

CFSP WATCH 2004 – Slovenia – by Sabina Kajnc¹

Methodological observations

The attitudes of the Slovenian Government in this report are extrapolated from the official documents of the Government² and from the answers received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.³ The attitudes expressed in speeches and interviews by the Slovenian Foreign Minister, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, as well as those stemming from press releases of the Ministry of foreign affairs have also been included.⁴ The views of the Parliament derive from the parliamentary Commission for European Affairs (hereafter referred to as the CEA), which were obtained by the means of a Questionnaire. The views of Social Democrats (an opposition party; since the elections in October 2004) are also derived from their answers to the above mentioned Questionnaire. The news and commentaries in the three main daily newspapers, *Delo*, *Dnevnik* and *Veèer*, have been analysed, only to find out that more detailed comments on the issues concerning CFSP/ESDP are absent from political commentaries in the Slovenian media. Public opinion observations from "Eurobarometer" and "Politbarometer" have also been considered in the preparation of this report.⁵

1. What are the priorities for your government in CFSP in 2004? What are the key issues for your country in 2004 (after EU enlargement, after the Iraq conflict)?

The first observation concerning the priorities and key issues of the Slovenian Government in 2004 is that there is a wide consensus among the political elites in Slovenia on them and very little debate in the academic circles, media or a wider public disputing the set priorities.

In the documents of the Government and the Parliament⁶ we read the following order of the priorities for the Slovenian Government (not necessarily in the narrower context of the CFSP, but in a broader context of Slovenian and European foreign policy).

With the aim of being a credible and competent partner in the EU, the priorities of the government of Slovenia concerning the CFSP issues in 2004 were:

- Further enlargement of the EU provided that the candidate states fulfil the membership criteria (the Copenhagen criteria). In this line the Slovenian Government supported the goal of Bulgaria and Romania becoming members in 2007. It has viewed that a clear European

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² The publication of The Government Service for European Affairs, prepared by its Department for Co-operation: "*Prednostne naloge Republike Slovenije za delo v Svetu Evropske unije v letu 2004*" ["Preferential tasks of Slovenia in the Council of European Union in the year 2004"], May 2004, Ljubljana. Available at: [http://www2.gov.si/svez/svez-web.NSF/0/68B2F1366F3825CFC1256E93003084A6/\\$file/Prednostne+naloge.pdf](http://www2.gov.si/svez/svez-web.NSF/0/68B2F1366F3825CFC1256E93003084A6/$file/Prednostne+naloge.pdf). In this report, when it is referred to the Slovenian Government, reference is made to this document.

³ A Questionnaire, an adapted version of the CFSP Watch 2004 Questionnaire, was sent to the cabinet of the Foreign Minister, to the Commission for European Affairs (CEO) in the Slovenian National Assembly (the Parliament) and to a number of political parties. The Questionnaire was sent out on 31st January 2005. The answers from the Foreign Ministry, the CEO and the Social Democrats were received in late February and March 2005. No other political party responded to the Questionnaire. In this report, when it is referred to the Foreign Ministry, the reference is made to the answers to the Questionnaire.

⁴ The speeches and interviews of Dr. Rupel are assembled on the Home Page of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.gov.si/mzz/govori/default.html> and http://www.gov.si/mzz/novinarsko_sred/intervjuji.html, while the press releases of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be found at

http://www.sigov.si/mzz/novinarsko_sred/izjave_za_javn.shtml. Exact references are given in the report.

⁵ In Slovenia a public opinion survey "Politbarometer" is conducted regularly by the Centre for Research of the Public Opinion and Mass Communications at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana. Though, no questions on the attitudes towards CFSP/ESDP have been asked. In relation to defence and military issues within the "Politbarometer" there are only questions on attitudes towards the American intervention in Iraq. There is also one comparable study on long term trust in international institutions, which compares trust in the NATO, the United Nations and the EU (Politbarometer 172004, the full report on a survey can be found at <http://www.uvi.si/slo/javno-mnenje/>.

⁶ The attitudes of the Slovenian Parliament (the National Assembly) are extrapolated from a Declaration, which the Parliament adopted at its plenary session on 12th May 2004 called "*Deklaracija o stališèih za zaèetek delovanja Republike Slovenije v institucijah EU v letu 2004*" ["Declaration on positions on the beginning of work of the Republic of Slovenia in the institutions of the EU in 2004"].

perspective, including a possibility of membership is open for Turkey and has supported Croatia's efforts to get closer to the EU, on the basis of European values.

- Possibility of a European perspective, provided they fulfil the conditions, being given to the countries of the Western Balkans. Slovenia actively takes part in helping these countries to find solutions for open questions, to complete with their transition successfully, to democratise and gradually integrate into the EU.

- Support for economic, political and social development in the states neighbouring the EU. This includes support for the European neighbourhood policy. In the governmental documents the importance of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership is acknowledged and support for deepening of the dialogue with the Mediterranean countries is given special attention.

- Relations with the United States of America, the Russian federation, with the countries neighbouring to EU and the Mediterranean countries present crucial challenges to the EU and Slovenian foreign policy.

These priorities are embedded in a new dimension of the Slovenian foreign policy rising from the accession to the EU, which brings a challenge to Slovenia to actively take part in shaping decisions and policies towards current international problems and re-affirms its role in the EU and in the world. We notice that the priorities are set according to the geographic criteria. Of the utmost importance is a clear European perspective for the countries of the Western Balkans, with Croatia representing the state that Slovenia supports the most on its way to EU membership. What follows is the immediate neighbourhood, understood as including the Mediterranean basin as well, and last comes the mentioning of the relations with the U.S. and Russia. There is, however, no specification of issues under consideration or no identification of the type of relations to both that would go beyond the mentioning of their importance. There is also no mentioning of any specific problems, issues or questions in world politics that Slovenia would prioritize.⁷

2. Please describe key positions and perceptions in Slovenia with regard to EU foreign policy, taking into account:

- The perceived success and/or failure of CFSP/ESDP (e.g. taking into account current developments like the Iraq conflict);

In Slovenia the Government sees a coherent, transparent and efficient CFSP and ESDP as a necessary instrument for the EU to live up to its potential in solving crisis situations in international relations as well as in order to accept its share of responsibility for stability and development in the world. In this line, the building of CFSP/ESDP is seen as work in progress, with crises (especially the last big crisis over Iraq) working as a trigger. Following the Iraq crisis the Slovenian Government assessed the coming about of the European Security Strategy, which, according to the Slovenian Foreign Ministry, precisely determines guidelines for a deeper and stronger role of the EU in the world, the EU Battle Group Concept, the European Defence Agency, the civil-military cell, taking over the SFOR operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, engagements in the conflicts in Africa and the appointment of the EU Counter-terrorism Co-ordinator as successful steps towards achieving the goal of an efficient CFSP/ESDP. Provisions on CFSP/ESDP in the Constitutional Treaty are seen as further mechanisms towards the realisation of the same goal and enjoy the full support of the Slovenian Government.

The same optimism in this gradual approach has also been expressed by the President of Slovenia, Dr. Drnovšek, on various occasions.⁸ Dr. Drnovšek exposed that there are differences in foreign policies of member states that might be never overcome; however, the EU can function

⁷ It is worth mentioning that the Social Democrats of Slovenia (the former United List of Social Democrats) in their answers to the adapted Questionnaire that were sent them, exposed security in the South Eastern Europe as a priority, and not just dialogue and closer ties with the EU.

⁸ See a speech delivered in Davos on the future of Europe (22 January 2004), available at <http://www.up-rs.si/up-rs/uprs.nsf/dokumentiweb/5AC4EE05E1C7851DC1256F8E0048635A?OpenDocument>; a speech delivered on the occasion of accession to NATO (7 April 2005), available at <http://www.up-rs.si/up-rs/uprs.nsf/dokumentiweb/7998CF31C3C612BBC1256F900035AF46?OpenDocument>; and an interview given in MaDr.id for TVE (11 May 2004), available at <http://www.up-rs.si/up-rs/uprs.nsf/dokumentiweb/1D14490F5F6F0C2EC1256F9000392086?OpenDocument>.

despite these differences. The EU defence policy will gradually become more visible, however not much better, according to his opinion. He based his opinion on a smaller raise in European defence spending thus causing an ever increasing gap between Europe and the U.S. According to his opinion "the Europe of the future" will not be a superpower. Its forces will be better organised than they are now and better prepared to face asymmetric security threats, but they will lag behind the American forces.

On the crisis itself, it was much debated in the Parliament; however, no official positions were taken. The debate has moved forward to support of the SC resolution 1546/04 and hence support for the civilian crisis management in Iraq.

- The position of Slovenia towards NATO after enlargement (in relationship with the ESDP), as well as NATO's role in Afghanistan and in Iraq;

The common position towards the ESDP and NATO in Slovenia, as expressed often by the Foreign Minister, the Government and the Parliament is that both institutions are complementary and that ESDP should evolve in such a direction as not to cause duplication of workload with NATO. Transparency in action of both is highly valued in order to avoid duplication and assure efficiency. Examples of an efficient transfer of responsibilities in the Western Balkans, in case of handing over the Concordia mission and the SFOR operations under the EU command, are cited as good examples of a cooperative work. The network of mechanisms and instruments, such as the Berlin + agreement, is viewed as enabling a successful action in crisis situations and joint co-operation towards ensuring a stable international security environment.

Social Democrats, in their answer to the adapted version of the Questionnaire, have stressed the importance of strengthening the EU pillar within NATO.

Public opinion surveys ("Politbarometer" 1/2004) show higher trust in the EU than in NATO, however, they both lag behind the trust expressed in the United Nations.

- The role of the EU in crisis management e.g. in Europe and Africa

The crisis in Iraq has dominated every debate over the role of the EU in crisis management. The CEO in their answers to the Questionnaire confirmed that in the parliamentary debates the debate also includes Iraq and the crisis management activity is viewed as successful and enjoys support. Social Democrats, however, with a reference to Iraq, exposed that often the EU is not efficient enough, which allows the United States to go alone. The Foreign ministry, however, praised the crisis management in the Western Balkans in the context of the relations between the EU and NATO in the Balkans.

- The perceived impact of EU enlargement on CFSP/ESDP (old versus new Europe?)

There is a widely shared view that enlargement can only contribute to the strength of the EU as a global actor and the debate on old versus new Europe has been rejected as being imposed on the EU and as being artificial. It is more likely that divisions in Europe might come around the cleavages among the small and the bigger nations, but not in terms of a division as first expressed by Donald Rumsfeld.

Slovenian Foreign ministry sees the accession of the new member states to the EU as bringing an "added value" to the EU in terms of knowledge and experiences, which will be important in shaping of an efficient CFSP/ESDP of the EU. According to the Slovenian Foreign ministry, ESDP has gained on instruments and capabilities by incorporating new member states.

The question of the variety of views and opinions and longer consultations and negotiations in order to bring about common positions is of course not neglected. The Slovenian Foreign ministry sees the Constitutional Treaty and the mechanisms it introduces, such as the institution of the European Foreign Minister, the elaboration of the External Service, as guarantors of coherence and efficiency in Europe's foreign relations and defence capabilities.

- The view of the European Security Strategy (ESS) as an instrument for enhancing coherence in the EU's security policy; how does Slovenia view the ESS and which issues are of particular importance?

The ESS enjoys the full support of the Slovenian Government. It is seen as an important step towards construction of a coherent ESDP and as one of the preconditions for the efficient CFSP/ESDP.⁹ The implementation of the strategy, however, will be of crucial importance. The Slovenian Government (and the Parliament) supports its implementation in the following aspects: fight against terrorism, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, effective multilateralism, coherent policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and strategic partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

In the Parliament's document as well as in a speech delivered by Foreign Minister Rupel at a conference in Helsinki¹⁰ utmost importance is laid on the principle of effective multilateralism and the close relationship between the principle of an effective multilateralism and co-operation and close partnership with NATO and the Russian Federation as well as with other forums, such as the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the World Trade Organisation, is stressed. Close co-operation with strategic partners is necessary for a solution of the Middle East crisis. Accession of the new EU member states to the Agreement on partnership and co-operation with the Russian Federation is highly prioritised and so is the support for a common European position towards reforming the United Nations.

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To sum up, the Slovenian Government supports the EU's efforts to further develop and institutionalise its foreign policy, including the construction of a security pillar. This support, however, is safeguarded by good relations with NATO and by prioritising the relations with the Western Balkans. There is also no public debate on the issue and in general being a part of the CFSP/ESDP is seen as having a say in the world politics, which Slovenia as a small country otherwise would not have.

3. The Results of the Intergovernmental Conference 2003/2004 on the Constitutional Treaty

- Have there been any official contributions or proposals brought to the IGC by your country's representatives with regard to External relations, CFSP and ESDP?

No.

Describe (briefly) the position of your country in the following key issues:

- External Representation: What is the final position of your country on the European foreign minister and the President of the European Council? Is your country in favour of double hatting?

In the process of the coming about of the Constitutional Treaty, the Government of Slovenia supported proposals aiming towards greater efficiency in the EU and a strengthening of its role internationally. It supported the creation of a post of a European foreign minister as well as a European President. The mandate of the Foreign Minister, however, is very broadly defined and needs to be further specified before the minister takes up the post.

⁹ Slovenian Press Agency STA: 'Skupen nastop Slovenije in Avstrije v operaciji SFOR v BiH' ['Co-operation of Slovenia and Austria in the operation SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina], 5 March 2004.

¹⁰ A speech by Foreign Minister Rupel, delivered at a conference "European Security Strategy - Next Steps" in Helsinki, 25 February 2004, available at: <http://www.gov.si/mzz/govori/04022502.html>. The Foreign Minister stressed that "above all, the strategy can only be efficient and successful if it is coordinated and formulated in close cooperation with other international players in the region, particularly our transatlantic allies (worth mentioning is the idea of German Minister of Foreign Affairs Fischer expressed at the security conference in Munich)."

Slovenian Government supported the “double hatting”.¹¹

- Decision-making: Does your country opt for an extension of qualified majority voting in the field of CFSP? Did your country support the Italian Presidency proposal for qualified majority voting to be applied when a proposal is submitted in CFSP by the Foreign Minister?

Slovenia supported the extension of qualified majority voting into the current second and third pillar. The then prime minister Anton Rop explained Slovenian support for abolishing the national veto in terms of our interest as a member-state with an external border, exposed to problems with asylums and refugees.¹² Slovenian Government did not oppose the Italian proposal.¹³

- Crisis management: What is the official position on expanding the Petersberg tasks and making reference to tasks that involve military resources? Which regions does your country consider as particularly promising for EU crisis management (e.g. Africa, Southern Caucasus)?

Slovenian Government supports the expansion of the Petersberg tasks, provided it is complementary to NATO and does not cause duplication of work. The aim of security co-operation in Europe has to be an efficient use of capabilities at disposal and co-operation with other international organisation (the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe) when planning and implementing crisis management operations. Slovenian Government believes even greater civilian crisis management engagement on the part of the EU in its immediate neighbourhood would be welcome.

Within further development of the EU's capabilities in crisis management Slovenian Government supports developments towards greater efficiency and faster deployment. In this line the Government supports the Swedish concept of a Civil Response Team.

- Defence: What is your country's position towards the establishment of the civilian-military cell at the EUMS? Was your government in favour of creating a full-fledged operational EU headquarters?

Slovenia supports the establishment of a civilian-military cell. It sees it as a step forward towards creation of a coherent and efficient ESDP.

- What is the official position of your country on the new provisions for permanent structured cooperation, the final wording of the mutual defence clause, and the role and tasks of the defence agency? Should the agency become the institutional nucleus for European procurement and a single budget for defence?

Slovenian Government is satisfied with the provisions on permanent structured co-operation, it also supports the creation of an European Defence Agency and of the civilian-military cell as the right steps towards the creation of a more coherent and efficient ESDP.

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In conclusion, Slovenia is not actively working towards shaping the future *contours* of the CFSP/ESDP, however, it is in favour of an institutionalised CFSP/ESDP as long as it does not exclude small countries and does not present a duplication of work with NATO.

¹¹ Foreign minister Rupel in a speech delivered at the session of the European Convention on the future of Europe, in Brussels on 16 May 2003, available also at: <http://www.gov.si/mzz/govori/03051601.htm>.

¹² Dnevnik: “Premier Rop na vrh EU z zmerno količino realizma” [“Prime Minister Rop with a sober quantity of realism to the EU Summit”], 17 June 2004, available at: <http://www.dnevnik.si/clanekb.asp?id=86550>.

¹³ Foreign Ministry in an answer to the Questionnaire.

4. Mapping of Activities in CFSP-related Research

- Please indicate major experts, universities and research institutions working in the CFSP field in your country.

Within the University of Ljubljana research related to CFSP is conducted at the Centre of International Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences (<http://www.mednarodni-odnosi.si/cmof/>). The website contains links to research areas and research staff. Major experts working in the field are Dr. Bojko Buèar and Dr. Zlatko Šabiè.

Defence Research Centre at the same faculty also conducts research on security and defence in Europe

([http://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/angleščina/research.htm#Defence%20Research%20Centre%20\(DRC\)](http://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/angleščina/research.htm#Defence%20Research%20Centre%20(DRC)))

Major experts in the field are Dr. Anton Bebler, Dr. Anton Grizold and Dr. Milan Jazbec.

Institutes independent of the University, which to some extent embrace topics related to CFSP and ESDP, are:

Peace Institute (<http://www.mirovni-institut.si/eindex.htm>) and

Institute for European Studies (<http://www.evropskiinstitut.si/institut.htm>).

- Institute for Strategic Studies (<http://www.iss-lj.si/contact.htm>)

Research on CFSP and ESDP at these institutions is mainly conducted within the broader framework of research on European integration or International Security (in case of the latter).