has improved institutional learning. Parliament has demonstrated a greater willingness to engage with international forums, which has increased the government's capacity to address international issues, such as climate change, security policy and humanitarian issues. An increase in resources for research has increased the capacity of parliamentary committees. The government created an ombudsman office, restructured the attorney general's

office, and introduced in each ministry a unit for EU Affairs and EU Program Implementation. Overall these bodies have functioned well. Institutional learning however is in general piecemeal and driven by circumstances. In contrast, the committee for parliamentary scrutiny of EU legislation has been less than effective, as members of parliament work part time and lack the resources to fulfill committee tasks. The impact on policy is that there is not enough coordination between ministries, and parliament has not managed to be a catalyst for change

#### Mexico

Score 7

The Mexican governing elite is, in theory, very adaptable due to a high degree of contact with international organizations and policy institutes. One reason for its openness is that much of the upper civil service studied abroad, mostly in English speaking countries, and retains strong personal contacts from those days. Mexico' presidential system, with its directing authority at the center of the administration, also allows the country to make swift changes. Presidential initiatives can make a real difference. Third, Mexico is one of the few countries that shares a degree of inter-dependency with the United States and has, however reluctantly, learned much about policy from the U.S. However, while adaptability of the Mexican government is comparatively high in formal terms, implementation of new approaches and policies is often much weaker, particularly when it involves subnational entities or heavily unionized sectors.

# Portugal

Score 7

The European Union is extremely important to Portugal in all respects. Since joining the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986, Portugal has become an integral part of Europe with all the implications arising from integration into a huge variety of legal and organizational frameworks. While the government of Portugal has not

yet applied all of the EU laws and regulations, it is increasingly adopting EU policies. Obviously, since Portugal is part of the European Union, and dependent upon it for funds and trade, the country has had to adapt its structures accordingly.

# United Kingdom

Score 7

The organization of ministries in the United Kingdom is a prerogative of the prime minister, and traditionally the precise division of tasks between ministries apart from the classic portfolios of foreign policy, defense, the Treasury, and the Home Office has been subject to considerable change. There is some evidence for international and supranational developments playing an important role in these decisions on UK government structures, a clear example being the creation of the Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC) with an explicit remit to engage in international action to mitigate climate change. New cabinet committees have been set up, such as a committee on Syrian refugees in 2015. There have also been developments leading to new cross-departmental structures. The establishment of the National Security Council was a response to security-related issues, while the creation of a cross-governmental joint energy unit was motivated by the Ukraine crisis.

The United Kingdom has in some areas been an early, and sometimes enthusiastic, proponent of norms and practices that have been championed by international bodies, including those overseeing financial stability and transparency in government. The Open Data Charter and the Open Government Partnership (in which the United Kingdom plays an active role) were agreed under the United Kingdom's G8 presidency. The UK is an acknowledged leader on open government. For example, in the 2015 Open Data Barometer the UK ranked 1 out of 92 countries.

There has been some resistance to policy recommendations from the European Commission, including the country-specific recommendations associated with EU semester process, unless they accord with government priorities. However, there is less resistance to recommendations from, for example, the IMF, even when the recommendations of the IMF and EU are similar. European integration has led to procedural changes allowing central government to intervene early in the European policy-formulation process.

# Austria

Score 6

The Austrian government has adapted domestic structures to international developments, but with reservations. While the EU political agenda is generally accepted, the government has proved reluctant to implement specific policies, for example by defending the principle of bank secrecy. Contributing to this hesitancy is

the fact that the government is often internally divided, for reasons both constitutional and political: First, the cabinet consists of autonomous ministers who cannot be forced to accept a general agenda. The position of the chancellor as first among equals means there is no clearly defined leadership by a head of government. Second, governments since 1983 have been coalitions. Coalition parties tend to work on a specific party agenda, and have limited interest in the agenda of the government as such.

In many cases, one governing party tends to favor implementation of international and especially supranational (EU) policies more than the other. Alternately, some parties seek to mobilize populist sentiments against the international or supranational level, identifying their own party as the defender of Austrian interests against foreign encroachment.

Austria's hesitancy in participating in an all-European policy regarding the Russian-Ukrainian conflict reflects a lack of adaptability. Austrian political actors tend to use the country's neutrality status as a pretext for staying aloof.

# Belgium

Score 6

Belgium is one of the founding states of the European Union and an active member of many international agreements. In some instances, Belgium has even played a leading role in international agreements (such as banning the production of land mines).

However, this apparent enthusiasm for international and supranational coordination comes with significant caveats, as Belgium is today regularly criticized for not fully complying with rules agreed upon at the European Union, United Nations or NATO. For instance, critics have taken aim at Belgium's failures to respect the Geneva Convention, its failure to ratify the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities or the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and its slower-than-average progress in abiding by EU environmental norms. This can again be partially explained by the persistent political tension between the country's Dutch- and French-speaking camps, its complex and still evolving institutional structure, and the fact that, due to decentralization, all governmental entities maintain (and tend to further develop) their own international relations in the area of their (sometimes overlapping) competences.

# Bulgaria

Score 6

During the process of EU accession, the Bulgarian administration at the national, regional and local levels underwent a very significant adaptive process that involved changes in structures and areas of activity. This included the creation of regional

development councils able to prepare regional-development strategies at the level of EU NUTS 2 regions, a novelty in Bulgarian governance history. The EU accession and membership process also meant that new channels for coordination and common decision-making had to be created in order to enable ministries to develop national positions on the various EU policies being discussed. Notwithstanding these changes, the primary governmental structures and their methods of operation have remained largely unchanged. One area in which organizational changes related to supranational developments seem to be leading to an improvement is the implementation of EU funded programs, especially in some spheres such as transportation and environmental protection infrastructure.

## Croatia

Score 6

Croatia's accession to the European Union and NATO has been accompanied by substantial changes in domestic-government structures, ranging from the reintroduction of RIA to the passage of the Societal Consultation Codex and the strengthening of capacities for policy coordination. The reshuffling of competencies following accession, for example with the shift in responsibility for EU coordination to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the integration of the former Central Office for Development Strategy and Coordination of EU Funds (CODEF) into the Ministry of Regional Development and EU, has not always gone smoothly. The ability of the Croatian administration to absorb the newly available EU funds has remained limited. The government's long-awaited Strategy for Public Administration was passed only in June 2015 and addressed these concerns only partially.

## Germany

Score 6

As in other EU countries, EU regulations have a significant impact on German legislation. The country's legal system is heavily influenced by EU law, but the federal government does not have a central policy unit specifically coordinating and managing EU affairs. Each federal ministry is responsible for all matters within its sectoral purview related to the adoption, implementation and coordination of proposals by the European Commission. Federal structures present specific problems in terms of policy learning and adaptability to international and supranational developments. In general, Germany did not seriously attempt to adopt government structures to the changing national, inter- and transnational context.

# Japan

Score 6

Japan's reform processes are usually driven by domestic developments and interests, but international models or perceived best practices do play a role at times. Actors interested in reform have frequently appealed to international standards and trends to

support their position. However, in many cases it is doubtful whether substantial reform is truly enacted or whether Japan follows international standards in a formal sense only, with underlying informal institutional mechanisms changing much more slowly.

#### Romania

Score 6

Romania has only partially succeeded in adapting its domestic-government structures to international developments. Interministerial-coordination weaknesses have undermined EU-related coordination, and problems have also persisted in recent years regarding the absorption of EU funds. However, the country has been making progress in the latter case in the year under review. In 2014, the absorption rate rose to 51.81% (3.5 times higher than the end of 2012). Furthermore, in 2014-2015 the government approved high-budget projects such as the Large Infrastructure Operational Programme, the National Rural Development Programme, the Technical Assistance Operational Programme, and the Competitiveness Operational Programme (among others) to ensure the future absorption of EU funds.

#### Citation:

GOVNET (2015) Romania improves absorption rate of EU funds, achieving 52 pct in 2014. Govnet. [Online] 5th January. Available from: http://govnet.ro/General/Economics/Romania-improves-absorption-rate-of-EU-funds-achieving-52-pct-in-2014. [Accessed 08/11/15].

RADUT, C (2015) Romania ensures future of its European fund absorption. Nineoclock. [Online] 21st July. Available from: http://www.nineoclock.ro/romania-ensures-future-of-its-european-fund-absorption/. [Accessed 08/11/151.

#### Slovenia

Score 6

Upon EU accession, Slovenia developed a complex system for coordinating European affairs, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs serving as the central coordinator. The Cerar government left this system largely unchanged. In order to increase the absorption of EU funds, it created a new ministry without portfolio with responsibility for development, strategic projects and cohesion and changed procedures. As a result, the absorption rate substantially increased.

#### Citation

Government Office for Development and European Cohesion Policy, EU Funds Absortion rates 2015, http://www.svrk.gov.si/en/eu\_funds\_absorption\_rate/

#### Switzerland

Score 6

Switzerland directly implements international treaties which today account for about half of the federal legislation. Whenever Switzerland agrees to cooperate with other countries or international organizations, it attempts to meet all the requirements of the agreement, including implementation of the necessary administrative reforms.

With regard to the European Union, however, the adaptation is idiosyncratic. On the one hand, the government cannot develop institutional mechanisms with Brussels, as most Swiss do not want to join the EU and have expressed in several referenda their preference for limiting the numer of bilateral treaties with the European Union. On the other hand, adaptations to EU law reach beyond these treaties and comprise also large parts of (domestic) economic law. However, the strategy of bilateral treaties has now been placed in jeopardy following the passage of the popular initiative capping mass immigration. Moreover, there are serious concerns as to whether the "strategy of bilaterals" is sufficient or sustainable. Conflicts between the European Union and Switzerland have escalated since 2012, with the EU demanding that institutional solutions be developed to address the bilateral system's weaknesses. Specifically, the European Union has called for self-executing rules enabling bilateral treaties to be updated, as well as independent institutions for the settlement of conflicts arising from the bilateral treaties. Switzerland has opposed these proposals. By fall 2015, this has led to a standstill in the negotiations, forcing actors to re-open the process from the beginning. At the time of writing, this disagreement had prevented the production of any further bilateral treaties, on which Switzerland is economically dependent. In addition, the passage of the mass-immigration initiative in February 2014 further complicated the relationship between Switzerland and the EU, demonstrating the difficulties of being simultaneously domestically adaptable and claiming an untrammeled sovereignty.

#### Australia

Score 5

Most government structures are essentially driven by domestic imperatives and are largely insensitive to international and supranational developments. The key government structures of Australia have not changed since the federation of the colonies. Indeed, only a few international events have been persuaded Australian governments in recent times to adapt domestic structures. The major exception is in relation to the treaties and conventions to which Australia is a signatory, particularly in the areas of human rights, anti-discrimination and transnational crime, where Australia has been a regional leader. Australian society has been reluctant to support a change in political structures and has resisted doing so when asked in referenda, for example with regard to proposed constitutional changes.

Citation:

http://www.aec.gov.au/elections/referendums/Referendum\_Dates\_and\_Results.htm

## Chile

Score 5

The modernization of Chile's state is still under way, but national institutions have already become quite solid. In general terms, the reform of domestic governing structures tends to be driven by national fiscal-policy concerns, which implies that

any innovations that might imply financial changes (such as a budget augmentation for a certain ministry or for a department within a ministry) are very difficult or even impossible to realize. Changes concerning topics that might be of future interest and do not directly affect current political challenges – for example, the expansion of a department's staff or the creation of a new unit dedicated to topics of possible future interest – are driven more by fiscal or political reasons and political cycles rather than international or supranational developments. Law No. 20,600 of 2012 created environmental tribunals (Tribunales Ambientales) to be established in three different regions of the country (north, center, south), as well as a Supervisory Board for the Environment (Superintendencia Ambiental). Two of these environmental tribunals had been created by the end of the review period. This can be seen as a domestic adaptation responding to international and supranational developments. Chile's membership in the OECD might create incentives for more substantial adaptation in the near future.

Citation:

Enviromental Tribunals:

http://www.tribunalambiental.cl/2ta/informacion-institucional/sobre-el-tribunal-ambiental/historia/

## Greece

Score 5 No other country surveyed by the SGI has been subject to such intense or extensive scrutiny as Greece has under the Troika and the EU Taskforce. Loan conditionality has obliged the country to respond to an external agenda.

Under pressure from the Troika, Greece has since 2010 started streamlining and recapitalizing its banking system. By 2014, four of Greece's systemically important banks successfully passed all relevant stress tests. However, the same four banks were in dire need of recapitalization by the end of 2015, as mismanagement, the worsening of the economic climate in Greece and government instability in 2015 took a heavy toll on the banking system. Moreover, during the period under review, the Greek government halted the process of slimming the size of central services provided by ministries. Furthermore, because of the traditional lack of trust between outgoing and incoming governments, after January 2015 the PMO's office was completely reshuffled and inexperienced party cadres from Syriza assumed the relevant posts; as a result, Greece failed to strengthen the administrative capacity of the PMO.

#### Netherlands

Score 5 Government reform has been on (and off) the agenda for at least 40 years. In this time there has been no substantial reform of the original government structure, which dates back to the mid-19th century and the 1848 constitution. Although several

departments have been switched back and forth between different ministries, the system of ministries itself has not been substantially reformed (although the Ministry of Agriculture was definitively abolished and is now part of the Ministry of Economic Affairs). The Council of State, which is the highest court of appeal in administrative law, is still part of the executive, not the judiciary. The Netherlands is one of the last countries in Europe in which mayors are not locally elected but are instead appointed by the national government. In spring 2013, the Rutte II government largely withdrew its drastic plans to further reduce the number of local and municipal governments from just over 400 to between 100 and 150 with 100,000 or more inhabitants per district, as well as its intentions to merge a number of provinces (Regeerakkoord). In response to EU-level developments, the oversight role of the Dutch parliament has been strengthened. Although the number of civil servants with legal, economic and administrative expertise at the EU level has undoubtedly increased, no new structural adjustments in policy and legislative preparation have been implemented.

Citation:

Regeerakkoord:

http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/regeerakkoord/bestuur

Standpunt VNG (homepage vng.nl, consulted 27October 2014)

Gemeentelijke en provincial herindelingen in Nederland (home.kpn.nl/pagklein/gemhis.html, consulted 27 October 2014)

Verdrag van Lissabon vergroot rol van nationale parlementen in Europa, Parlement & Politiek, Europa (parlement.com., consulted 23 September 2015)

## Slovakia

Score 5

In the past, Slovakia's ability to adapt domestic government structures to international and supranational developments, most notably at the EU level, has been weak. Despite several attempts at reform, the rate of absorption of EU funds has remained low, as the the absorption of EU funds has been hindered by dysfunctional planning procedures, poor project design and selection, and the failure to comply with the requirements of environmental impact assessments.

# Turkey

Score 5

The EU accession process is the main driving force behind changes or adaptations in Turkey's domestic government structures. Almost all public entities maintain a unit for EU affairs; strategic-planning units can be found in all ministries. The European Union and Turkey have developed several projects aimed at harmonizing legislation with the body of EU law and increasing Turkey's human resources capacity. Particularly, the EU Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) and EU twinning

programs are major mechanisms aimed at adapting central and local governmental structures to supranational developments, addressing issues of primary and secondary legislation, public administrative reform, education, justice and home affairs, health care, the environment, public works and so on. In the context of EU accession, the government was able to reform the National Security Council and limit the political role of the military. With respect to judicial reforms, the government created the Higher Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK), modeling it on similar criteria found in other EU member states.

Turkey is a signatory of several international conventions that include binding provisions, and the Turkish government has attempted to comply with these international responsibilities. However, the government has fallen short on many requirements, either legally or institutionally. On issues such as child labor, general working conditions and environmental standards, Turkey still falls below international standards.

Following the reorganization of ministerial structures in June 2011, some ministries attempted to reorganize their provincial units as well. With an eye to improving efficiency and effectiveness, some former employees were replaced by new staffers with higher qualifications. These reforms were supported by training programs and other capacity-development tools. However, nepotism and partisanship still prevent full realization of the objectives of effectiveness and efficiency.

In January 2015, a new restructuring plan for the Turkish Public Administration was announced. According to this plan, the Armed Forces (TSK), the National Intelligent Service (MİT), the Gendarmarie and the General Directorate of Security (Turkish Police) shall are to be organized under the Ministry of Security. Moreover, the major economic and financial sector institutions, such as the central bank, the treasury, the Capital Market Board, the Saving Deposit Insurance Fund and the İstanbul Stock Exchange (Borsa İstanbul) shall also be included in a similar reorganization process. Many observers have argued that the central bank's responsibilites should be redefined.

#### Citation:

Bakanlar Kurulu yeniden yapılandırılıyor, Hürriyet, 8 June 2011, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/17982957.asp (accessed 5 November 2014)

Seriye Sezen, International versus Domestic Explanations of Administrative Reforms, Andrew Massey (eds.) Public Sector Reform, Vol. II, Sage Publications, 2013.

Saray Kendine Hazine Kuruyor, Taraf, 29 January 2015, http://www.taraf.com.tr/saray-kendine-hazine-kuruyor/(accessed 27 October 2015)

# Cyprus

Score 4 The country's political and administrative structures have remained largely in place since independence. European Union accession has led to the creation of new bodies over the past 20 years, but without changing the overall state structure. As the whole

of Cyprus constitutes a single region under the EU's Cohesion Policy, the impact of European innovations aimed at strengthening the role of regions has been very limited. A comprehensive and inclusive reform plan for administrative reforms was passed in 2015, certainly a positive step. However, it is too early to draw conclusions with regard to implementation efficacy or reform outcomes.

# Czech Republic

Score 4 Since the mid-1990s, government activities have adapted to, and are strongly influenced by, the EU's legislative framework. However, the main structures of government and methods of functioning are changing only slowly. The disjuncture between domestic structures and EU provisions and requirements is demonstrated by recurrent issues accompanying the use of EU structural funds on the national and regional level, the lack of effective control of the use of funds and the questionable sustainability efforts surrounding EU-funded infrastructures.

# Hungary

The Orbán governments have paid little attention to the adaption of domestic government structures to international and supranational developments. In public, Prime Minister Orbán has stressed Hungarian independence, and has argued that his government is waging a freedom fight for national sovereignty against the European Union, the IMF, and most recently the US government. Major institutional reforms have even reduced the fit of domestic government structures with international and supranational developments. The radical reduction in the number of ministries, for instance, has created huge problems with regard to EU affairs, as the ministries' organization no longer matches that of other EU countries or the structure of the European Union's Council of Ministers. Nonetheless, the administration ensures more or less that the acquis is implemented. The EU funds absorption rate is acceptable.

# International Coordination

#### Question

# To what extent is the government able to collaborate effectively in international efforts to foster global public goods?

41 OECD and EU countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels.

- 10-9 = The government can take a leading role in shaping and implementing collective efforts to provide global public goods. It is able to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress.
- 8-6 = The government is largely able to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. Existing processes enabling the government to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress are, for the most part, effective.
- 5-3 = The government is partially able to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. Processes designed to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress show deficiencies.
- 2-1 = The government does not have sufficient institutional capacities to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. It does not have effective processes to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress.

#### Denmark

#### Score 9

For a small country, Denmark has a strong role in the provision of the global public good. Climate change and development aid are high on the domestic agenda and the government tries to play an active international role in these areas. Denmark also has a long tradition of working to strengthen the United Nations, often cooperating with other Nordic countries to do so. This policy is relatively uncontroversial, unlike European integration.

As an EU member state, Denmark's possibilities increasingly depend on the EU. Since the EU in recent years has adopted a relatively "progressive" environmental policy and has tried to exercise international leadership, there is no conflict in this area. When it comes to development aid Denmark, is among the countries that contribute the highest percentage of GDP to development aid, higher than most EU members. Even with the new Liberal Party government's September 2015 decision to cut development aid, Denmark remains among the top five global contributors of official development assistance.

Denmark is also a global actor in other economic areas, including trade. Danish politicians are proud of projecting Danish values internationally.

There is a long tradition for Nordic cooperation within various policy areas. The Nordic Council of Ministers is the official inter-governmental body for cooperation in the Nordic region. The council takes various initiatives on Nordic cooperation and

there are regular council meetings were representatives of the Nordic governments meet to draft Nordic conventions and other agreements.

#### Citation:

Carsten Due-Nielsen and Nikolaj Petersen, eds., Adaptation and Activism: The Foreign Policy of Denmark 1967-1993. Copenhagen, DJØF Publishing, 1995.

Martin Marcussen, Den danske model og globaliseringen. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur, 2010.

Nanna Hvidt and Hans Mouritzen (eds.) Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2014. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2014.

# Germany

Score 9

The German government actively collaborates in various reform efforts promoted by the EU and other transnational and international organizations. In the context of the still ongoing euro zone debt crisis, the German government has played a leading role in organizing and creating stabilization mechanisms. The government strongly cooperated with European partners, particularly France, other countries, such as the United States, and international organizations in addressing the Crimea crisis and civil war in eastern Ukraine. Similarly, the government is cooperating with international partners to manage the present migration problems. Moreover, Germany had a significant role in achieving a consensus at the Paris Climate Summit in November 2015. Germany is clearly a constructive partner in international reform initiatives and is ready to accept substantial costs and risks in order to realize global and European public goods.

# Norway

Score 9

Norway is very diligent in adopting legislation passed on the level of the European Union. The country is not an EU member, but still participates in most forms of EU policy coordination through membership in the European Economic Area (EEA), with certain exceptions in the areas of agriculture and fisheries. This relationship does not give it a role in EU decision-making or policy formulation, however.

Norway has been an active participant in and promoter of various international conventions, forums and activities. Areas of particular interest have been human rights, development and peace. Relative to its size, Norway is a large contributor to U.N. and NATO peacekeeping operations, as well as to international organizations such as the IMF, the United Nations and the World Bank. The country participates in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the Kimberley Initiative on so-called blood diamonds. Norway actively encourages developing countries to join the EITI, and is one of four contributors to the World Bank Special Trust Fund tasked with assisting in this program's implementation.

## Sweden

Score 9

Sweden has maintained a rather high international profile on a number of issues requiring international collective action. These issues have traditionally included disarmament, human rights, international solidarity and more recently, climate change.

Sweden tends to look at itself as an international broker and coordinator, though it may exaggerate its capacity in this regard. Certainly, Sweden, together with several other smaller nations, exerts some degree of international influence.

Citation:

Ingebritsen, C. (2006). Scandinavia in World Politics (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).

#### **Finland**

Score 8

Typically, global public goods are best addressed collectively, on a multilateral basis, with cooperation in the form of international laws, agreements and protocols. Finland is a partner to several such modes of cooperation and contributes actively to the implementation of global frameworks. Finland is committed to and has ratified the Kyoto Protocol of the UNFCC, which came into effect in 2005. The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for coordinating further climate negotiations, and specifically, within the framework of the EU, Finland is committed to bringing down its national annual average carbon emissions. The Finnish government has also adopted a report on long-term climate and energy policy. In 2012, the government signed a Memorandum of Understanding in which Finland and the United States agreed to continue their cooperation in preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Yet Finland cannot be regarded as a dominant actor concerning the protection of global public goals. Given its relatively high level of knowledge, research capacities, and the existence of frameworks for policy coordination and monitoring, Finland does have the institutional capacities to participate in global governance. However, they are not utilized to their fullest extent.

## France

Score 8

France plays an active role in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. The country contributes to the provision of global public goods. It has a long tradition of acting on an international level to take part in security/military missions, combat climate change, provide humanitarian and development aid, and promote health, education programs, and fiscal cooperation. That being said, the French government, as other governments, often takes positions that advance French

(economic) interests. The question is whether these initiatives are presented as platforms on which support and consensus could be built. Concerning the European Monetary Union, this is the case; French proposals define European policies and often serve as a basis for compromise. However, the credibility of these initiatives may be damaged by the government's inability to respect common rules France has signed, such as the stability rules of the EMU. This limits the government's success in steering or influencing decision-making at the European level. Other striking examples include the French government's attitude toward free trade discussions, in particular those concerning agricultural products, and environmental issues such as air and water pollution, where France has failed to implement on the national level measures deriving from supranational recommendations.

# Luxembourg

Score 8 Luxembourg is mainly involved in international reform initiatives in cooperation with the European Union. The legal framework for the launch of the European Citizens' Initiative was passed by parliament in 2012.

Luxembourg is ranked highly within the European Union for the inclusiveness of its welfare benefits, as its programs are both generous and wide-ranging. However, with a Gini index coefficient of 28.7 in 2014, Luxembourg is a middling performer within the EU-28 (which has an average Gini index coefficient of 31). The generous social transfers and the high share of social transfers relative to total income not only reduce poverty risks, but also sustainably strengthen social cohesion.

The country's Gini index score highlights the positive effects of government transfer policies. However, Luxembourg also retains a number of labor-market protection measures and unsustainable pension policies; both provide incentives to leave the labor market and opt instead for replacement revenues. Attitudes on the part of the insured – mainly those of residents and nationals – are partly still those of consumers of welfare provisions. The system's main weakness is the "early exit" attitude which is expressed by many residents.

#### Citation:

http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&language=en&pcode=tessi190 http://www.chd.lu/wps/portal/public/RoleEtendu?action=doDocpaDetails&id=6325 http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2014/nrp2014\_luxembourg\_en.pdf http://www.gini-research.org/system/uploads/456/original/Luxembourg.pdf?1372249144 http://www.odc.public.lu/publications/pnr/2013\_PNR\_Luxembourg\_2020\_avril\_2013.pdf For further informations: http://www.missoc.org/

## **New Zealand**

Score 8 Given the isolated geopolitical position of New Zealand, the country participates proactively in many international organizations and in the international coordination

of joint reform initiatives. Major areas include issues regarding the Antarctic region, disarmament and proliferation, environmental protection, and human rights. New Zealand is a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, the Commonwealth, the OECD, the United Nations, and the World Trade Organization. Free trade is a central preoccupation within foreign relations, especially in the Asian region. Having signed the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)-Australia-New Zealand agreement and a bilateral agreement with Malaysia and Korea in recent years, current efforts are directed at deepening its "comprehensive strategic partnership" with China and continuing negotiations with India and Russia. While New Zealand has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement, it remains to be seen what impact the final terms of the agreement will have on trade access, economic prosperity and political selfdetermination. Negotiations on a Partnership Agreement on Relations and Cooperation (PARC) between New Zealand and the European Union (EU) were concluded in July 2014. The agreement is seen as a platform for pursuing New Zealand's ambitions for a free-trade agreement with the EU. New Zealand is a member of the United Nations Security Council during the 2015 – 2016 term.

#### Citation:

Annual Report 2014/2015 (Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2015). Strategic Intentions 2015-2019 (Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2015).

## Poland

Score 8

Poland has taken an active role in international policy coordination, most notably within the European Union. As its successful EU presidency and its impact on EU policies toward its eastern neighbors show, Poland has sufficient capacity to act on the international level. While its capacities have been increased through cooperation with Germany, its continued presence outside the euro zone hampers coordination somewhat. The country's positions on climate policy also differ from many other EU countries, as well as from the EU Commission's targets. The political crisis in Ukraine and the military conflict with Russia led Poland to seek a diplomatic solution in conjunction with France and Germany, but the conflict is still far from being resolved.

# **United States**

Score 8

The United States sometimes leads international efforts to pursue collective goods – sometimes, indeed, effectively controlling those efforts – while sometimes preferring unilateral approaches that withhold support from international forums. Its institutional structures and political traditions – especially the role of presidential leadership – accommodate all of these approaches. But the United States often cannot act effectively unless a national consensus or single-party control of the government enables the president and Congress to agree on a strategy.

President Obama's strategy in the Middle East, for example, has been hampered by conflict with Congress over support for Israel. Most often, the United States not only collaborates in reform initiatives promoted by international forums, but actively works to shape their agenda. The United States is also an effective participant in the G-7/8 process. The most notable change under the Obama administration has been the move toward participation in broader international forums such as the G-20 that include emerging-market countries such as China, Brazil and India. This trend is also visible in the Major Economies Forum for Climate Change. Altogether, this signals a departure from the focus on Europe and the transatlantic arena, and may also imply a reduced reliance on NATO.

## Australia

Score 7

Australia's comparatively small size and isolated geographic location has tended to work against the country's ability to influence international reform efforts. Nonetheless, there is a governmental culture of seeking to participate in international forums or organizations, including those focused on reform. Primary emphasis tends to be on the Asia-Pacific region, although Australia is also a strong advocate of reducing trade barriers for agricultural products worldwide.

Australia's international reputation has suffered considerably in the last two decades. Both the Howard and the Abbott governments failed to provide constructive inputs within the context of international forums. For example, the Abbott government permitted the G-20 summit in November 2014 to become an anti-Putin event. By contrast, Labor governments, Kevin Rudd's in particular, have been overly ambitious. Rudd's plans for an Asia-Pacific Community were hastily developed and criticized by his own government's advisors. Prime Minister Turnbull has steered a much more cooperative course in his first months in office.

#### Citation:

http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/13/tony-abbott-says-he-will-shirtfront-vladimir-put in-over-downing-of-mb 17.

http://www.smh.com.au/national/rudds-man-criticised-hasty-asiapacific-community-plan-20101223-196 ln.html. Alternative and the community-plan-20101223-196 ln.html. Alternative and the community-plan-2010123-196 ln.html. Alternati

# Belgium

Score 7

Belgium hosts various supranational institutions, including the majority of the offices of the European Union. The country has always displayed enthusiasm toward joint-reform initiatives. This can be illustrated by the large number of Belgian politicians involved in the highest levels of such organizations (e.g., Herman Van Rompuy, who was the President of the European Council; Guy Verhofstadt, leader of the liberal group in the European Parliament; Jean-Pascal van Ypersele, one of three vice chairs of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change). Moreover, the country's small

size makes it heavily dependent on international coordination. It therefore supports international reform efforts in areas such as tax systems, carbon-dioxide regulation, and as of 2015, on the European equivalent of the American Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act. However, with regard to implementation, Belgium does not always fulfill its commitments.

## Chile

Score 7

The government is endowed with the institutional capacity to contribute actively to international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. The government actively participates in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. This is underlined by the fact that Chile represents one of the most active countries in Latin America with regard to international policymaking initiatives. However, the impacts of national policies on these global challenges are not always systematically assessed and then incorporated into the formulation, coordination and monitoring of policies across government.

#### Ireland

Score 7

The country contributes to international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods primarily through its active participation in European policymaking institutions. Irish government structures have been progressively altered to support this capacity.

Ireland has continued to maintain a relatively high level of overseas development assistance since the onset of the economic crisis. It also continues to play an active part in the development of the European response to climate change. The Irish and Kenyan ambassadors co-facilitated the final intergovernmental negotiations that led to the adoption of the UN's Global Goals (Sustainable Development Goals) in 2015.

#### Citation:

For an account of Ireland's role in negotiating the Sustainable Development Goals see https://www.irishaid.ie/what-we-do/post-2015-negotiations/ireland's-special-role/

## Japan

Score 7

In recent years, Japan has been actively involved in the G-20 mechanism designed to meet the challenges of global financial turmoil. It will host the 2016 G-7 meeting. Nevertheless, Japan is less visible in international or global settings than might be expected in view of its substantial global economic role. Since Shinzo Abe's second term as prime minister, which started in late 2012, there is some more continuity and international visibility, though not in terms of spearheading multilateral initiatives.

The Japanese constitution makes it difficult for Japan to engage in international missions that include the use of force, although it can legally contribute funds. In September 2015, despite considerable public opposition including mass rallies, new security laws were passed that allow military intervention overseas in defense of allies. Also in 2015, Japan and the United States overhauled their Mutual Defense Guidelines to allow for deeper cooperation and emphasize the global nature of the bilateral alliance.

Japan has actively supported and contributed to regional Asia-Pacific initiatives. Regional financial cooperation under the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) has gathered momentum and been quite markedly shaped by Japan. More recently, China has emerged as another increasingly influential actor shaping regional initiatives such as the recently established Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which Japan has not yet joined.

Japan has not played a leading role in global environmental-policy efforts, particularly in the post-Kyoto Protocol negotiations. In 2015, Japan pledged \$4 billion for the Sendai Cooperation Initiative for Disaster Risk Reduction in the context of UN efforts in this field.

#### Citation:

Mitsuru Obe, Japan Parliament Approves Overseas Military Expansion, The Wall Street Journal, 18 September 2015, http://www.wsj.com/articles/japan-parliament-approves-abe-security-bills-1442596867

The Economist, Japan and the AIIB: To join or not to join, 30 May 2015. http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21652351-will-japan-lend-its-muscle-chinas-new-asian-infrastructure-bank-join-or-not-join

## Lithuania

#### Score 7

Lithuania actively engages in international policy cooperation on behalf of democracy and market-economic systems, in particular by providing encouragement to its eastern neighbors (the Eastern Partnership countries) to reform, by providing technical and financial assistance, and by serving as an advocate for their interests within the EU institutional framework. Lithuania has been part of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan since 2005. The country's policymakers have managed to coordinate their involvement in these international fields quite effectively. In 2012, Lithuania joined the OECD forum for transparency and the exchange of information for tax purposes, and completed a first compliance assessment. In 2015, Lithuania was invited to start its accession process to the OECD. In the second half of 2013, Lithuania took over the rotating EU Council presidency, and was afterward assessed by other EU institutions and member states as performing effective work. Furthermore, Lithuania became a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council for the 2014 - 2015 term. However, the Lithuanian government has been less willing or able to contribute to such global challenges as climate change or trade liberalization (except in the context of its EU Council presidency).

#### Citation:

Vilpisauskas, R. "Lithuania's EU Council Presidency: Negotiating Finances, Dealing with Geopolitics," Journal of Common Market Studies, vol. 52, Annual Review, August 2014, pp. 99-108.

# Portugal

Score 7

Although Portugal is small, relatively poor, and not very influential as a nation, it is a member of the European Union, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe, NATO, OECD, the World Trade Organization, the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, CPLP), among other groups. It works with other nations through these organizations to develop policies. Given the country's size and importance, it collaborates quite effectively in shaping and implementing collective efforts to provide global public goods.

## South Korea

Score 7

Compared to the preceding Lee Myung-bak administration, the current Park administration is far less global in its orientation. Under the Lee administration, the government took a considerably more active role in international organizations. During this period, South Korea increased its contribution to the World Bank and the IMF, and was an active participant in the G-20. South Korea has also increased its development-cooperation efforts, and became a member of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) in 2009. In 2011, South Korea hosted the OECD High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan. However, the Park administration appears much more oriented toward the traditional "four-country diplomacy" that focuses on relations with the United States, Japan, China and Russia, with the primary goal of achieving unification with North Korea. However, the Park administration has also sought to contribute more to international development-cooperation efforts, as well as global issues such as global warming and anti-terrorism campaigns.

#### Citation:

Kalinowski, Thomas and Hyekyung Cho. 2012. Korea's search for a global role between hard economic interests and soft power. European Journal of Development Research 24 (2):242-260. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2012.7.

# Spain

Score 7

In January 2015, Spain assumed a position as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), a mandate that will run for two years. In addition to a general UNSC role, Spain chaired (as of the time of writing) the Iran and North Korea sanctions committees, as well as the Committee on the Non-

proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. Council membership generates rights of access to and participation in, including voting on, all decisions of this organ. However, it also implies great responsibilities in the process of meeting current threats in the changing security environment as well as global challenges such as climate change, epidemics and sustainable development. In this context, Spain has manifested a clear commitment to promoting human rights, respect for international law, a proactive agenda on terrorism and greater attention to gender issues (this latter issue expressed in particular through Resolution 2242 on Women and Peace, adopted in October 2015).

Apart from its UNSC membership, Spain continues to participate in other international efforts to provide global public goods (financial stability, economic development, security, environment, education, governance, etc.) as one of the leading EU member states, and as a permanent guest at the G-20 summits. It has also contributed to international forums and actions responding to challenges such as climate change (Paris summit), energy supply, illegal migration (in part through bilateral agreements in Northern Africa), global terrorism, and peacekeeping (with Spanish troops deployed as a part of U.N., NATO and EU missions in Lebanon, Sahel, the Horn of Africa waters and the Baltic region). However, Prime Minister Rajoy and other government leaders have done little to ensure that the impact of national policies on these global issues has been systematically assessed and incorporated into the formulation, coordination and monitoring of internal policies across governments. Spain's government has also played only a small role in addressing the Syrian refugee crisis, despite parliamentary and civil-society criticism.

#### Citation:

Jessica Almqvist. 2015. Spain and the UN Security Council: global governance, human rights and democratic values, Elcano Expert Comment 29/2015 - www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/web/rielcano\_en/contenido?WCM\_GLOBAL\_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano\_i n/zonas\_in/spanishforeignpolicy/commentary-almqvist-spain-and-the-un-security-council-global-governance-human-rights-and-democratic-values

UN Security Council adopts resolution on women, peace and security http://en.mehrnews.com/news/111021/UN-Security-Council-adopts-resolution-on-women-peace

# **United Kingdom**

Score 7

The United Kingdom has long played a leading role in coordinating international initiatives and the country's imperial legacy has contributed to its active stance on international commitments. It has played a leading role in recent years, for example, in efforts to eradicate poverty in Africa, coordinate the EU response to the Ebola outbreak, promote reform in the financial sector and combat climate change. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, the United Kingdom is very active in the United Nations and also plays a leading, but sometimes polarizing, role in NATO. Domestic politics have served as a drag on the United Kingdom's relations with the EU and its EU partners. Some EU partners have expressed resentment at the

manner in which the UK demands for EU reform have been presented. The UK's insistence on a distinctive approach to dealing with Syrian refugees has not been well received, though the UK is seen as more constructive on other aspects of external policy.

## Austria

Score 6

Within the European Union, the government is obliged to collaborate with EU institutions. This collaboration is rarely controversial. In other matters (e.g., within the framework of the WTO, the Bretton Woods institutions, and the United Nations), the Austrian government tends to play a rather low-key role, usually trying to follow a general EU policy if such a policy exists. In some fields (e.g., environmental protection), the government tends to promise more on the international level than it is willing or able to implement at home.

## Israel

Score 6

As part of OECD accession in 2010, Israel pursued the creation of government agencies designed to coordinate, enforce and monitor administrative changes. Reforms aiming to improve interministerial cooperation and reinforce policy monitoring are still in the early stages of implementation, and have not yet stood the test of an international policy aimed at a global public good. A 2015 report examined Israel's global cooperation in research and development (R&D), looking at the country's administrative and economic capabilities. It found that while Israel is considered to be a leading R&D actor worldwide, advancement of coordination, accessible information and standardization capabilities is warranted.

#### Citation:

Avital, Yanicm, "Which country spend the most on research and development among OECD countires?," GeekTime, 15.7.2015:

http://www.geektime.co.il/israel-leads-spending-on-rd-in-oecd-countries/ (Hebrew).

Kaufman, Dan and Marom, Yael, "Evaluation of international cooperation programs in R&D in Israel," The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, May 2011, (Hebrew).

"Israel in the OECD," Minister of Treasury formal report, 2010, (Hebrew).

"Progress report on the implementation of the OECD recommendations: Labor market and social policies," Ministry of Industry, trade and labor official report, June 2012, (Hebrew).

## Italy

Score 6

The ability of Italian governments to take a leading role in international efforts is generally limited. This is in part due to the country's relatively small size, but also because Italian politics tends to focus on internal matters. Moreover, frequent changes in political leadership have made it difficult to provide a strong and clear position in international efforts. There have been occasional exceptions when the government has been more active on a specific issue (such as the abolition of death penalty, or in the promotion of peace talks in the Middle East). The Renzi

government has mainly focused on the EU level, with the executive actively engaged in EU policy discussions promoting the need for economic growth over simple fiscal balance. With regard to the immigration crisis, the Italian government is engaged in promoting solidarity among EU member states. Through its presidency of the European Council in 2014, the government secured some agreements. These included the implementation of the EU's Frontex Triton operation, which replaced Italy's Mare Nostrum mission and aims to tackle the issue of migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea in the hope of entering the EU.

In general, the government has increased domestic awareness of Italy's international role.

#### Latvia

Score 6 Latvia largely contributes to international actions through engaging in the development of EU policy positions.

Institutional arrangements for the formulation of Latvia's positions on issues before the EU are formalized. The system is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with particular sectoral ministries developing the substance of Latvia's various positions. The process requires that NGOs be consulted during the early policy-development phase. In practice, ministries implement this requirement to varying degrees. NGOs themselves often lack the capacity (human resources, financial resources, time) to engage substantively with the ministries on an accelerated calendar.

Draft positions are coordinated across ministries and approved in some cases by the sectoral minister, and in other cases by the Council of Ministers. Issues deemed to have a significant impact on Latvia's national interests are presented to the parliament's European Affairs Committee, whose decision is binding. The committee considers approximately 500 national positions per year.

During the first six months of 2015, Latvia held the presidency of the Council of the European Union. Latvia's first experience with the presidency was considered a success, with the country providing appropriate leadership both on expected challenges, such as returning Europe to economic growth, and unexpected challenges, such as the rapidly escalating refugee crisis and terrorist activity in Europe.

# Netherlands

Score 6 The Netherlands has been an avid protagonist in all forms of international cooperation since the Second World War. However, research has shown that since the late 1970s, 60% of EU directives have been delayed (sometimes by years) before being transposed into Dutch law. The present-day popular attitude to international

affairs is marked by reluctance, indifference or rejection. This has had an impact on internal and foreign policy, as indicated by the Dutch shift toward assimilationism in integration and immigration policies; the decline in popular support and subsequent lowering of the 1%-of-government-spending-norm for development aid; the shift in the government's attitude toward being a net contributor to EU finances; and the rejection of the EU referendum. The change in attitudes has also negatively affected government participation and influence in international coordination of policy and other reforms. Since 2003, the Dutch States General have been more involved in preparing EU-related policy, but largely through the lens of subsidiarity and proportionality - that is, in the role of guarding Dutch sovereignty. However, Dutch ministers do play important roles in the coordination of financial policies at the EU level. Indeed, it is only since the beginning of the banking and financial crisis that the need for better coordination of international policymaking by the Dutch government has led to reforms in the architecture of policy formulation. The sheer number of EU top-level meetings between national leaders forces the Dutch prime minister to act as minister of general and European affairs, with heavy support from the minister of finance.

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R.B. Andeweg & G.A. Irwin, Governance and Politics of The Netherlands (2014). Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 220-228 regarding coordination viz-a-viz the EU and 251-272 for Foreign Policy in general. "Dijsselbloem herkozen als Eurogroepvoorzitter", in NRC-Handelsblad, 13 July 2015

"De eerste 100 dagen van eurocommisaris Frans Timmermans", in Europa Nu, 31 March 2015 (europa-nu.nl, consulted 26 October 2015)

#### Slovakia

Score 6

Because of its size, Slovakia's capacity to shape strategic global frameworks is limited. However, Slovakia is well integrated into NATO and the European Union. Eager to be seen as a reliable and trustworthy partner, Slovakia has complied with most EU guidelines and programs. EU policy toward Russia is an exception in this regard, as Slovakia maintains close and partially institutionalized relations (e.g., the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation) with Russia. In response to the Greek debt crisis and the EU refugee crisis, Fico defied the official EU position. While he did not block a consensus from being reached in the Greek case, he did so in the debate on the distribution of refugees. Fico's decision and his Islamaphobic statements led the European Socialist Party (PES) to consider suspending Fico's party Smer-SD in the socialist party family. Furthermore, his repeated critique of EU sanctions imposed on Russia and his support for Russia's military strikes in Syria have raised doubts about Slovakia's reliability. President Kiska, as well as the foreign and the defense ministers have tried to counter these concerns.

#### Citation:

<sup>-</sup>Aline Robert (2015), Robert Fico: Anti-refugee, pro-Russian headache for the Socialists, 8.10.2015; http://www.euractiv.com/sections/justice-home-affairs/robert-fico-anti-refugee-pro-russian-headache-socialists-318324

# Turkey

Score 6

Turkey is present in UN peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Lebanon, Somalia, Haiti and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The government has continued its efforts to mediate in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Black Sea/Caucasus region. The government's doctrine of "humanitarian diplomacy" has been widely acknowledged, and the global activities of its main actors in this field – the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay), the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) and the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) – have received widespread praise.

As a result of the ongoing civil war in Syria, Turkey had hosted and assisted more than 2.5 million Syrian refugees as of November 2015, with only a limited share of this group living in state-run refugee camps. The flow of refugees through Turkey on their way to Europe has become an urgent international issue. EU-Turkey dialogue on the refugee issue, beginning with a late-November 2015 summit, quickly became a bargaining dialogue over the EU's financial contribution to Turkey's attempts to stem the flow of migrants and Turkey's membership negotiation process.

The emergence of the Islamic State (IS) terrorist group has represented a new threat to Turkey as well as others. It challenges established state frontiers, exacerbates sectarianism and refugee pressures, and claims ideological hegemony with its fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. Moreover, IS's sudden advance into the Kurdish regions in Syria and Iraq has imposed new challenges for the Kurds in the region and to the Turkish government's "solution process." Turkey's initial, rather unilateral policy toward IS was criticized by opposition parties, media outlets, and the international community. Later, in July 2015 and after the Suruç bombing, the Turkish Armed Forces began to strike IS as well as PKK targets. The government subsequently realized that both the refugee and the international terrorist crises require an effective and coordinated action plan with the participation of all relevant parties. In addition to the consultative, coordinative and cooperative structures within NATO and the EU, Turkey has also participated in the Vienna talks in search of a diplomatic solution to the Syrian conflict.

Chairing the G-20 in 2015, Turkey effectively coordinated a wide range of policies and global issues including youth, refugees, climate change and transparency within the consultative framework of this multilateral body. In addition, Turkish politicians participate in World Economic Forum meetings and other regional and international organizations. The country is also one of the initiators and co-sponsors of the U.N.-affiliated Alliance of Civilizations initiative. Turkey hosted the 8th Global Forumon Migration and Development (GFMD) Summit Meeting "Migration and Human Mobility for Sustainable Development" in October 2015, and is organizing the first "World Humanitarian Summit" to be held in 2016 under the auspices of the United Nations.

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Turkey to contribute more to UN peacekeeping, says PM, 29.09.2015, http://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-to-contribute-more-to-un-peacekeeping-says-pm/347611 (accessed 27 October 2015).

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Turkey rejects EU offer on refugee crisis, Aljazeera, 15 October 2015, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/10/turkey-rejects-eu-offer-refugee-crisis-151016194610039.html (accessed 27 October 2015).

Turkey's air force hits IS and PKK in Syria and Iraq, 26 July 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33663005 (accessed 27 October 2015).

#### Canada

Canada's government definitely has the institutional capacity to contribute actively to international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. Indeed, it has made many contributions in this area throughout its history. However, the political will and the desire for Canada to be seen as a model global citizen appears to have weakened. The classic example is the issue of climate change, where Canada is an outlier and laggard in attempts to reduce greenhouse gases emissions through international agreement. The Canadian government also quietly pulled out of the U.N. anti-drought convention in 2013, making Canada the only country in the world not to be taking part in the convention. At the first-ever U.N. World Conference on

landmark indigenous-rights document.

The incoming Liberal government has stated that it seeks to return Canada to active participation in international bodies like the United Nations. Climate change is among new Prime Minister Trudeau's declared priorities. In addition, to help ease the current refugee crisis, Trudeau promised to bring 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada by February 2016.

Indigenous Peoples in 2014, Canada was the only U.N. member country to reject a

## Croatia

Score 5 Croatia has supported major global reform initiatives, especially in environmental affairs. However, the Milanović government did not pay particular attention to improving the country's capacity to engage in global affairs or to assessing the global repercussions of national policies. Unlike her predecessor, the new president Kolinda Grabar Kitarović was not very active in improving cooperation with the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

## Estonia

Score 5 Engagement in international development is mainly the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There is an interministerial coordination group tasked with coordinating foreign-policy issues, which includes cabinet ministers. As in other

areas, Estonia is good at adhering to international commitments but rarely takes the lead. Likewise, Estonia is not very good at assessing the impact of national policies on the global challenge of human development. Assessment takes place in some policy areas (e.g., environment, energy, IT), but integrated coordination and monitoring across policy fields is nonexistent. Given that policy collaboration is still in its infancy, one cannot speak about systematic communication between the government and other stakeholders. Yet in some specific areas such as development aid or combatting HIV/AIDS, various interest groups do serve as active government partners.

## **Iceland**

Score 5

Iceland is an active participant in international forums, but seldom initiates measures. Iceland was a founding member of the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, and NATO. In 2008, Iceland sought a UN Security Council seat, but eventually lost out to Austria and Turkey. Largely, Iceland has worked cooperatively within international frameworks, but has not led any significant process of international coordination. Iceland did participate in peacekeeping efforts in Iraq and modestly participates in the work of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In 2009, Iceland applied for EU membership. Those negotiations were postponed at the beginning of 2013 due to disagreements between the coalition partners. The current government did not renew negotiations and finally withdrew Iceland's application for membership in 2015. Even so, the EU continues to view Iceland as an applicant country arguing that the Minister of Foreign Affairs is not authorized to withdraw an application approved by parliament without the parliament's approval. There is widespread public support for a national referendum on the issue. However, the government rejected this option.

Citation:

The Icelandic webpage on the negotiations: http://eu.mfa.is/negotiations/statu s-of-talks/nr/7109.

#### Mexico

Score 5

The Mexican government is increasingly confident of its role in the broader world. Mexico has traditionally been supportive of international initiatives, in the hope of reducing the bilateralism imposed by Mexico's close and asymmetrical relationship with the United States.

Mexico plays an active role in the OECD and in other intergovernmental agencies. It also remains an enthusiastic participant in multilateral organizations, including international financial organizations such as the World Bank, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Development Bank. Mexico is playing an important role in the Sustainable Development Goals process and participated in the Third International Conference on Financing for Development in

2015. Numerous policy and organizational recommendations made by international bodies have been adopted in the Mexican policymaking process. Thus, it has a supportive role in many international attempts oriented toward the provision of global public goods. Yet, whether this engagement in international affairs is sufficient to shape international efforts is questionable given the country's low level of international leverage in economic and security affairs.

## Romania

Romania's NATO and EU accession were celebrated as significant milestones and part of a reunification process with Western Europe following the collapse of communism. The Romanian government has been supportive of international efforts to provide global public goods. Thus, Romania has sent troops to Afghanistan as part of the NATO mission, and supported international efforts to combat climate change. In the year under review, Romania contributed the initiative of an International Criminal Court against Terrorism to the United Nations, a notion attracting support and interest from a multitude of member states. This is somewhat atypical, as

campaigns for capacity reasons.

#### Slovenia

Score 5

Like its predecessors, Prime Minister Cerar's government was preoccupied with domestic political and economic issues, and paid little attention to improving institutional capacity for shaping and implementing global initiatives. The country's main international focus has been on shaping the European Union's policy toward the western Balkans, where Slovenia sees its strategic interests. In July 2015, the Croatian parliament abandoned the Slovenian-Croatian border dispute arbitration case, not only significant for Slovenia and Croatia, but also for the broader Western Balkan region, which could use the good practice as a model for solving many border disputes unresolved to this day.

Romania generally has played a more modest role in shaping such international

## Switzerland

Score 5

Switzerland is a fairly active member of the United Nations, the IMF, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe and most of the other important international organizations. In 2014, the Swiss foreign minister, then president of the OSCE, was involved in the negotiations for a peace arrangement in the Ukraine crisis. Swiss foreign economic policy works actively to defend the interests of its export-oriented economy, as for instance in the context of the WTO.

The policy of neutrality and the objective of safeguarding national autonomy set clear limits to the country's international engagement in the past, however, and direct democracy further reduced the scope of action in international affairs. During the growing polarization witnessed in Swiss politics over the past 15 years, together with the associated decline in consociational patterns of behavior, right-wing politicians have emphasized the notion of a small, neutral and independent nation-state surviving on the basis of smart strategies in a potentially hostile environment. Large portions of the population support these ideas. Popular skepticism toward European integration has mounted over the course of the last eight years. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to repeat the cliché of Switzerland as a solitary lone wolf, as there have been various attempts to contribute to international cooperative ventures. However, the country concentrates its efforts in areas where it can realistically have some influence, such as economic matters or technical organizations dealing with issues such as transport, ecology or development. This said, there is a clear gap between the government's stated goals in terms of international cooperation and the resources institutional or otherwise – that it has at its disposal for these tasks.

# Bulgaria

Score 4

While the capacity of Bulgarian government bodies to correspond with, coordinate and participate in international processes and initiatives has improved markedly over recent years, the fact remains that Bulgaria is still primarily reactive in terms of international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. This is due both to a lack of capacity and a risk-minimizing strategy of avoiding the commitments involved in taking proactive positions. More often than not, Bulgaria tends to take part in international efforts but wait for the international community to formulate policies, set goals and benchmarks. It then does its best to implement those domestically. Inasmuch as there is coordination and assessment going on, it is for these reactive purposes. A recent example of this type of behavior has been Bulgaria's dithering regarding the international sanctions against Russia. The country has taken on a more active role in shaping the EU's response to the recent "refugee crisis."

# Cyprus

Score 4

As a member of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the United Nations and other international organizations, Cyprus could have seized many opportunities to contribute to the global public welfare. However, specific plans or mechanisms to ensure sustained contribution of similar kind are largely absent. Rather, ministry officials typically provide isolated contributions in the course of their participation in meetings of international organizations. The country has limited its potential for more ambitious participation in part by focusing its attention on the division of the

island, a rather parochial concern, and since 2012 on overcoming problems related to the economic crisis. Following the discovery of hydrocarbons, initiatives aimed at coordinating with neighboring countries in particular may allow Cyprus to expand its international role further.

# Czech Republic

Score 4 For a long time, the Czech government acted not as a leader, but as a trustworthy and reliable partner of the international community. Vis-à-vis the European Union, this has changed in the summer of 2015 in the context of the refugee crisis. Together with other Visegrad countries, the Czech Republic opposed EU quotas for the relocation of refugees without having any constructive proposals for a global solution to the problem. The lack of a credible plan to implement the euro, inconsistent attitudes toward the European integration process and numerous scandals associated with the use of EU funds, as well as the unwillingness of government ministers to attend high-level EU meetings, have resulted in the country's marginalization in European structures. Furthermore, President Zeman remains a strong critic of the sanctions against Russia, maintaining cordial relations with Russia and China, supporting their official governing line and being increasingly critical of civil society, activism and human-rights activism.

#### Greece

Score 4 Greece, through its membership in the euro zone and through EU summits and meetings of ministers, has participated in international efforts to foster the provision of public goods. For instance, Greece has been vocal at international forums in pressuring for a global response to migration issues, emphasizing that migration from the developing world into Europe is not solely a Greek problem arising from its geographical position between Europe and Asia. This was particularly underlined by the Syriza-ANEL government in 2015, as it found itself unable to manage the huge inflow of refugees landing on Greek shores. However, given its own severe economic crisis, Greece has been unable to develop institutional capacities beyond its role as an EU member state in fostering the provision of public goods nor has it been able to devote resources to ensure that its own policies are in line with international policies. Still, credit must be given to Greece's new PM, Alexis Tsipras, whose fiery rhetoric against austerity and electoral victories in Greece has incited worldwide discussions about the efficiency and fairness of providing public goods through orthodox neo-liberal economic policies (policies still followed today in the EU and around the globe).

## Malta

Score 4

Malta does not have the institutional capacity to actively shape a wide range of international efforts. However, Malta has sought to do this within its immediate Mediterranean region and increasingly within the EU. It continues to support good-governance efforts in Libya and Tunisia, and co-operates closely on refugee and migration issues with neighboring countries. Malta accepts more asylum-seekers per capital than almost all other countries. As such, it has invested heavily in support services since 2013. In 2015 Malta, hosted Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and contributed toward the setting up of a fund to assist small commonwealth island countries with climate change. Preliminary discussions also took place in preparation for the Paris Climate Change Summit. In December 2015, Malta hosted a meeting between representatives of Libya's rival factions, which contributed to the UN peace deal the following day.

# Hungary

Score 3

The Orbán governments have been self-centered and inward-looking. They have little interest and limited capacity to engage in collective global efforts. Orbán has often acted unpredictably and has engaged in double-talk in international encounters; thus, he has become isolated within the international community, especially in the value-based EU. The government's capacity for international coordination has also suffered from the government's hostility toward independent experts and its frequent changes in personnel. After the change of leadership in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Foreign Affairs, almost no foreign-policy expert has remained in place. There is, however, some coordination within the Visegrád-4 framework, especially prior to EU summits and other EU Council meetings. In the EU refugee crisis, the group took a united stand against the more liberal German and Swedish approaches. This unity has been favored by the recent change in government in Poland.

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