

YEARBOOK

**of Foreign Policy
of the Slovak Republic**

2000

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Preface

Basic idea of periodic publishing the *Yearbook of Slovak Foreign Policy* is rooting in the need to consolidate tradition of regular balancing the whole complex of Slovak foreign policy on all levels. Last volume as well as this one has approved the initiative of organising an evaluation conference and based on it to publish a *Yearbook of Slovak Foreign Policy*. This has been proved not only by interest from the side of expanding professional community and media, but above all from the key actors of foreign policy of the SR, state administration representatives, non-governmental institutions and academic and scientific circles.

Specific role of the *Yearbook* is a presentation and statement of tasks of foreign policy of the SR from its primary actors view, analysis of key trends of specific period as well as providing current data of practical character. Our ambition is to make the *Yearbook of Slovak Foreign Policy* into a practical tool for everybody who is dealing with this area and to help to diversify and expand information sources focusing on this field.

As for the content, this year the *Yearbook* is modifying and extending the structure proved last year. Except of presentations from the Conference *Slovak Foreign Policy in 2000 – Progress in Integration* and topical annexes it is opening the possibility to publish analyses of selected problems of foreign policy of the SR in the year 2000. The last year's conference was significant for the intentions defining 1999 as a break-through in Slovakia's integration effort. This year the conference characterised the level of using opened chances and evaluated Slovakia's progress and as many presenters stressed, progress in the newly started direction. Confirming political stability in the home country and position of a trustworthy partner towards foreign partners presents the basis of Slovakia's proceeding in integration ambitions to Trans-Atlantic and European structures.

Harmony of home and foreign policy has been extremely important in this tendency, the harmony between declared objectives and the government's policy. This stipulated the already mentioned consolidation of newly gained Slovakia's trustworthiness in the eyes of the public abroad.

Some of the presenters stressed, that integration is a challenge for the whole society. Public discussions focused on key topics of foreign policy play an important role in

this process. In the elapsed time in Slovakia it was gradation in intensity of debate on national security. An important role is played by the Programme of the Government of the Slovak Republic focused on increase of information of the society on the reasons and consequences of integration of Slovakia into NATO in the framework of the PRENAME programme. Also in this nexus the Conference and *the Yearbook* provide the necessary space for presentation intentions of the SR and a public discussion on the intentions.

It would not be possible to organise the Conference without a financial support of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the assistance of the Slovak branch office director Frank Spengler, as well as enthusiasm and effort of everybody involved. I'd like to express my thanks first of all to PhDr. Alena Kotvanová from the Slovak Institute of International Studies, who prepared the Conference as a project author and who compiled the Yearbook and to JUDr. Štefan Šebesta from the Institute of State and Law in the Slovak Academy of Sciences for his valuable advisory and judgment of the analytical part of the publication. Invaluable work during editing the Yearbook was done by PhDr. Tatiana Lauková and Mrs. Katarína Žáková. The Conference would not be possible without assistance of associated professor Ludmila Lipková, Dean of the Faculty of International Affairs of University of Economics in Bratislava and the students studying in this faculty.

Attila Szép, Director of Slovak Institute of International Studies

Presentation of the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Jozef Migaš

I am glad to be here at our traditional meeting, which creates a platform for the Slovak politicians and experts for the regular evaluation of the Slovak foreign policy. The second year of the evaluation conference is truly a proper forum for such a purpose.

Slovakia is a parliamentary republic, in which the parliament – the National Council of the Slovak Republic – actively takes part in foreign policy of the country, whether it happens through legislation or by building a new dimension of an active parliamentary diplomacy on a bilateral or a multilateral level.

The evaluated year was a demanding and wearying period for the coalition, while it continued the fundamental economic and social transformation. Simultaneously, the coalition was under pressure of solving questions of unemployment, social problems of citizens, increase of prices; and what is more, it had to prove its capability to act effectively at the same time.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, the guarantor of unity of the state's foreign policy, has worked out the Objectives of the Slovak Republic's Foreign Policy for 2000, in which the three already known priorities were laid down: the OECD, NATO and EU membership. So the Slovak parliament concentrated on these three priorities.

I am glad that the first priority has already been realized and Slovakia became a member of the OECD. The Slovak parliament unanimously approved the Accession Agreement on Joining the OECD at the end of October 2000. Our membership among the economically most powerful countries of the world has increased the international reputation of the Slovak Republic and its credibility and acceptability particularly when extending our economic relations with the member states of the OECD. The attitude of official and economic circles proved this during my official visits to Korea and Japan. Therefore we have to turn these advantages to the profit of the Slovak

economy and of its citizens. The increase of our international reputation has to be felt also at home, in Slovakia.

It would be useless to return always to the wasted chance of entering the NATO in 1999 at the Washington Summit. We all know the circumstances.

The NATO Summit in Prague in 2002 is ahead of us. Now we have to focus on our effort to become a NATO member.

The National Council of the Slovak Republic has set up the Group of Representatives of the National Council of the Slovak Republic for a faster integration of the Slovak Republic into the NATO. The members of the group are representatives from the coalition and from the opposition, as well. The aim of the group is to increase the interest of the public in the NATO. All parties of the parliament are for the integration into the NATO, excluding the Slovak National Party (SNS), which has Slovakia's neutrality in its program.

Three committees of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Foreign Affairs Committee, Committee for European Integration and the Defence and Security Committee, have intensified their co-operation and at presence of representatives of the defence and security ministerial departments they approved the Security Strategy of the SR at the beginning of this year. This strategy brings about the formulation of other strategic documents, such as a defence strategy, military strategy, security, defence and military laws. All these documents undergo the approval of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. The Amendment of the Constitution will enable further necessary changes in the legislative measures.

However, fulfilling the requirements for entering the NATO will be much harder. That is why I paid an official visit to the NATO Headquarters in Brussels at the beginning of this year. After a meeting with high-ranking representatives of the NATO, including the Secretary General, I came to the conclusion that the NATO does not require anything impossible from us. The professional and language preparation of military cadres including effective transformation of our armed forces has to be supported by active diplomacy, and here I mean the diplomacy of the parliament, as well. Personally, I am ready to start out several activities arising from my position of the second highest constitutional representative of the state.

For the present there is no need to invest into expensive military technology. The NATO emphasizes the following:

- realistic appraisal of our own strength and our ability to fulfil our assumed obligations;
- transparency of the realized investments;
- proper personal management with good language skills to ensure direct communication with the NATO.

So here we talk about the need of building up a reliable communication compatibility with a quality human factor.

Slovakia's NATO membership is not only the matter of the parliament and government. It affects all citizens of the Slovak Republic. Therefore our preparation

for the NATO membership cannot be a question of personal prestige, or the prestige of this coalition, but it has to be supported by the majority of the population.

Preparation of the Slovak Republic for the EU membership is a much more demanding process concerning the tasks we have to fulfil and the time limit we have for the fulfilment of these tasks. Though all political parties of the parliament support Slovakia's accession to the EU, which is the evidence of a general support.

Our main tasks are the following:

- transposition of all European legislation into Slovak law;
- reform of the public administration;
- reform of the judicature;
- strengthening of the Supreme Control Office, Constitutional Court etc.

Further background for the fulfilment of several requirements was ensured by the approval of the Constitution Amendment by the National Council in February 2001. The almost three weeks long negotiations brought challenging suggestions for elaboration of the Constitution's wording; however, they could have been characterized as a political fight between the coalition and opposition. The approval of the Amendment, taken by a constitutional majority, meant a further step towards our accession. In the future we will have to start the reform of a public administration, but also the reform of further laws and their amendments required by the accession process. In this respect it will be of crucial importance to meet the deadlines during the preparation of new laws. The bills will have to be brought in time, so the National Council of the Slovak Republic would have enough time for discussion and passing the bills. I am aware of the amount of tasks to be completed; nevertheless, in the past this parliament already proved that it can adjust its negotiations in order to meet deadlines. As a chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic I am ready to initiate the modification of the negotiation system in order to introduce a new negotiation routine while discussing laws related to our EU accession.

So far we have closed 10 chapters. The remaining ones – those more difficult – will have to be opened during the Swedish presidency and till the end of the year all chapters will have to be closed and incorporated through the parliament into the Slovak legislation; otherwise the principle of differentiation will lose its essence for us.

As a legislative condition of our accession the Slovak government will have to prepare, or initiate, and in due time submit to the National Council for approval

- 52 laws;
- 31 amendments;
- 2 proposals for the ratification of international agreements.

Besides the above, the preparation and approval of laws connected to the reform of a public administration is timely.

The NATO membership is not an aim, but a way to the extension and ensuring regional security in the scope of a new developing security system in Central Europe from which Slovakia simply cannot be left out.

The European Union does not automatically equal with a better standard of living, but it is an inevitable condition for reaching it.

Slovakia belongs to the orchestra of European countries, but if it wants to play its part, it has to have its instrument. The NATO and EU memberships are manifestations of stability and a guarantee for positive future development. The NATO and EU memberships mean security for foreign investors. Let us mention the tried and true principle: investments today – jobs tomorrow! And we need those investments.

We say that we hope for a better future. Slovakia's citizens will keep on hoping until their hopes come true and their standard of living gets better. The fact that more than 70 % of the population supports our integration compels our politicians to follow highly responsible politics. We cannot afford this hope to turn into an irreversible disappointment. Therefore the announced moratorium on the free movement of labour is not acceptable right after entering the Union. Slovakia with its workforce does not endanger economy or welfare of any other member state. On the contrary, the moratorium would have a negative impact on the citizens of this country and on their belief in integration.

Parliamentary diplomacy

Parliamentary diplomacy has a worldwide extent. The Interparliamentary Union, at the meetings of which the representatives of the National Council of the Slovak Republic are regularly present, perfectly expresses this dimension.

It is sad that some of the media tried to cast doubts on the importance of some official visits of the National Council of the Slovak Republic's chairman. I suppose it happened by their unawareness the current standard diplomatic protocol. By doing so they acquired a bad name for their own country abroad.

The parliamentary diplomacy is a rather discreet matter; still, it does not mean it is not effective. Together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it is building the positive image of Slovakia abroad; it affects the decision making of our foreign partners for the benefit of Slovakia. After all, our accession to the NATO and the EU is going to be approved by the representatives of the member states, not by the executive.

Especially in bilateral relations and negotiations we concentrate on development of business co-operations that Slovakia needs so much. The National Council of the Slovak Republic also contributed to the signed business contracts with the People's Republic of China, which were recently mentioned in the press. During its official visit to Japan the parliamentary delegation of the National Council of the Slovak Republic had a positive influence on decision making for the benefit of Japanese investments in Slovakia as well as on the project of opening the Japanese Embassy in Bratislava.

In last year's December I signed an exclusive agreement about co-operation of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the Belgian parliament. According to

the agreement we are to exchange information and delegations, representatives and officials of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, in order to strengthen our ambition to become an EU member. The Belgian parliament gave preference to Slovakia over other countries from Central Europe thanks to the effective parliamentary diplomacy of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. It is certainly our success and we are going to have a chance to take advantage of this opportunity during the Belgian EU presidency in the second half of 2001.

All bilateral negotiations at home or abroad with participation of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the parliament, chairmen of committees or members of the National Council of the Slovak Republic have contributed to the formulation of good international opinion about Slovakia abroad.

Parliamentary diplomacy is showing an improving tendency all around the world. During the last year several foreign parliamentary delegations showed interest in visits of Slovakia and we were invited to officially visit several countries. It is a manifestation of standard political relations in Slovakia.

Last year two meetings of the chairmen of the candidate states' parliaments were held with the chairman of the European Parliament, Nicole Fontain. Last year in Warsaw the Conference of the chairmen of the CEI states' parliaments was held, where we dealt with the question of how parliaments can contribute to reduction of organized crime, and also with the effectiveness of the Stability Pact in the Balkans. A conference of the chairmen of the EC member states' parliaments was held, as well. The millenary meeting of the chairmen of the UN member states' parliaments was quite exceptional, it confirmed a new extent of interparliamentary relations on bilateral and multilateral level, as well. The meeting adopted a declaration condemning all forms of racism, xenophobia and intolerance, which I recently signed in Bratislava.

Small countries cannot bring about big changes in the world, but they can contribute to their positive development. Slovakia is a small country but it can overcome this handicap and go through with its interests by following a dynamic and intensive foreign policy with all countries of the world and by emphasizing the economic dimension of diplomacy.

At the end of my speech let me mention that last Friday we approved the Amendment of the Slovak Constitution. I consider this act to be a very important closure of our accession preparations in the last year. By the approval of the Amendment legislative conditions were formulated for our integration to the EU and NATO. Negotiations were difficult. Today we can only regret that we did not go into the approval of the amendment last September. Nevertheless, I believe that we can catch up with the lost time by hard work and by intensive co-operation between the government and the parliament. We must be aware of our own responsibility and of the fact that at the end of this year a decision is going to be made about the first round of the EU enlargement.

Presentation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Mikuláš Dzurinda

The beginning of the year is the period of setting future goals, the period of elaborating plans and strategies. On the other hand, it is also the time of looking back on the events of the past. On this occasion, let me reflect on the past year events of the Slovak foreign policy.

The particularity of the period we live in is the fact that by entering the following year we are also entering a new millennium, by which new specific expectations arise. I am glad to say that on the edge of the new millennium the Slovak foreign policy does not have to look for new challenges and aims. Today, Slovakia has a clear vision of the future in terms of its foreign policy. It is the vision of heading towards the Euro Atlantic region representing stability, democracy and prosperity.

Therefore I am glad to declare that our foreign policy in the year 2000 has laid strong foundations of our future integration ambitions. While the year 1999 passed in the spirit of hard work in order to return Slovakia to the international community of democratic countries, the year 2000 was the year when we started to benefit from this hard work of ours. On 15 February 2000 accession negotiations were formally opened in Brussels between the Union and the Slovak Republic. By the end of 2000 negotiations were opened in 16 chapters from which 10 have already been closed. Our efforts were crowned by the Nice Summit in December the results of which confirmed that the EU is ready to accept new countries and to open the door for the biggest enlargement in its history so far.

Thus the year 2000 brought us closer to realization of our plan the goal of which is to enter the EU together with the other countries of the Visegrad Group. It is the Visegrad co-operation that became a further area where significant progress has been reached. As a demonstration of the more intensive co-operation the *International Visegrad Fund* could be mentioned which is the first institutional form of the Visegrad co-operation. Regarding our integration it is a very positive phenomenon that the Visegrad Group is more and more considered to be a homogeneous East-European region, from admission of which the Union itself would also benefit; while should the

Visegrad countries be admitted separately, respectively in two or more rounds of enlargement, it would lead to the disintegration of it and would contradict the essence of the European integration itself.

Considering our integration to the NATO the Visegrad co-operation is of a great importance. The repeatedly declared support of our Visegrad partners represents one of the pillars of our effort to enter the NATO and has a great share in the fact that in 2000 we got into the position of the most topical candidate for the NATO membership. Though, probably the biggest success of the Slovak foreign policy in the past year was that Slovakia was admitted to the OECD. As in the first half of 2000 we managed to realize the technical part of the accession process, after an intensive diplomatic offensive and after finding a solution to the question of audio-vision on 29 July 2000 we were invited to become the 30th full fledged member of the OECD. Subsequently, by depositing the ratification documents on 14 December 2000 we became a full fledged member of the OECD.

As our admission to the OECD was not only the recognition of our activity in foreign policy but also the recognition of economic achievements, let me mention the economic aspect of the foreign policy relations. The most sensitive indicator of how we are perceived abroad is the measure of foreign investments. The inflow of foreign investments during the last year proves what already has been said, that our efforts in foreign policy brought real successes during the last year. If we compare the amount of direct foreign investments, which in 1999 reached 0.27 billion USD, with the amount of investments in the first nine months of the past year, when this amount reached 1.1 billion USD, the progress is obvious. Positive trends have been achieved regarding the balance of foreign trade, as well. After the foreign trade deficit of goods and services in the years 1996-1997 reached 70-80 billion Slovak crowns, and later we managed to decrease it to 43 billion in 1999, in the first three quarters of 2000 it got back to a surplus after four years time. Besides our admission to the OECD the Regular Report of the European Commission from the last year could be mentioned as a further recognition of our economic progress, in which we were mentioned as a functioning market economy for the first time. The growing trustworthiness of Slovakia on the international scene is also documented by ratings of two rating agencies Moody's and Standard Poor's, which regarding Slovakia changed their negative prospects into positive one in November last year.

The year 2001 is the year of integration. It should be the year of breakthrough in the integration process. In this year we ought to take crucial steps towards the NATO, which would lead to our invitation to this organization in 2002, as everybody believes. Concerning our integration to the EU besides that we want to open negotiations on all remaining chapters the negotiations will enter a new, qualitative stage where negotiations are opened on the most sensitive chapters including those requiring a transition period, as well.

The year 2000 has laid the foundations of our ambitions. Our results obtained in 2000 are a good reason for our optimism and expectations that the set successful trend is going to continue and will end up in Slovakia's joining the place where it obviously belongs, to democratic, advanced and integrated Europe.

Presentation of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for European Integration Pavol Hamžík

Looking back at our results achieved in foreign policy and particularly concerning our integration during the last year it is a pleasure for me to say that I am satisfied with the achieved results. Last year we showed our ability to negotiate and we gained valuable experiences, mainly from the accession process to the EU. Behind the achieved results there is the unambiguous and resolute integration politics of the Slovak Republic – president of SR, National Council of the Slovak Republic, Government of the SR and the great attempt of those, who at the Ministries and other institutions are responsible for the performance of tasks concerning our accession to the EU. The support of the population also shows the propriety of our integration politics, understanding that integration of Slovakia to the EU is a unique chance to ensure development of democracy, freedom and safety, and increase of living standards and social security for all of us. Our duty in the next year is to multiply our efforts in all fields, as the year 2001 will be the crucial one concerning Slovakia's integration to the EU. It is possible that the accession date of the first group of candidates is going to be set at the end of this year. We have to do our best in order to get Slovakia into this first group. If Slovakia were admitted to the EU later than its neighbours, it would hinder further economic development and the development of our foreign and home politics.

In the mentioned period we began and continued successful accession negotiations with the EU. We have focused on a further intensification of the dialog with the European Commission, member states of the EU, as well as on the activity of bodies set by the European Accession Agreement – Association Council, Association Committee, association subcommittees and Joint Parliamentary Committee of the European Parliament and the National Council of the Slovak Republic. As a result of our efforts in 2000 the EU opened negotiations with Slovakia on 16 chapters from

which 10 have already been provisionally closed. Thus, together with Malta Slovakia got into a leading position among the countries running for the EU membership, that opened the accession negotiations in 2000. Moreover, concerning the number of closed chapters Slovakia got close to the countries negotiating since 1998. The Regular Report of the European Commission was not only a recognition of our efforts but also a guide for our further activities. The statement that Slovakia meets a political criteria for the EU membership and the evaluation that Slovakia has a functioning market economy, which should be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the EU in the medium term, obligate us to continue in the process of political and economic stabilization. We will have to make progress in the fields of agriculture, energetics, regional policy, environment, financial and budgetary provisions and in legislation for business companies.

On the basis of the Regular Report, by the participation of all central bodies of public administration all priority tasks of the integration process were identified concerning each of its single field (political and economic criteria and negotiation chapters). On the basis of the raised objections the priority tasks for 2001 are put down in the document *“Priority Tasks of the Slovak Government Arising from the Regular Report of the European Commission on the Slovak Republic’s Progress in its Integration into the European Union from 8 November 2000”*. This document has been negotiated and approved by the Slovak government on 10 January 2001. The document is formulated the way so it serves as a resource for the intensification and improvement of our integration process. Here I would like to stress that these primary tasks are obligatory for all government departments and our future EU membership depends on whether these task will be carried out or not; therefore, we have to approach them with absolute seriousness and responsibility.

I am aware of the fact that the National Council of the Slovak Republic, its individual committees and also the representatives themselves have a significant role in the performance of tasks concerning our integration. Therefore I initiated meetings with the committees of the National Council of the Slovak Republic in the attendance of the relevant ministers so we could settle the primary tasks concerning our integration in each field. So far, there have been meetings with the committees for education, science, youth and sport, and agriculture. These meetings help in clarifying primary tasks in the individual fields and also contribute to the keenness of representatives while performing the actual tasks of integration.

Several opinion polls in the member states showed, that the integration process among the population is often seen as something far off, represented just by politics or as a process which affects people’s lives only through the mass media. It is one of the reasons why the European consciousness and the moral support of the integration are relatively low in the member states of the EU, e.g. only 49 % of the voters took part in the last election to the European Parliament. A recent public opinion poll about the enlargement showed that only 44 % of the population of the member states is for the enlargement, 35 % is against and 21% does not take a stand. Also an interesting

fact is that enlargement is mainly supported in the smaller states – Denmark 56 %, Ireland 52 %, Sweden 56 %, while in Germany it is only 36 %, in France 35 % and in the United Kingdom 31 % of the questioned people. What does this mean? It means that there is a need for an informational campaign to popularise the enlargement in the member states, as well. The European Commission has realized this fact and already set aside the necessary funds for this purpose.

The population's support of enlargement also depends on how well informed it is about the countries running for the EU membership. Today, there is a need for a more intensive informational activity of our embassies in the crucial member states. Accordingly, funds have to be reserved for this purpose, as well.

It has to be understood, that the integration is not about the integration of politicians and governments but it is about the integration of residents of European countries. Here an effective communication campaign has to be realized in order to inform and communicate with the people about the questions of European integration and to strengthen the European consciousness.

A nationwide informational campaign and discussions with the people would help in the adoption of European values. This process should make the people understand that the future common European identity should be the coexistence of historical and cultural heritage and of human potentials of all countries, where the smaller countries also contribute to this common European system of values with their uniqueness.

On the basis of our experiences gained through our informational campaign, it can be claimed that Slovakia needs a systematic campaign mainly in some regions. The target groups of the campaign are not only the various strata of the society but also the opinion forming groups as journalists, representatives of local governments, representatives of professional and interest organizations, representatives of non-governmental organizations and universities and also university students. By aiming these groups of the population the information gets straight to the desired target group and a better effect can be achieved while informing the citizens. The direct effect is reached by holding conferences and seminars, which are realized according to the demands of the target groups, e.g. from the area of pre-accession funds PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD, environmental policy of the EU and regional development. The European Information Centre in a close co-operation with the Central Government Office of the SR plays a very significant role in this respect. It has been providing information day-to-day from last September, the recipients of which are mainly the regional media and the Union of Cities, Towns and Villages of Slovakia (ZMOS), to say it simply the information is delivered to those who are in the closest connection with the citizens. The results of the latest opinion poll showed that the 76.4 % of the population is for Slovakia's integration to the EU and 15.1 % is against. Comparing this to the results of the opinion poll in 1999, 65.1 % of the population was for Slovakia's integration to the EU and 23.2 % was against. The results of the poll showed a relatively significant but most of all a positive stability of opinions about entering the EU. In all, the point is that in the long-term the majority supports accession and

this support has an increasing tendency, expectancies concerning accession are mainly positive and opinion of majority is that both Slovakia and EU will benefit from accession.

As the national coordinator of foreign assistance I think I also have to sum up utilization of the EU pre-accession funds in 2000.

In 2000 the new programme period 2000-2006 began. From 2000 up to the date of its accession Slovakia is going to take advantage of three pre-accession resources of the EU – PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD. Concerning PHARE we will apply the foregoing distribution – 30 % for the building of institutions and 70 % for investments. Programmes of cross-border co-operation will be financed from this budget in the future, too, which is going to amount about 12 million Euros annually. Further 12-15 million Euros will be set aside for projects of regional development and the remaining sum will be used for building of institutions.

In the year 2000 78.8 million Euros were allocated for Slovakia from the funds of the PHARE programme.

Between 1993 and 2000 Slovakia got a total amount of *493.6 million Euros*. In 2001 there are *75.5 million Euros* at Slovakia's disposal from the PHARE funds.

It can be claimed that today the public is much better informed about the possibilities of utilizing the pre-accession funds.

On the web page <http://vlada.gov.sk/phare> there is information about possibilities and terms of utilizing pre-accession funds of the Union. Equally, this page is used for communication between the public and the coordination centre of the pre-accession assistance. Simultaneously, the information available on the above web page is also available through the newscast of Euroservis, maintained by the SITA agency, where this information is available for the local and regional mass media, as well. In 1999 and 2000 two more informational publications focused on giving information about the different forms of pre-accession assistance and information about the programmes of cross-border co-operation.

Information on the activities financed by the pre-accession funds is also published on web sites of other central bodies of public administration and on web sites of other institutions implementing programmes. For some of the sectors (enterprises) there are separate publications giving a general overview of the pre-accession funds.

For securing common approach and thus *transparency* to projects preparation the government in August last year adopted a Regulation on Preparation and Realization of the PHARE Programme and in September 2000 a Coordination Regulation for Preparation and Realization of the ISPA Programme in the SR.

The pre-accession funds of the EU give an opportunity to obtain financial aid for the realization of the development programmes. On one hand they are opportunities for regional development but on the other hand one has to be conscious of the fact that preparing projects is not a simple matter and requires a lot of endeavour, knowledge and experience. Consequently, we are organizing conferences, the goal of which is to inform the representatives of regions, as potential receivers of the pre-accession

assistance, about the application possibilities for EU funds for projects of regional development. The year 2000 confirmed that our accession efforts were successful. The Slovak Republic got into the group of those candidate countries, which have a chance to enter the European Union among its first new members. It is a unique chance to ensure further wide-ranging development for the Slovak Republic and for its citizens, as well.

Slovakia's intensive negotiations with the European Union are going to continue this year. It has to be emphasized that we are going to negotiate about the so-called more difficult chapters that will require the increased effort of all parties.

Presentation of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for Legislation Ľubomír Fogaš

The government of the Slovak Republic in accordance with its programme considers Slovakia's future accession to the EU to be one of its primary aims. Therefore, in accordance with the Article 69 of the Association Agreement it has to ensure the gradual compatibility of Slovak legal norms with the norms of the European Union.

We are aware of the fact that the convergence of the already existing and future legal norms is the main condition for Slovakia's full accession. To ensure the fulfilment of requirements concerning the approximation of law the Slovak Government has set up the Institute for Approximation of Law and the concept for the approximation of our law to the laws of the EU and to the agreements of the European Council has been worked out.

The approximation of law is a process the aim of which is not only reaching the close co-operation in the field of internal affairs and judiciary and in the field of common foreign and security policy but above all it is a development of a common internal market with free movement of persons, goods, services and capital. Also according to the Regular Report of the European Commission the development of free market and the stability of democratic institutions can be achieved by support of a proper legislative environment. To compensate the existing differences, and that mainly in the field of law with an aim to create prerequisites for the functioning of internal market after its enlargement, two documents were approved. The White Book is a document based on results of the European Council's summit in Essen in 1994 and the Partnership for Accession is a document based on results of the European Council's summit in Copenhagen. It is known that to ensure the realization of these documents we adopted a programme for harmonization of our law. It includes the list of all Slovak legislative norms to be implemented and the dates of their coming into force. At this point let me touch upon how far we got in the realization of this programme.

The European Commission in its Regular Report several times recognizes the number and quality of the passed legal norms. We passed laws on public procurement, government assistance and the grand amendment of the Competition Bill. We also passed the Law on Financial Trade and the Law on the Use of Minority Languages in Official Communications, the Judiciary Code, and the Amendment of the Slovak Constitution. It is the latter one that helps us to overcome the problems of approximation. However, in its last Regular Report the European Commission noted that: In all, Slovakia carried out a lot of legislative work. Today, there is a need to secure relevant capacities for implementation, to implement the *acquis* in practice and to intensify our work there, where there are still legislative deficiencies. In a short time we hope to pass the following laws: Customs Law and the Law on Customs Authorities, the new Labour Code, the Law on Civil Service and the Law on Public Service, the Law on Superior Territorial Units and the Respective Elections. We plan to pass further laws to create better circumstances for the entrepreneurial field (e.g. an Amendment of the Commercial Code). The state of the harmonization of our legislative system in relation to the White Book could be considered satisfactory. We achieved nearly a 100 % harmonization in several fields (e.g. in the fields of Free Movement of Capital, Competition, Audiovisual Services, Telecommunications, Financial Services, Protection of Personal Particulars, Accounting and Public Law). On the other hand looking at the degree of harmonization in relation to the screening chapters the situation is different as there is still much to be done e.g. in a sphere of Agriculture, Transport Policy, Social Policy, Industrial Policy and Financial Control.

As in many cases today where no equivalent Slovak legal norm to relevant EU norms exists there will be a need for a complex comparative legislative analysis of numerous relations and connections what is a demanding task.

Here it has to be stressed that we have also to look for new legislative methods to make the process of the EU norms' acceptance more effective. One of these methods is the Amendment of the Slovak Constitution. The Constitution of the Slovak Republic in its Clause 11 lies down, that international agreements on basic human rights and freedoms ratified by the Slovak Republic and declared as a law, gain advantage over its laws, if they ensure higher extent of basic human rights and freedoms. From the above it can be seen that on constitutional level only one category of international agreements is considered to be effectual, even if they are the most important agreements in terms of personal rights: agreements on human rights and freedoms. Particular rights and duties of persons and public bodies are also laid down in several other international agreements. There has been a principle so far that all international agreements are domestically applicable if not a constitutional law but a law of the National Council invalidates itself in the case that its power is set differently in an international agreement. In our laws there are many annotations of this kind; moreover, they are not uniformly formulated. It results in our laws being not perspicuous and in inconsistency while our courts and public bodies are applying international agreements. By signing the Association Agreement the Slovak Republic has committed itself to

head towards the EU. Consequently, on the one hand there is a need to quickly harmonize the Slovak laws with the laws of the EU, on the other hand there is a need to set up a constitutional ground for the future ratification of basic agreements, agreements on which the European Union is laid down today.

The aim of modifications is the stabilization, harmonization and systematisation of our relations. Here we mean economic stabilization, which is fundamental for the development of this country, and political stabilization. In a word, we mean the stabilization of the country. Talking about harmonization, first of all I mean our relation to the processes of civilization on European level, the trends, which are related to how we want to live together in the future and what kind of an environment we want to create. Needless to say that within the scope of law and order Slovakia wants to harmonize its relations inwards but also outwards. It means that it wants to harmonize its laws with the laws of other countries. Here it has to be stressed that we have to look for new legal possibilities to make the process of the EU norms' acceptance more effective. One of these possibilities could be the making the EU norms' acceptance more flexible by making amendments in the Constitution. Yes, we are ready to go even that far in order to harmonize our law and order. We managed to harmonize our constitutional regulations with our general interests in order to take part in the process of civilization running in Europe.

For the above reasons we have to sort out the relation between Slovak, international and European law in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. It is true that we managed to include a regulation in the Constitution, which authorizes the Slovak National Council to empower supranational organizations to practise certain competences (laws) otherwise belonging to other relevant national organizations. A new list of international agreements has been approved including those, which will be directly operative and will be given preference over national laws. Naturally, ratification of these agreements will have to be approved by the Slovak National Council.

Without the Council's approval these agreements could not be given preference over national laws. This way the annotations in several laws about preference of international agreements are going to be replaced. The Slovak National Council's control over international law, Slovakia has committed itself to comply with, is going to be strengthened. The condition of application for immediate effectuality of international agreements in the future still will be their publishing in the Statute Book of the Slovak Republic. As a result of giving preference to international agreements, approved by the Slovak National Council, the judges will have to obey international agreements, as well. The Constitutional Court will have the power to go over a bill before the ratification of an international agreement and this way to check whether the agreement does not contradict the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. In case the Constitutional Court of Justice finds incompatibility between the international agreement and the Constitution of the SR, either the agreement will not be ratified or there will be a need to amend the Constitution to create grounds for ratification.

If co-operation of several resorts is needed, when several resorts have to take part in the approximation of the White Book sector's directives, a closing date of the approximation has to be set up.

Finally, it has to be stressed that the effective functioning of all directives, mainly of those related to new accession, depends on whether there is an infrastructure of authorities, regulations and relations typical for market economy. These infrastructures are mainly engaged in the accomplishment of regulatory measures while supervising the market and in the normalization and view of agreement. Without these infrastructures the directives would not fulfil their mission. Yes, the point is to consistently put the approved legal modifications into practice; after all, it is practice where there is much room for improvement. The courts work slowly, the enforcement of the criminal legislation's regulations against corruption is weak and there are still many cases indicating the late preparations for the setting up new administrative organizations (Bureau of Government Assistance, Bureau of Financial Trade and Bureau of Public Procurement) hindering them in their activity. The Slovak Government does its best to create the above-mentioned proper environment. I hope that this conference will contribute to this process and that your remarks and knowledge will serve Slovakia's aim to integrate into the European Union and I wish you a successful conference.

Presentation of the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Human Rights and Minorities and Regional Development Pál Csáky

Only a few days ago, we witnessed a most intriguing phenomenon in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. At final voting “two” anthems were heard – both were sung in the same language, the melodies and lyrics were identical, they were even performed in much the same fashion, although in the first case, the style was more pathetic as opposed to the second one, which was more solemn. On hearing the first version of the anthem, the majority of the MPs of the Slovak Parliament remained seated, despite the state flags that were pinned up by the MPs in the session hall. On hearing the second version, the first and less numerous group of the MPs of the Slovak Parliament was not present in the session hall. I believe that what happened, confirmed, once again, a very straightforward signal about what was happening and what we had all perceived before the signal was sent out. However, some of us were reluctant to perceive it and some even underestimated its implications. To be specific – Slovak politics, Slovak intelligentsia and to a considerable degree, even society per se, are much too fragmented, very different belief systems exist, and because of that, visions of the future of the Slovak Republic vary dramatically. Indeed, the competition of political entities in Slovakia is unlike conventional competition, which is common in well-established democracies. For instance, in the Benelux States, the so-called consensual politics enjoys a rich tradition. In the Scandinavian countries, it is not uncommon to have minority governments rule the country. In the USA, George W. Bush Jr. has approached the representatives of his political rival to join his Government. In Germany, the social-democratic Government has passed restrictive laws in the social area, backed by their conservative opponents.

What makes the Slovak system different?

In well-established democracies, political culture is so refined that politicians and political entities are bound to give answers to the most current problems of the society in a public debate. He who is unable to join a public discussion concerning the topic wastes an opportunity to acquit himself in high-level politics. In most cases, the society and analysts tend to positively value the manifestations of wise statecraft. In Germany, for instance, despite the unpleasant impact of softening the parameters of the so-called Welfare State, no realistically-thinking politician or expert would have questioned the need for such an action, and debates were exclusively focused on technicalities. In the USA, an effort at consensual politics was appreciated, and a political rival was invited to join a common effort to solve the problems that concerned the whole society.

How come this can be done in other countries and it cannot be done at here, at least not for the time being?

In my opinion, the first and paramount criterion, which must be addressed in conjunction with this problem, is *solidity*. Politicians and political entities must be able to, or, rather, must know and be willing to enter into a solid and serious dialogue on the topics concerned. In this country, we have failed to realize this even when a debate on a comprehensive amendment of the Constitution was at stake. The opposition interprets the acceptance of European principles as prostration before foreign interests; decentralisation and regionalisation are understood as betrayal of national interests, and the refinement of the Constitution along democratic lines as succumbing to Magyarisation efforts. Apparently, the opposition has failed to realize that by such an approach, a certain image of them is projected, but they do not seem to be concerned. In any country, a debate on the Constitution is a most dignified act and in it, the political elite manifests its capacity to formulate a vision of the country's future, or its capacity to respond to real and essential problems of the country. In this way an image is also projected of the refined nature and political culture of a political elite. Cheating and misleading statements are doomed to failure in any advanced democracy.

Another criterion to be deliberated within this context is the *belief system*. My impression is that, during the debate on the Constitution, anyone who had believed that positive changes could take place in some opposition parties was bound to give up this fallacy. It remains a fact that they are compelled to operate in a limited manoeuvring area and, with the future parliamentary elections being about a year and a half away, they openly profess clearly incompatible isolationist views. In conjunction with this, appeals are occasionally made, for instance, for the President of the Republic to bring unity and co-operation to the political arena. Regrettably, this will remain unrealistic as long as the basic belief system underlying ordinary politics remains antagonistically incompatible. One cannot proceed to the right and to the left at the same time; it cannot be that the ex-boss of the Intelligence Service and the investigator who charges him with breaking the law are both right. The European Union and NATO are based on solid principles and denying these principles would be their end.

This fact also implies that each present or future member of these alliances is bound to accept the same values. If this does not happen, the system will become non-functional and collapse. As regards new candidate countries, one has to realize that if they fail to accept the belief system, they deprive themselves of an opportunity to accede to the system.

Speaking about foreign policy and the foreign policy orientation of Slovakia may have raised an impression in you that I shouldn't have been speaking about the antagonistic differences in the belief systems in Slovak politics. My answer to you is as follows: in the era of globalisation, intensified political, economic, and financial co-operation, it is fallacious to believe that the internal policy of the State will not reflect upon its foreign policy and vice versa. The current international processes are much more profound and complex than they used to be only fifty years ago, and are very tightly interconnected.

In connection with our topic an attempt should be made to answer one more question. In the political struggle for the amendment of the Constitution, i.e. in the political struggle for a future image of the country, personal insults were also made, solely by the opposition, to make this statement more specific. It is understandable that no one would be happy to face such assaults. However, the question is whether there is a way to prevent this happening, whether it is possible to save much of the energy and psychological strength sacrificed by the individuals that urge the society to advance, or, dissipated when they have to listen to patent offence – among these individuals there are politicians, public officials at various levels, and also journalists, creative artists, teachers, priests, and many others involved in the positive processes beneficial to our society. History also portrays personal responsibility in these processes, history will cast light upon the roles of personalities. It is not easy to walk up a hill, and in Slovakia, it seems that we have got used to taking things that really matter for granted. This will not work, be it in our country or elsewhere. Without personal involvement, without active participation in these duels, one cannot expect things to advance. Under a dictatorship easy top-to-bottom solutions may be expected, however, building democracy is a day-to-day process, and democracy has to be planted into the minds of each and every one of us.

The panoramic picture I've endeavoured to portray to you would be incomplete without saying the following: I have approached you as an elected representative of the Hungarian community in the SR which, according to the public opinion polls, is the strongest supporter of Slovakia's membership in the EU and NATO; I have also approached you as a member of a political party which has clearly formulated its views prior to passing the Amendment of the Constitution of the SR and which is the only parliamentary faction to have supported the Amendment by a unanimous vote of its MPs. Also, I believe that fairness and transparency of political entities are the guarantees for political stability in the SR in the future and also the "Euro-compatibility" of our political arena.

Presentation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Eduard Kukan

I would like to start my presentation by summarizing the most important results of the Slovak foreign policy. I can state with pleasure that in 2000 the Slovak Republic continued in strengthening political stability and acted towards foreign partners as a legible and trustworthy partner. The government took measures for realization of strategic priorities of the foreign policy – achieving membership in the European Union, NATO and OECD soon. The political and economic steps of the Slovak government were received abroad as a persuasive activity proving the interest of the SR to integrate with the most developed states of the world.

This brief, a little bit general evaluation can give us the basic picture of the Slovak foreign policy, which will be followed by a more detailed insight into its single achievements but also into its problems.

I will start in an untraditional way by the *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*. The privilege of being on the first place in evaluation of strategic priorities of foreign policy was usually given to European integration and our effort for accession to NATO. However I feel a need to underline the fact that in the year 2000 we succeeded in fulfilling the first part of the trinity of strategic aims namely the accession to OECD. Taking into consideration the fact that the fulfilment of the other two aims exceeds the horizon of the year 2002 it is possible to regard our entry into this organization for the event of the whole governing period of this government. From the point of view of total and definitive fulfilment of the aims it is definitely so.

We all have fresh in mind the tension around approval of our membership in the OECD. The acceptance process for the SR called for opening the problem of different views of auto-division where the attitudes of the USA and EU have been different for a long time. We got into a complicated situation, which demanded an intensive negotiation with both sides and search for solution. The diplomatic offensive abroad

and the endeavour of top legislative representatives at home achieved finally the dream result – our membership. We do not think any more of the occasional problems in coordination of the activities caused by hectic atmosphere however we cannot completely forget them. In any case the whole process has been an enormous experience for us.

Activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR in 2000 in the field of integration into the *European Union* was connected mainly with opening the accession negotiation with the Slovak Republic and was aimed at further intensification of the dialogue with the European Commission and the member states of the Union as well as the activities within bodies appointed on the basis of the European Convention on accession. Opening the Accession Conference with the SR represents a qualitative shift and the beginning of new era in mutual relationship of the EU and the SR.

In 2000 the EU opened with the SR 16 chapters on the whole and out of them in 10 the negotiations were preliminarily closed. Together with Malta the SR acquired a leading position in the group of countries, which began the negotiations at the beginning of 2000, and at the same time due to the closed chapters it significantly approached the countries negotiating since 1998. From the point of view of the SR the expectations were met in the area of closed chapters and in the whole dynamics of negotiation process and actual use of differentiation principles and “catch up”. This achieved progress completely confirmed the negotiation potential of the SR.

We can express satisfaction with wording of the last Regular Report of the European Commission about progress achieved by the SR in preparation for accession to the EU. The report states that Slovakia fulfils the political criteria for membership in the Union. Economy of the SR is for the first time assessed as a functional market economy, which should be able to cope in medium time horizon with competitive pressure and market forces within the EU. It shows of course also reserves in some fields and as an example I would like to mention agriculture, regional policy and environment. However these have principally not influenced the total positive image of the assessment.

When listing the significant events connected with the process of European integration it is also necessary to mention the meeting of the Association Council of the EU-SR, which is the supreme body of association of the SR and the EU and supervises the fulfilment of European Convention. This meeting focused its attention in the field of political criteria on problems of Roma minority. The SR appreciated assistance from the EU in this field and simultaneously in connection with migration of the Romas into some member states it underlined the necessity of harmonization of asylum policy in the EU.

A progress in negotiation process based on strategic interest of the SR to enter the EU together with countries of the Visegrad group is the basic priority of the SR . By submitting the negotiation positions in all 29 chapters the SR created conditions for opening the negotiations in all areas of *acquis* as soon as possible. The actual working up of the progress of the SR in negotiations of the EU – SR will be based on conclusions and recommendations of the EC in the document “The strategy of Enlargement“,

conclusions of the summit in Nice and working programs of the Swedish and Belgian presidencies.

The priority ambition of the SR in the first half of 2001 is to open the negotiations in maximal number of remaining chapters and to preliminarily close the majority of chapters opened during the French presidency, as well, as significantly shift the negotiations in newly opened chapters including the preliminary closure of some of them. By realization of this aim the position of the SR would be strengthened in the whole spectrum of candidates and practically the division of the so-called Luxemburg and Helsinki groups of candidates would disappear.

From the point of view of need to achieve our goals we will focus our increased attention on following countries of the EU presidency – Sweden, Belgium and Spain, then the neighbouring Austria and decisive member states Germany, France and the United Kingdom, from bodies and institutions mainly on strengthening our relationship with the European Commission.

The year 2000 as expected was not the period of political discussion about enlargement of the NATO. The NATO member states focused their attention on Membership Action Plan and preparation of candidate states. No NATO member state has doubted the commitment to continue in enlargement and their rhetoric in this sense further follows the conclusions of the Washington summit where the NATO made a commitment to follow the policy of the open door.

Results of the visit of the NATO Secretary General in the SR in May this year were a significant confirmation of integration ambitions of the SR. He stressed that NATO appreciates the success achieved in the SR in preparation for membership in NATO and confirmed that the SR is regarded by NATO as a strong candidate for membership.

From the point of view of integration ambition of the SR the approval of the Security Strategy of the SR by the government of the SR has a great significance. It is a principal document in the field of state security, which has a beyond-party and long-term character and will definitely contribute to strengthening integration goals and credibility of the SR.

In connection with the preparation of the Yearly National Programme PRENAME for the year 2001 there appeared a necessity to focus our attention in further stages on definition of realistic goals, which we will be able to fulfil in the next period, while the determining principles of our endeavour have to be continuance, credibility and consistency.

The year 2001 will be a period of principle discussion and formation of opinions of member states about enlargement of the NATO. From this the necessity of deepening and intensification of cooperation with significant members states of the NATO can be concluded. Its development will be an absolute priority of Slovak diplomacy in 2001.

It will be necessary to continue in consultations with and informing NATO and its member states about steps in preparation of the SR for membership in the Alliance. From the point of view of Slovakia it will be especially important to find an appropriate

strategy to maintain the support of the USA and V-4 for our ambition to become a member of NATO and to try to gain the support of a further key European countries in the Alliance. SR is planning to organize from 10th to 12th May 2001 in Bratislava a conference with a top-level participation whose main message will be the vision of a political integration of Europe in a broader sense, mutual solidarity and trustworthiness of the Alliance itself. Among the invited there will be key representatives of member and candidate states present (on the level of Prime Ministers) and former politicians supporting the enlargement of the Alliance as well as other prominent guests and journalists.

The given three areas represent the basic pillars of the Slovak foreign policy. Close to them by its significance is the Visegrad co-operation to a great extent due to its close interconnections. It fulfilled an important task in its relation to Slovakia, which is the support for the SR integration ambition. Also thanks to support from the Czech, Hungarian and Polish Republics we succeed in decreasing the advantage of partners in European integration process. Similarly significant is also the support for the SR endeavour to access to the NATO. The reason is obvious: mutual interest for completing the solution of basic security questions of the countries of Visegrad group as well as a broader region.

The conclusions of official meeting of Prime Ministers of the V-4 in Prague intensified the co-operation in further significant areas, like increasing civic comfort, intensification of economic dimension of co-operation of V-4 countries and deepening co-operation mainly in questions of internal security, justice and environment.

An important contribution to deepening co-operation of V-4 countries was the foundation of International Visegrad Fund as the only institutional form of the Visegrad co-operation. The aim of the Fund activity is a financial support for common projects in area of culture, education, science, youth and cross-border co-operation. The Fund whose residence is Bratislava successfully started its activity and provided means for realisation of selected projects.

Naturally also *bilateral relations* have strong bonds to strategic priority of foreign policy of the SR. We focus our attention first of all on development of our relations with member states of the NATO and EU and on gaining support for our accession to these integration groupings.

The relations between the SR and *the USA* can be characterized as the best one in history. Activities of the SR representatives on all levels have been aimed besides integration priorities at increasing the interest of American investors in the SR. Also co-operation at a non-government level significantly contributes to the development of bilateral relations.

We focus our attention on development of relations with the biggest member states of the EU. In case of *Germany* it seemed that it did not want to play an active role in the process of enlargement of NATO however in the recent time we noted signals of changes in its approach. In case of *France* the state of our relations is influenced by its sensitivity towards creating the system of Common European Defence and Security as a certain element of creating balance in relationship with NATO.

Due to limited time I cannot mention every country and I will focus on the most important moments only. These are the signing and ratification of the Basic Agreement between the SR and the *Holy See*.

The development of relations with *Austria* despite the complicated internal development in this country has a positive tendency. The only question which at the beginning of 2000 the Austrian party considered a problem – safety of nuclear power station – through transparent and communicative approach of the SR as well as by decision about finishing the operation of two blocks of Nuclear power station Bohunice in 2006 and 2008 got into position where it does not influence mutual relations any more. The latently present question in mutual relationship is the problem of Beneš Decrees.

In a *Slovak – Czech* relationship the favourable political atmosphere was used for closing the sensitive question of division of the property of former federation including returning the Slovak gold as well as the solution of open questions in the field of civil legal problems. We can say about *Poland* that it became one of the strongest advocates of the SR what could be followed mainly in connection with the process of decision-making about accession of the SR to the OECD and with very active support of our future membership in NATO.

The relationship with *Hungary* develops with tendency to respect interests of both countries and search for mutually acceptable solutions in case of sensitive questions. Similarly as in case of the above-mentioned countries we appreciate the support of our integration ambitions.

The basic line of *Slovak – Russian* relations starts reaching gradually a stable framework, testified by time and coordinated interests. The development of Russian – Slovak relationship in 2000 was influenced by the problems of purchase of the system S 300, introduction of visas and transit of Russian energetic resources to Europe.

Also the bilateral relations of the SR and *Ukraine* in 2000 were influenced by decision about introducing visas. The Ukrainian part later reacted by one-sided cancellation of the so-called readmission agreement. The visit of the Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Juščenko in Slovakia at the end of the year however confirmed the positive tendency in determination of our traditionally friendly relations.

The Slovak foreign policy has recorded a significant success also in *the West-Balkan* region. We should specially mention the exemplary co-operation of the government and non-government structures. The non-government organizations significantly contributed to creating conditions for democratic change in FRY.

The previous year showed that a change in perception of the SR after the election in 1998 was not accidental and that the change of political culture in Slovakia is not only seasonal. We can document it on the example of *Council of Europe*. The home political development and the domestic events were not subject of almost any official commentaries not talking about political criticism. It does not mean however that we have become an uninteresting country. With physical terminology we could talk about a change of charge. This is positive at present.

Also concerning the *OSCE* last year it was confirmed that the SR is not an “object” of attention of other member states but an active contributor to safety and stability in Central European region. As the only one of associate countries and as one of two non-member states of the EU we participated in observation mission of the EU in the West Balkan – ECMM.

In the area of *disarmament and control of armament* a significant foreign policy response was recorded after the decision of Slovakia about complete destruction of supplies of anti infantry mines and liquidation of rocket complex SS-23. We consider the plenary session of the Wassenaar Arrangement in Bratislava a significant success of multilateral diplomacy.

In the *UN* the year 2000 was the year of the Millennium Summit of heads of states and governments. The Slovak delegation presented its attitudes to the questions of the UN reform, mainly its Security Council, system of financing and peace operations. Our position in this organization is stressed by opening the UN Regional Connection Office for control of drugs and prevention of criminality covering the countries of V-4 and Slovenia and the UN Regional Office of Population Fund, in both cases with residence in Bratislava.

There is much what I could say at a conference of this kind. I have not mentioned yet activities concerning CEFTA, Central European Initiative, development of cross border co-operation, foreign assistance directed to Slovakia, humanitarian assistance provided to Slovakia, consular problems, agreement legal area, activity of Slovak institutes, personal aspects of foreign policy and many other areas. I would like to mention that the material about fulfilling the tasks of foreign policy of the SR for year 2000 and directions for 2001, which in these days are being submitted to the government of the SR and later to the National Council of the SR, has 162 pages. It is a good luck that my presentation was limited to 25-30 minutes otherwise I would have read it all to you.

It was necessary to concentrate on priorities of foreign policy. I can state with pleasure that at fulfilling the strategic aims we recorded the biggest success. I am convinced that we will succeed in following the already started tendency.

Presentations the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Peter Weiss

I am glad that a tradition of regular meetings of constitutional representatives was established; representatives whose responsibility includes direct participation on creation and realization of foreign policy of the Slovak Republic. It is also an evidence that we manage to fulfil one of the important resolutions anchored in political programmes of the coalition parties and the Programme of the Government of the Slovak Republic, as well, – to improve coordination of foreign policy activities of the President of the SR, National Council of the SR, Government of the SR and other central bodies of the State Administration while respecting the principle of responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR of its direct administration. Equally pleasing is that our pledge to create effective mechanisms for inclusion non-governmental, scientific and academic institutions into a process of creation and also realization of foreign policy is getting fulfilled.

The currently undergoing reform of the Slovak Institute of International Studies is a confirmation of this trend. I believe this trend should be a subject of concentrated attention as its strengthening is a precondition for enlarging and improving the background of conceptual and long term foreign policy and for creating so desirable bigger consensus not only in understanding basic national interests but using methods and means to pursue them, as well. It is explicitly evident that we manage to reach a wider consensus more in basic priorities of foreign policy proclamation than in defining and further support of specific political steps for their execution.

As a concrete evidence of this contradiction we can use the only last week finished discussion on the SR Constitution Amendment that showed even gulf differences not only in understanding the conditionality of fulfilling declared (by both, coalition and

opposition) foreign policy goals given by definite internal policy decisions but understanding necessity of proper timing of these decisions noting expected conduct of deciding processes in the EU and NATO. The discussion full of contradictions and confrontation that finished with blaming those who voted for the Constitution amendment for betrayal of Slovak national interests and collaboration with foreign powers confirmed again Slovak political scene polarisation in fundamental issues. This is a fact with which the foreign policy must count on one hand, but on the other it must by using its own means blunt its sharpness. A series of positive experiences since the first evaluation conference testifies that it is the foreign policy that can be an island of some “positive deviation”, if I may use the expression Slovak sociologists started to use in the second half of 80s to indicate attempts to overcome negative development tendencies. The National Council of the SR managed to adopt consensually on 16th February 2000 a resolution to NC SR’s focus and basic tasks in preparation to the EU entry of Slovakia. Equally consensually the NC SR declaration on entry into the OECD was adopted, what gave a strong political support to our diplomacy for difficult final negotiations as it clearly declared a wish of both coalition and opposition parties to continue in the reform efforts. Despite the confrontational discussion I consider preparation and presentation in the NC SR of the conceptual document Priorities of the Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic for 2000 – 2003 a positive step forward that was not appreciated enough. The document was prepared in a wide dialogue not only at a level of professional experts of the diplomatic service but was also based on a discussion of political parties representatives responsible for foreign policy. Even though the NC SR only took notice of and did not adopted the material, only the fact of its validity over the functional period of this government and parliament must be taken as an extraordinarily positive one, as such an approach to outlining foreign policy priorities has no precedence in the history of the independent SR. Discussion of the material in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the NC SR on 2nd September 2000 and later NC SR debate stroked by already mentioned polarisation of views of some issues are encouraging. I would like to remind you, that the consensus was reached also over the Security Strategy of the SR during the joined meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Committee for Defence and Security and Committee for European Integration of the NC SR held in January this year in Častá-Papiernička. Establishing the Parliamentary Group for a fast integration of the SR into the NATO on 21st September 2000, which involves representatives of all coalition parties and the opposition Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), is a positive moment opening opportunities for enlargement of political consensus among coalition and opposition parties.

These positive signals must be despite all problems cultivated and developed because the main foreign policy issue of Slovakia is its internal stability. But not in a sense whether this or that government survives and finishes the term, but whether after the next elections regardless of which political parties will form the new government the continuity of not only declared foreign policy priorities but essential

internal reforms needed for fulfilling these priorities will be kept. Unfortunately discussion about the Constitution Amendment did not send in this meaning positive signals abroad. The SR is still not perceived as Hungary, the Czech Republic or Poland where coalition and opposition parties managed to unite not only in support of NATO and EU entry but also in joint back up for definite steps leading to fulfilling these aims, so it is not very exciting for foreign partners whether L. Kovacs will replace V. Orban, L. Miller will replace J. Buzek or C. Svoboda will replace M. Zeman, because based on concrete experience of behaving in internal politics otherwise heavily competing parties the foreign partners have sufficient level of certainty in securing not only basic foreign policy goals and priorities but in respecting certain values, norms of positive behaviour, methods of using the power and approaches to crucial economic reforms realisation, as well, regardless who is at power. Shortage of this certainty is the major handicap of Slovakia at fulfilling its integrational ambitions.

The already mentioned Constitution Amendment discussion showed that temptation to mobilize one's own electorate by creating the picture of an enemy, provoking a feeling of endangered state and SR's territorial integrity, is stronger than sense of responsibility for how Slovakia will be perceived by foreign partners. Undermining importance of foreign policy impact of internal policy decisions, events and declarations remains one of the major symptoms of immaturity of significant part of the Slovak political elite. Submitting strategic interests of the state, its strong and in the same time early anchorage in European and Trans Atlantic economic and security structures, to current tactical aims in the internal political competition is not the only and major problem in reaching a wider consensus in a sphere of foreign policy. The substance of absence of fundamental longer-term consensus among coalition and opposition parties at judging foreign policy priorities and methods, tools and time connection of their fulfilment rests in different understanding of state of Slovak society transformation, suppositions and pace of modernisation of Slovakia, and tasks of building the statehood. Also the mentioned Constitution amendment discussion was first of all an essential dispute over the way of building independent Slovak statehood, how modern and perspective form of regulation of society processes, harmonisation of antagonistic interests in the Slovak society shall be used, what shall SR's relations with the world in the time of globalisation and strengthening integrational tendencies look like. Opening ourselves to the world versus isolationism, modernisation versus returns to national Romanticism, strengthening decentralisation and elements of self government in building the statehood versus petrification of centralism and tending towards authoritarian methods of applying executive power, acceptance of minorities as a normal part of our life versus minorities as a sources of threat, etc., that are dilemmas which Slovak politics is facing. Dispute that had its peak during last three weeks results from a dramatic and complicated history of Slovakia in the twentieth century about which the noted Slovak historian L. Lipták said it was longer than one hundred years. The dispute results also from different interpretation of political and social experience of the Slovak people during the previous regime and after the revolution

period. The dispute is also a dispute over value frameworks, which are bases for individual political parties. It is a legitimate dispute which simply must be resolved, regardless the polarisation of the Slovak society it causes. It cannot be resolved by sentimental referring to the legend of three wickers of Svätopluk, because it is encoded not only in psychology of individual actors of Slovak politics but primarily in even antagonistic interest structures of the Slovak society and resulting political tendencies.

Realising deeper substance of the dispute and exact defining zones of conflict is an essential supposition for effective fulfilling rational request of the right of the President to compose a document he is calling a State Doctrine. The document cannot be established on cheap compromises and lowered principles. It is not true that Slovakia is without a vision. There are different visions on the offer. It is not true that the dispute can be solved so that the so-called used up politicians will leave and the so-called new faces will come, which have been spinning in the same or a little lower floors of the Slovak policy for eight years. The dispute is not a result of animosities among individual politicians but animosities among politicians are result of methods used at solving the dispute. A dispute whether SMK's Constitution Amendment voting is a threat to statehood and other voting is strengthening of the Slovak statehood cannot be solved by its protagonists drinking the so well-known "mernô" nor any other drink of whatever quality home neither foreign one, this cannot solve a discord between people considering Slovak EU integration to be the most fundamental condition for overcoming Slovak economic backwardness and those who see integration as a threat to their power wilfulness and a definitive loss of a chance to establish themselves in economic competition with support of state protectionism and privileged interest rates.

To say it in other words the state doctrine must be build on at least minimal consonance in understanding national state interests, principles of handling the power, organization of the state, functioning of national economy, etc.

Fight for the Constitution amendment showed that differences in perceiving these basic issues are for the moment too big. It is and it will be the art of politics to mitigate them. Foreign policy can be a field where the first and the biggest progress might be reached. But not for the price of accepting recidivisms of such political behaviour that already once pushed Slovakia to the edge of international isolation.

Not only Slovak experience but experience of our Visegrad neighbours, as well, teaches us that important and irreplaceable tool of socialisation of political elites charged with responsibility of fulfilling interests of the state and its citizens is their informal communication with European political families. Involvement of Slovak political parties into European political structures is one of the basal conditions of foreign policy success. The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland – contrary to the Slovak Republic – succeeded in Madrid and Luxembourg also because all their relevant political parties governmental and opposition ones had confidence and support of political parties active in member states of the EU and NATO and they did not have to while putting across interests of their countries limit themselves to international

contacts. This experience was also confirmed by development of the SR after the September 1998 parliamentary elections. Breakthrough in the SR integration ambitions realization in 1999 appeared also thanks to the fact that all coalition parties had effective contacts with ruling political parties in the EU and NATO countries. No anchorage of current opposition parties in international political structures is and will be a handicap not only for Slovakia as a whole, but for them as well. This truth will sooner or later show up and will root up their statements about pragmatism and no necessity of clear value and politico-ideological orientation. Long-term success for a country can be reached only by politicians who could rely not only on trust of major part of citizens but also on trust of representatives of important political parties and personalities in abroad. The “success story” of the Czech Republic and Republic of Hungary, which reached a lot thanks to personal image of V. Havel and G. Horn, are positive confirmation of Slovak negative experience in this sphere.

Stemming also from these experiences I think it is necessary to strengthen informal coordination of foreign policy activities of parliamentary parties and information exchange among them in sake of fulfilling foreign policy priorities. This kind of contacts can be fostered not only via international secretariats of individual parties but via individual members of the parliament, as well. I think equally desirable is to strengthen direct communication among experts or representatives of political parties responsible for foreign policy. My personal experience with preparation of some important declarations of the National Council of the SR showed that this kind of consultations is extraordinarily important and they are an important precondition for reaching political consensus. Even despite the last negative experience with the SR Constitution Amendment discussion I believe it is necessary to overcome prejudices and seek a political dialogue aimed to fulfil integration ambitions. Besides natural structures as are the NC SR committees, we have to communicate also directly with political parties. When an idea of round tables is mentioned I think it would have the best success in a sphere of foreign policy.

In 2000 on a background of internal political quarrels and more unsuccessful than successful attempts to create a consensus in fulfilling SR’s foreign policy priorities we managed to round a qualitative change in fulfilling integrational ambitions of the SR. A difference in mottos of the previous and current evaluating conferences precedes the change. While in the last year we called the year 1999 a year of a fundamental breakthrough, our today’s foreign policy thoughts are based on a less dramatic statement – course on a road of integration. The fact that the last year’s democratic emotional charge is missing is a confirmation of a progress reached by Slovakia in fulfilling task of closing the gap in integrational efforts of the SR that appeared thanks to the failure of the previous governmental team comparing to our Visegrad neighbours. In this connection I would like as a chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the NC SR to emphasise the dimension of the parliamentary diplomacy that similarly as in 1999 also in 2000 played an extraordinary important role in strengthening our integrational chances. It must be stressed that our entry into the EU and NATO will

finally be decided by national parliaments of the member countries of these international organizations and today we shall by cultivating contacts with the most important parliamentary groups and influential deputies create conditions for positive ratification process. This is why I see the media critique of frequent travels of the chairman and other members of the parliament only as a misunderstanding. It is not tourism of members of parliament. Our deputies travel less than their colleagues from the Visegrad Four countries and thus they have fewer opportunities to lobby on behalf of their country. Well, this reality should rather be a subject for critique.

The permanent NC SR delegations in European parliamentary assemblies are our direct tools for pursuing foreign policy goals of the Slovak Republic. I evaluate involvement and effort of members of the National Council of the SR in the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EU and SR, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and Interparliamentary Union and also work done in favour of the SR during meetings with partner committees of parliaments of different countries. I believe this work will bring fruit of non-problematic ratification of our early membership in the NATO and EU by parliaments of member countries of these integrational groupings.

Presentation of the Chairman of the Committee for European Integration of the National Council of the Slovak Republic František Šebej

Peter Weiss has already emphasized the main features in which this conference differed from the one in the previous year. While the last year conference meant a breakthrough in the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic, this conference tries to deal with the progress of our aims more soberly. Compared with the year 1999, I see the events in the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic in 2000 as dramatic.

Naturally, the year 1999 was not only the year of a breakthrough, but also a year, as I said earlier, during which the honour and trustworthiness of the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic has returned. Afterwards, the European Union, the member countries of the European Union and other institutions, like the OECD, simply changed their attitude towards the Slovak Republic what can be considered as a positive prognosis or promise. The situation was different this year, as the first important step was done and I would call this year as a breakthrough, despite that it is a period of work. Our membership in the OECD is the proof of it. Naturally, our membership in the OECD is the result of the acceptance of the inner processes in our country. Beside Peter Weiss, other participants have also said that the foreign policy of a country is always the outcome of the on-going processes in the country. It was exactly the same in the case of the OECD. In fact, the OECD is the first step when one of the key integrational aims of the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic was fulfilled. However, I have to emphasize that the internal political development in Slovakia was not the only key moment, as the outstanding work and professionalism of those who participated in the diplomatic part of this process was also of great importance, which can not be accentuated enough. It is indisputable, that the success could not be reached without the contribution of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister

of Finance and Ivan Mikloš – the Vice-Prime Minister for Economics. Nor it could be reached without the hard work and diplomatic skills of Mr. Jursa, who was the chief negotiator, though I could mention many other people as well. Probably, it is for the first time in the history of Slovakia when the harmonized and concentrated effort of qualified people had such an outstanding effect, because it was not sure at the beginning at all.

The membership in the OECD had another result in Slovakia, which was not present here before. It happened for the first time in the political life of Slovakia – which is complicated enough even without the outside impulses – that such a discourse appeared which is the part of discourses in Western Europe and which has not touch us yet. We had to formulate our opinion about such an issue in a very complicated situation for the first time. Those, who were following the situation carefully, must know that there were two norms confronted with each other for the first time before Slovakia entered the OECD. Particularly, the norm valid for conceptions about the functioning of economics and market in the OECD with the norm, which was accepted by the European Union as one of its internal norms. More specifically, it was the audiovisual policy. Slovakia was suddenly in a situation where it had to fulfil both of these norms. We succeeded in it at the end, but I have to notice with a smile that it was only because of the tolerant attitude of the OECD, because it is evident that the norm adopted by the EU – which, after passing the law of audiovision by the parliament, helped us to close the chapter audiovision with the EU – was completely opposing with the norms of the OECD. Therefore, I hope that Slovakia has entered to something what will be the part of our internal political discussions in the future. I mention this fact only to illustrate what happened in the previous year. Slovakia has not only become a member of the OECD which opened 16 new chapters and closed 10 chapters in the negotiations with the EU, but it is also a country that systematically accepted the political discourse typical for Western Europe and the whole Western world. I think that the Slovak society, the Slovak political scene, the Slovak government and Slovak parliament – no matters how it will look like – will meet this sort of dilemma, and decision more frequently. I evaluate this very positively, because this will bring the maturity of the political elite in Slovakia with itself. As a result of this, the Slovak political elite and the political parties in Slovakia will face different issues to those typical until now: democracy or freedom, reform or (non-)reform. Suddenly, they will face issues, which do not have receipt of solution, issues of which internal, value and ideological aspect will have to be solved by all political subjects. It will not be a war, but a legitimate political discussion on alternative and legitimate viewpoints about how the society and economics should function.

Let me also talk about the parliamentary dimension of those events that happened the previous year. The parliamentary dimension of our foreign policy is of great importance from the point of view of foreign policy activities of the Committee for European Integration of the NC SR. Peter Weiss has said, that the representatives of parliaments of other countries whom we met during the meetings are going to be

those who will finally decide about our membership in different institutions, who will ratify agreements with us e.g. the Washington Treaty which founded the North Atlantic Alliance, or the agreement with the EU, which will be the basis of our membership in the EU. However, it is not only about lobbying, as in the list of our activities there are also some elements which reach beyond lobbying and represent a direction to find common opinions in key questions of our foreign policy. I would like to accentuate the fact that the meetings of different committees became a tradition in the meantime. Firstly, that were the Committees for Security and Defence, later the Foreign Committees, and at present the Committees for European Integration of the V4 countries. We have always met the phenomenon in other countries that we are looking for context, which would express our common requirements, interests and standpoints concretely in European integration issues, just as issues concerning the future of the North Atlantic Alliance. We have been successful in this so far. The process of searching for common standpoints of the Committees for Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Committees and EU Integration Committees on parliamentary level means a new dimension, which was not present here in the past. We have met in Slovakia (Častá-Papiernička) and afterwards in Warsaw in December. The next meeting is to be organized in the spring of this year, and the common contexts that we agreed on are the results of something higher than it was reached on executive level up to now, because the MPs have a sort of independence which help them to accept standpoints and declarations which go beyond the possibilities within the frame of execution. The second dimension of our parliamentary diplomacy, parliamentary foreign policy, which I would like to stress, is our membership in institutional interparliamentary groupings. Let me mention the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE, Interparliamentary Union, Joint Parliamentary Committee of the European Parliament and our parliament – in these institutions and bodies our policy is becoming a part of a very complicated process on the European political scene. At the end of presidency of every country, meetings of the Committees for European Issues of the member countries of the EU and Committees for European Integration of the candidate countries of the EU are summoned every year. The COSAC meeting has interesting spheres of authority. It does not only have the right to discuss problems, but it can also directly propose certain measures which concern the European Commission, the Council of Europe and the meeting of ministers and Prime Ministers of governments. The COSAC perceives itself as the second chamber of the European Parliament, because its legitimacy is created in a different way. The EP is a directly elected body where the legitimacy of MPs is given by a direct election on the basis of schemes of member countries. The COSAC is a meeting of MPs where the members are delegated by the national parliaments. I have heard the idea that this meeting should serve as the second chamber of the EP many times earlier. The COSAC meeting is behaving in this way sometimes. The MPs of the candidate countries can not only contribute to different topics, but they can also propose resolutions on the COSAC meetings since the Vienna conference of the COSAC meeting at the end of the presidency of Austria. However,

they cannot vote for such issues yet. The candidate countries, including us, have already got to the final lists, which cannot be disregarded by the European Commission and the European Union.

I would like to mention one more institution of this interparliamentary scene in Europe, as I am one of its actors. The Parliamentary Assembly of the NATO, which was called the North Atlantic Assembly a year and a half ago, is an institution where decision-making parliamentary representatives of member countries are sitting, decisions – about the invitation of someone or about the ratification of a member. This is the place where new initiatives are born, which are reflected later on in concrete actions of executive bodies of all countries. I have to tell that e.g. the Parliamentary Assembly of the NATO adopted a resolution after the initiative of the American congressmen and the German MPs of the Bundestag already in 1996. This summit of the NATO, which should have been organized in 1997, invited concrete countries to receive membership in the NATO. Therefore, the new countries were invited only after the resolution of the parliamentary assembly of the NATO. At present, the situation is analogical. I would like to refresh memories with the fact that Slovakia had figured amongst those four countries, which were named by the parliamentary assembly of the NATO at that time. Slovakia has qualified itself a bit later as the result of the work of the previous government coalition. The Parliamentary Assembly of the NATO has clearly formulated its direction at its very interesting and historical meeting in the Bundestag in Reichstag – a historical building in Berlin – in 2000 again after 1996. At first, the political committee brought a resolution on the basis of the initiative of the senator William Ross after a very dramatic discussion. The resolution calls upon the North-Atlantic Council to invite Slovenia, Slovakia and Lithuania as its new members not later than 2002, the time of the next NATO summit. Furthermore, it should invite all the other democratic countries, which fulfilled the criteria of the study of the NATO enlargement elaborated in 1995. At last, this very radical resolution of the political committee was not passed through in its original version on the General Assembly or on the plenary session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the NATO. However, its corrected version did pass through after the request of some MP's of certain member countries. After the request of Estonia and Latvia who felt defrauded, and Bulgaria together with Turkey who, naturally, wanted to see their countries in this round, what is a quite legitimate demand. In fact, names of these three countries fell out of this resolution. The aim was not to create a precedent of prior countries, which are better, and so-called 'p priori underdogs' countries, which are disadvantaged. If I see these events retrospectively, I think that the decision was right because there is no need to decide about the race before the finish line. On the other hand, I think that it is very positive that the parliamentary assembly of the NATO was so radical in this issue.

What is awaiting us now? The Parliamentary Assembly of the NATO will be summoned in Vilnius on 27th May and afterwards in Ottawa in October. The result of these meetings must be an impulse for the meeting of ministers who will decide the

agenda of the summit, which will probably be held in Prague in October 2002. The decision about the agenda is under way, and beside that the countries must fulfil the criteria of the Membership Action Plan (MAP), it is also important that the initiatives about the enlargement of the NATO, as part of the agenda of the summit in 2002, came from this environment and that Slovakia would also be a part of this enlargement.

I would like to say at the end that a verbal application for the orientation of Slovakia is one thing, and another thing is to understand what the foreign political aim of the country means for the internal life of the country. The discussion on the Amendment of the Constitution, which lasted for three months in the Parliament of the Slovak Republic, was a very depressing proof of the fact that despite the verbal application of the opposition for the EU and NATO membership, we do not have any reason to think that it is their real aim, or if it is their aim, then they may not really know what does that mean. I really apologize for this statement but that is the only conclusion I could make, because the relationship between certain parts of the Amendment of the Constitution and our efforts to receive membership in the EU and the NATO is evident and unquestionable. Therefore, as far as the foreign political aims of Slovakia and the commitment of political subjects are concerned, I could not make any other conclusion. Peter Weiss is right when talking about the need of consensus, but my scepticism forces me to note that a consensus not based on values and internal consensus, is only a flat verbal declaration, a consensus that is insufficient.

Presentation of the Chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Nationalities of the National Council of the Slovak Republic László A. Nagy

Human and minorities rights represent an important part in foreign policy of each state in the last decades. I can remember the period of Helsinki process in the seventies and the effort of former socialist countries representatives that the human rights issue does not occur under the microscope of the community. And on the contrary, representatives of dissidents of former socialist Czechoslovakia did everything so that human rights and minorities rights in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries became internationalised, and that they became a foreign policy issue.

In present Europe, also thanks to the Helsinki process, human rights and minorities rights are not considered to be an internal problem of a state. Basic documents of the Council of Europe, mechanism of accepting countries, as well as the consecutive monitoring and post monitoring processes and the whole process of countries joining the EU and NATO is opening the book of human rights policy and policy of nationalities of each candidate country.

One could characterized three important and from each other different periods in the development of human rights policy and the policy of nationalities in Slovakia related to its foreign policy since 1989:

- 1989-1992 – change of a communist state into a democratic and legal state, Czechoslovak legal code is meeting elementary international documents on human rights, Charter on Human Rights and Freedoms.

- 1992-1998 – constitution of the Slovak Republic, searching a Slovak way to Europe, a difficult task for Slovak foreign policy as a maiden girl of a non-democratic domestic policy of the state towards human and minorities rights.
- 1998 – till present. An intensive comeback of Slovak foreign and domestic policy to the European policy sides. An internal political struggle of the character of Slovakia.

Instead of being detailed in theory on the character of the current period of domestic policy in human rights and minorities rights in Slovakia and its impact on our foreign policy, I'd like to tell you briefly the story of Romas, who became well known in Europe not because of their attempt to settle in Finland or in the Netherlands, but because in 1998 they were prohibited by the local government of Nyagov and Rokytovce and by a general binging ruling to enter the municipality and to domiciliate there. The Roma human rights organizations protested, but after elections only and after an intervention of the Vice-Prime Minister for human rights and nationalities, parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Nationalities and Prosecutor's Office the municipalities cancelled their rulings. Unfortunately, cancelling these rulings did no mean practically anything to the Romas; they were still hanging between the earth and sky. There was no other way for them but to burrow to the huts on the bank of Laborec River. Our self-governing municipalities, even if their population is representing another minority – Ruthinians – remained stock in the relationship to the Romas. Neither helped intervention of the government, nor of the plenipotentiary nor of the parliament – nobody wanted the Romas. An agreement on social housing with financial subsidies from the state between the District office in Medzilaborce and the government is a solution. The flats are to be approved, but there is a new problem there. The press release dated 26th February 2001 mentions that there were more than 2000 inhabitants of Medzilaborce, who signed a petition expressing their disagreement with the Medzilaborce state administration decision on moving to the town five Roma families, who have been living for two years in huts on the Laborec river bank. "We disagree with the purpose-built moving the Romas from Nyagov and Rokytovce, therefore we are inviting the authorities in charge to a system solution of the Roma problem", this is a message from Laborec civic association "New Alternative". We do not know today which side the local state administration will join. Is it going to surrender to the pressure of the "New Alternative", or is it going to remain with our European Alternative?

This short story shows that in Slovakia there is a legal framework to eliminate discrimination decisions of state administration, there is even political will of state authorities to eliminate these decisions, but all this is slow and complicated. An efficient and reliable mechanism for a fast and prompt solution of these and similar problems is missing. No wonder this and tens to hundreds of similar problems end up in international human rights forum in Strasburg or in The Hague. This is just another reason for a quick introducing a public defender of human rights in Slovakia. An intensive comeback of Slovak domestic policy to the banks of European politics

means also a change of character in viewing the domestic policy from the foreign policy side in terms of the slogan, that the most efficient foreign policy is a transparent and democratic domestic policy. Significant progress in respecting human rights and the rights of minorities is the best card for Slovakia on its way to the European Union and to Euro-Atlantic organizations.

In the framework of this strategy a few institutions have been established or revitalized during the last two years. The following offices have been established: the Office of the Vice-Prime Minister for Human Rights and Nationalities, the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Roma Issues and the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Personal Data Protection. The Government's Council for Nationalities is working according to a new concept and the nationalities' departments in the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture started to work again. A Committee for Human Rights and Nationalities and a Commission for Romas' rights have been established in the parliament. In the Slovak radio there are national broadcastings and in the Slovak television the Hungarian broadcasting has been revitalized. The shortcoming of these solutions is that they came to existence by a legal sub-standard decision. It means they have been created for the present time only. Their future existence depends on intentions and will of a future government. On the other hand, there should be the constitutional effort on creating a public defender of human rights and the effort of the government to make more efficient the work of Slovak National Centre for Human Rights. Constitutional implementation of ombudsman came to existence in a bitter struggle of the representatives of political opposition and coalition. It is the right time now for the government to submit the proposal on the act on public defender of human rights as soon as possible. If the government would hesitate for one reason or another, there is a group of members of parliament ready to submit this proposal.

Concerning the Act on Languages of Minorities, implementation difficulties with Hungarian, Roma, Ruthinian and Ukraine language hold over. The problems of Hungarians and Romas are supposed to be considered the most difficult ones. Ratification of Charter of Regional or Minority Languages will be an important enlargement of language rights and language application, above all. Also issuing bilingual census-sheets in Slovakia in May 2001 could be considered very important.

There is a significant progress in the attitude of Slovak Government towards solving the Roma problems. Apart from adopting and implementing important strategic materials the government declared its will to solve these problems also by signing the 12th. The Supplementary Protocol to the European Agreement on Human Rights, by joining general resolution and political declaration of the European Conference against Racism (individual ministers of the government should analyse and evaluate the possibility of implementing the conference documents by 30th June 2001).

An Action Plan against Racism has been adopted and a proposal on establishing a centre for monitoring manifestation of racism and xenophobia is included in the Prime Minister's plan for the year 2001.

What are the future tasks? Priority task is to continue the trend of the Slovak Republic in the human rights and nationalities policy as it has been followed since 1998. In this direction it will be necessary to develop an analysis of implementation problems of language rights of minorities in Slovakia and to adopt measures concerning mainly the Roma and the Hungarian minority. Another task is to adopt legal standards for consolidating those nationality institutions in Slovakia that have been created during last years on basis of legislative rules. We are anticipating the task analysis rooting from signing and consecutive adopting the Charter of Regional and Minority Languages. In the human rights framework we'll soon adopt the Act on Ombudsman, on public defender of human rights. From the persecution of discrimination point of view based on ethnic and racial point of view an analysis of our legal system will be developed and based on this analysis a proposal of anti-discrimination law will be developed. This is not going to be a walk in a rose garden. This is manifested, besides others, also by a hateful tone of many representatives political opposition during discussion in the parliament on the Amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. Finally I'd like to emphasize, that concerning Slovak foreign policy our permanent task is to continue the European direction of our domestic policy.

Grigorij Mesežnikov

The Main Trends of the Internal Political Development of Slovakia in 2000 as one of the Factors of the Foreign Policy of Slovakia

Internal political aspects of the international position of the country

Beside the geographical location, economic and defence potential, position in the system of international relations and the quality of diplomatic service of a country, the character of its internal political development also belongs to those factors, which influence the foreign policy of a country. The relationship of a country with another ones, its co-operation with neighbouring countries, its participation in international organizations and groupings of countries depend on the type of its political regime, way of functioning of its institutions, level of political stability and the quality of its legislation and actual configuration of political forces. The importance of the interrelation of the internal and foreign policy of a country was proved during the short history of Slovakia in the nineties. The memberships in European and Trans Atlantic economic and defence groupings, including the OECD, were declared a priority in the field of foreign policy by all the Slovak governments until now. However, the progress of Slovakia in the integrational process has significantly slowed down mainly because of internal political reasons during 1994 – 1998. As a result of democratic deficits and sharp internal political confrontation, which led to institutional

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instability, Slovakia was not accepted into the NATO in the first round of its enlargement, and it does not get also into the first group of associate members with which the EU started discussion about membership issues. The negotiations with the OECD about the membership in this grouping of the economic most developed countries of the world finished without any positive result for the former government.

Radical changes have happened in the internal political development of the Slovak Republic after the elections in 1998. The previously mentioned democratic deficits were eliminated within a short period of time, as the parliament adopted legislation increasing stability of the system of institutions and improving situation in the field of human rights. Stability and democratisation of the internal political development was positively reflected in the international position of the country, mainly its integrational chances have improved.

The results of the EU summit in Helsinki in December 1999, when the Slovak Republic was officially invited to negotiations about entering the EU, were the practical proofs not only of the success of the diplomatic activity of the Slovak Government, but also of the trust towards the decisive European integrational grouping responsible for the orientation of the development of internal politics of the country.

Increasing support of the public in prior foreign political issues of the country was another favourable factor to continue with the pro-integrational policy of the Government of the Slovak Republic in 2000. The increased interest of the public in foreign policy was the one more positive phenomenon. According to the research of the Institute for Public Issues made in March 2000, 44 % of the respondents were paying attention regularly or rather regularly to foreign policy (only 38 % of the population was doing the same in January 1999). According to other researches of the IPI from August 2000, 72 % of the population of Slovakia supported Slovakia's membership in the EU (in June 1999 it was only 66 %) and 50 % supported Slovakia's membership in the NATO (in June 1999 it was only 35 %). The researches of different sociological agencies from 2000 have proved the mainly positive attitude of the population of the Slovak Republic towards the foreign policy of the Government of Mikuláš Dzurinda.

The significance of the stability in the development of internal policy

The year 2000 was a period of stabilization of trends in the development of the internal policy of the Slovak Republic, which determined the development of the country after the parliamentary elections in 1998. The positive effects of co-operation and good relationship between the highest constitutional institutions (president, parliament, government, Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic) are indisputable, as well. Respecting principles of legal states and democratic “rules of game” by the dominant political forces have created favourable environment for the continuation of the democratic consolidation process. The government, formed by democratically oriented

political formations, tried to implement some reform steps creating adequate conditions for the country to get closer to the integrational groupings. The membership of the Slovak Republic in the OECD in December 2000 is the tangible result of these steps on the international scene. The following steps were of key importance from the point of view of the development of internal policy stability and creation of more favourable conditions for the practical implementation of the foreign political priorities of the Slovak Republic in 2000:

- way of functioning of the system of institutions in the country; success of different constitutional institutions; process of creation and adoption of legal norms connected with the functioning of different bodies of the political system;
- situation in the government coalition; character of relations between subjects of the government; ability of the government to implement important reform measures; entire effectiveness of the policy of the government;
- relations between the government coalition and the parliamentary opposition; preparedness of the opposition to contribute to the development process, which would strengthen international position of the country and also its position in the integration process.

The state and functioning of the institutional system

The system of the parliamentary democracy has practically functioned without any breakdown in the year 2000 just as in the year 1999. The dominant political forces, which are in majority in the legislative organ, did not pass any measure, which would endanger the stability of the constitutional system. On the contrary, they tried to reach procedural consensus or they tried to find a consensus in the case of conflict situations, which were solved afterwards within the existing constitutional-legal frames. The Parliament was functioning as the controller of the executive powers. Unlike the government coalition (HZDS-ZRS-SNS) during the years 1994-1998, the government coalition (SDK-SDE-SMK-SOP) did not create any obstacle in the parliament for the opposition politics to control its functioning. The representatives of the executive powers have passed enactments concerning their control by the legislative body, and they did not create any obstacle against the demands of the parliamentary bodies to provide them with information concerning their activities. The Parliament respected all judgements of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic concerning the decisions of the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

The parliament passed important legal norms creating more favourable conditions for democratisation trends. It was also about the law of free access to information, of which preparation and adoption in the parliament was followed by the supporting campaign of non-governmental organizations, which demanded the implementation of the principle “everything is public what is not a secret”. The National Council of the Slovak Republic passed the law about judges and associates (the so-called Code

of Judges) proposed by the government, which creates the legal basis for the reform of the Slovak judiciary. The proposal of the Amendment of the Constitution was prepared in 2000 and adopted by the National Council on 23rd of February 2001. The Amendment strengthened the democratic character of the country and created more favourable conditions for the process of the Slovak Republic to join the EU.

The Constitutional Court of the SR, which is guarding the constitution of the country, was in a more favourable situation in the year 2000 because of more professional preparation and adoption of legal norms in the parliament. In the electoral period between 1994 and 1998, the government coalition (HZDS-ZRS-SNS) adopted laws, which secured a bigger concentration of power in their hands even on the price of adopting legislature and amendments opposing the Constitution of the SR. It was proved also by the Constitutional Court of the SR. In contrast to this, the new government coalition (SDK-SDL-SMK-SOP) tried to keep the principles of a democratic and legal state. Unlike in the period between 1994-1998, after elections there were no unconstitutional legal norms adopted (with the exception of the amendment of the executive regulation from the year 1999, which was qualified by the Constitutional Court of the SR as unconstitutional).

Dominant political forces: situation in the government coalition

The global stability of the development of the internal policy has much depended on stability of the government coalition and abilities of the government cabinet. The effectiveness of adopting the resolutions of the government was adapted to the wide spectrum structure of the government coalition. Complicated internal relations, marked rivalry and conflict elements were typical for this government coalition. However, the deteriorated relations between the parties of the coalition was not on the level which would prevent them from the continuation in their common interest to realize the pro-reform, democratising and pro-integrational policy. The previously mentioned conflict elements were connected with different program priorities as a result of different ideological and political aims of the coalition parties, just as with factors of personal character. Steps not in compliance with previous political agreements worsened the trust between the coalition partners. Despite the efforts of the coalition subjects to strengthen their own position in the coalition (many times on the cost of the partners), internal relations of the government were relatively balanced; there was no unequivocal dominance of any of its subjects. The wide spectrum character of the government coalition increased the difficulty of the negotiations within the coalition. The effectiveness of such a way of negotiation was shown at the adoption of different legal norms in the parliament and at the implementation of certain important steps in execution.

As a result of different programs (mainly in the field of socio-economics) and divergent interest of the parties in some questions connected with control, the relations between the coalition partners were strained in 2000. This tension resulted many times

in open conflicts within the coalition, though their intensity have never endangered the existence of the coalition.

Opponent ad hoc alliances were established amongst the parties at the preparation and adoption of proposed measures in the government:

- in issues of socio-economic character – “bloc of leftists” (SDL, SOP) versus “bloc of rightists” (SDK, SMK);
- in issues concerning the rights of minorities – the “Slovak” part of the government coalition (SDK, SDL, SOP) versus the “Hungarian” part (SMK);
- in issues concerning the co-operation within the coalition – the “loyal” part of the government preferring the stability of the government (SDK, SMK, SOP) versus “the internal opposition” demanding changes in the structure of the government, including its wide-ranging reconstruction (SDL).

Tension was also characteristic in bilateral relations of the parties of the government, whereupon the SDL was the most frequent actor of conflicts within the government coalition. The unsolved internal relations within the SDK was another complicating factor for the activity of the government cabinet from the point of view of its internal effectiveness, just as from the point view of support of governmental proposals in the parliament.

The different standpoints of the coalition partners in some important political and socio-economic issues resulted in the way of adoption of governmental decrees, as well. Many governmental decrees were a result of long-lasting discussions and compromises within the coalition. It concerned the measures connected with economic policy, reform of the public administration, Amendment of the Constitution and the Agreement of the Slovak Republic with Vatican. The Coalition Council was relatively effective in solving the problems within the coalition connected with different, respectively with opponent standpoints of the coalition parties. The Council was more effective in finding compromises in issues concerning the adoption of concrete practical measures and solution of issues of personal character. It was obviously connected with the fact that the majority of professional arguments on issues of material character just as arguments on adoption of personal priorities of the coalition parties contributed to the formation of common compromises. The most critical situation in the relations of the coalition partners was not caused by the different character of the programs but by reaction of one of the coalition partners on personal changes which happened in the leadership of one of the so-called strategic firms (it was the reaction of the SDL on the dismissal of the director of the Slovak Power Station, who was nominated by the SDL at that time). At first, one part of the club of MPs of the SDL, led by its chairman J. Migaš (also the chairman of the parliament), voted no confidence for the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda and afterwards, they insisted on a wide-ranging reconstruction of the government for weeks.

Level of intercoalition stability was decreased by efforts of certain economic groups in different ways connected with parties of the government coalition. These groups intended to put their interest through their connections with representatives of the coalition parties. Even though unlike the previous government, which created a crony

system on the basis of the ideology “need to create a domestic capitalistic stratum”, the political program of the government of M. Dzurinda was not aimed at creation of a crony model where the political and economic powers are interrelated, functioning of the coalition (SDK-SDL-SMK-SOP) was also marked with efforts to use the elements of cronyism to strengthen the position of the coalition parties. The model according to which the positions in the so-called strategic firms were divided on the basis of political agreements within the coalition also contributed to the adoption of such steps (in fact, it was about party nominations). Despite that it was impossible to find a more adequate and operational model for taking over the responsibility in the leadership of the mentioned firms after constituting the government in 1998, the system of party nominations was too risky from the point of view of destabilization of the relations within the coalition in the case of realization of any personal change in the leadership of monopoly. The party nominations to leading positions in strategic firms increased the risk of favouring certain economic groups and subjects with close ties to political parties, respectively to their representatives. It showed soon that the effectiveness of the system of party nominations was less important from the point of view of common control of the coalition partners than as a factor which supports the crony methods. However, it is important to note that despite the fact that the previously mentioned practices of using crony ties with the parties of the government coalition remained, they did not mean a real danger for the democratic process and did not cause any breakdown in the functioning of the system of democratic institutions. It was also connected with the loyalty of the parties of the government coalition towards the values of parliamentary democracy and principles of legal states. Unlike, in the period between 1994-1998 the free democratic competition of the political forces on the basis of practical usage of crony methods and authoritative practice was not limited in the SR. Increased effectiveness of the non-formal public control (influence of the media, pressure of the public opinion) and taking up political responsibility for irrefutable or unconvincingly confuted cases were elements which did not exist in the previous electoral period.

Character of relations between the government and actors of public life was an important factor of the stability of the internal political development. The government of M. Dzurinda initiated a dialogue with the representatives of ethnic minorities and ethnic groups, representatives of NGOs, trade unionists and representatives of church immediately after the government was set up. Though, in 2000, relations between the government (governmental institutions) and the already mentioned actors of public life were complicated, and the representatives of minorities, NGOs and trade unions were critical about certain aspects of the work of the government, the dialogue and the relation between the partners were not seriously interrupted. The unambiguous orientation of the government on negotiation, and not on confrontation, decreased the risk of creation of possible conflicts.

The closeness in understanding of priorities in democratic development of the internal policy and pro-integrational foreign policy, but also the effort to prevent the

return of authoritative forces to power were factors which contributed to the continuation of the governmental co-operation of the parties SDK, SDL, SMK, SOP. In fact, some of the representatives of the parties of the government presented their ideas about the need of co-operation of democratic forces even after the next parliamentary elections.

The character of relations between the government coalition and opposition

Confrontation was a typical phenomenon in relations of the government coalition and opposition in the year 2000. The most powerful opposition force (HZDS) has tried to reverse the trend that took place after the parliamentary elections in 1998. HZDS, with the aim to win a wider support of the public, has tried to organize mass protest actions (manifestations and rallies), though participation on these meetings was very low. HZDS organized a petition to announce a referendum about mid-term elections in 2000. Despite that a major part of citizens of the country were dissatisfied with the socio-economical situation in the country at the half time of the government period of the coalition (SDK-SDL-SMK-SOP), the efforts of HZDS to evoke civic unrests on the basis of this public dissatisfaction were futile. Refusing standpoint of the majority of citizens about the possible return of political forces, which, among others, caused the integrational failure of the Slovak Republic, was shown by the absolute low participation of citizens on the referendum about mid-term elections (only 20 % of registered voters went to the electoral rooms).

HZDS, the main oppositional force, continuously refused to participate on constituting the parliamentary committees (later on, this effort was supported by the representatives of SNS), at positions they were offered repeatedly by the government coalition after the elections of 1998. The proposal of the government was based on the principle of adequate participation of the opposition in the leadership of parliamentary committees, which was close to the principle of proportional participation. As a conclusion, we can state that in the year 2000 the dominant forces made no efforts to concentrate political power in their hands using made of purpose legal amendments or administrative measures, and the system of division of power functioned without any breakdown.

Evaluation of the development of internal policy in the SR by foreign subjects

The evaluation of main trends in the internal progress by groupings in which the country intends to gain membership is the most important index of a character of relations between the development of internal policy of the country, its perspectives

of foreign policy and present international position. The trends in the development of internal policy in the year 2000 were positively evaluated by democratic foreign subjects as well. Following the positive evaluation of the progress which took place in Slovakia after the elections in 1998, the representatives of the EU and other democratic countries openly supported the Slovak government to continue the reforms.

Issues of reform trend stability and development of internal policy were the main targets of the representatives of the EU. The inadequate partnerships within the government coalition, which culminated in the crisis in April and May 2000, and the efforts of the opposition to reverse the action of early elections by the help of petition to announce referendum, evoked uncertainty of the EU representatives about the sustainability of reforms. Mr. Verheugen, the Commissioner of the EU, has also given voice about his uncertainty in his speech for the first time at the meeting with the MPs of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the European Parliament in Brussels at the end of February 2000. The following opinions of the representatives of the EU on the present situation in the Slovak Republic has proved that they unambiguously connected the successful continuation of positive trends with the present government remaining in power. The Co-Chairman of the Joint EU-SR Parliamentary Committee Hans-Peter Martin has announced in May 2000, that it is important for Slovakia to sustain the level of political stability of the present days. According to Hans-Peter Martin, the biggest fears of the EU concern the possibility of early elections. Furthermore, the JPC Co-Chairman added that it is hardly imaginable to start discussions about referendum and early elections in time when a big progress has been reached in the Slovak Republic: “The elections would certainly lead to the slow-down of the integrational process, or it may cause even bigger problems.” At the end of March 2000, Jan Wiersma, MP of the European Parliament and rapporteur of the Slovak Republic announced that in the case of early elections in the Slovak Republic the reform process would slow down, just as the pace of negotiations about the membership in the EU. In the case the parties of the previous government coalition would seize the power in Slovakia, the reaction of the EU would be very critical according to J. M. Wiersma: “We have had very bad experiences with Mr. Mečiar and we do not want them to happen again.” G. Verheugen, the Commissioner of the EU announced at the beginning of April: “The present Slovak government should stay together as long as possible in order to implement its program.” The EU, in relation to the progress in the SR, accentuated the need to sustain the political stability mainly after the effort of the HZDS MPs to pass a vote of no confidence for Prime Minister M. Dzurinda in the Parliament in April 2000. This proposal was suddenly supported by a certain group of representatives of SDL. J. M. Wiersma, a Rapporteur of the EU for Slovakia, announced at the presentation of the proposal of Report of Tasks Implementation within the Frame of Preparation of Slovakia to Join the EU, that the political stability of the Slovak Republic is still the most important factor. According to J. M. Wiersma, early elections could endanger continuity of economic reforms and adoption of important laws. The Regular Report of the European Commission from November

2000 stated, that Slovakia made significant steps in the field of getting membership in the EU, though it is necessary for the country to sustain the stability of the government and improve the reforms in order to implement further necessary measures. G. Verheugen, the Commissioner of the EU challenged the democratic forces in Slovakia in the proposal of the evaluation committee to be aware of the fact that the political stability and consensus of democratic forces in the issue of foreign political priorities is the most important thing for the country. After the referendum about early elections in November 2000, G. Verheugen announced: "I would like to appraise the citizens of Slovakia for their very wise decision a few days ago, when they decided not to participate in the referendum evoked by the party of Mečiar." According to the Commissioner of the EU, Slovakia is "an excellent example of how the perspectives of the European integration support the political and economic reforms".

Perspectives of the pro-integrational foreign policy of the Slovak Republic

The success of reaching the basic aims of foreign policy will depend on, among others, the ability of the government to solve problems of internal political character, which are complicating the integrational efforts of the country (e.g. the position of the Roma national minority; inadequate pace in the adoption and implementation of legal norms within the frame of the National Program for the Adoption of Acquis Communautaire; delay of deadlines in putting through reform measures of systematic character).

Slovakia has had 10 negotiation chapters closed within the frame of accession process to the EU at the end of 2000, and we can expect the start of negotiations in 16 new chapters in the year 2001. Results of the parliamentary elections in 2002 will be of key importance for the integrational ambitions of Slovakia. Only the victory of democratic political forces and the continuation of positive trends in development of the country will create conditions for the completion of integration of the Slovak Republic into the EU and NATO.

Vlasta Kunová

Effectiveness of the Process of Approximation of the Law in the Slovak Republic to the Law in EC/EU

The transformation of the Slovak Code of Legislation means a complex of legal reforms, which are more or less successfully or less successfully carried out in all fields of law. In this connection we can talk about:

- reform and modernization of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic;
- harmonization of the Slovak law with the European Union law;
- recodification of civil and criminal law;
- reform of jurisdiction.

Evaluating the reform of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic I can state right at the beginning that the acceptance of the Constitution Act on 23rd February 2001 which alters and amends the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, means deepening constitutionalism and ensuring the legitimacy of steps for integration of the Slovak Republic in European and international structures. The professional public discussed a lot the construction of constitutional legal basis for accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union because the Constitution of the Slovak Republic before the Amendment was passed did not contain any integration articles. Closing of the above-mentioned constitutional legal vacuum was realized by the group of representatives

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of the National Council of the Slovak Republic who on 14th June 2000 submitted the proposal of the Amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. In the reasoning report of the proposal it is stated: “The previous experience with the Constitution proves that in the sphere of fulfilling international commitments there exist several weak points.” Topicality of the given issue resonated also on the international conference organized by Asser Institute on 20th and 23rd September 2000 in The Haag. Experts from Central and Eastern European countries and the European Union member states discussed the issue of enlargement of the European Union from the aspect of constitutional law. In my presentation on the above-mentioned conference I expressed my belief that the content of integration articles of the Amendment of the Slovak Republic will have identical signs with corresponding European standards.

According to the article 7 section 2 “the Slovak Republic can by an international agreement ratified and announced in a legal way or on the basis of such an agreement transfer the execution of parts of its rights to the European Communities and the European Union. The legally binding acts of the European Communities and the European Union have priority over acts of the Slovak Republic...” In the article 7 section 5 it is stated: “International agreements about human rights and basic freedoms, international agreements, which do not require any act, and international agreements, which directly establish laws or duties of physical entities and were ratified and stated in a legal way, have priority over laws.”

In the above mentioned statements the article 7 section 2 and article 7 section 5 of the Amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic a legal base was created for:

- legitimacy of transfer of some parts of laws of the Slovak Republic to the European Community and European Union;
- acting of principles of European Union law in the Slovak legal environment (direct effect and supranational);
- priority of some parts of international agreements over Slovak laws.

The Amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic in this way creates constitutional – legal conditions for accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union. Its acceptance means a positive moment for integration of the Slovak Republic with states with developed legal culture.

It will be possible to verify in more detail the quality of the content of statements of the Amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic in a stage of its application in legal practise.

Besides evaluation of constitutional reform from the point of view of its significance for integration of the Slovak Republic with the European Union I also deal in my presentation with questions of norm forming and effectiveness of process of approximation of law.

In the second election period (on the meetings between 3rd November 1998 and 10th November 2000) there were accepted totally 194 acts, out of them two constitutional. Out of the accepted acts 151 of them were accepted on the basis of governmental proposals (77.8 %) and 43 of them on the basis of MPs’ proposals (22.1 %).

In report about the constitutionalism in the Slovak Republic from the point of view of norm forming of the government it is stated: "the great number of new and amended statements of the law frequently makes an impression in public that the alterations of valid law are consequences of low quality legislation. It is not true since changes in our society necessarily require a change in a valid law."

According to the Vice Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for Legislation Lubomír Fogaš: "The great number of rules of transformation character, but also the ratio of laws and derived legal norms make exceptional demands on work of legislative bodies of single resorts."

The Vice Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic L. Fogaš in his introduction to the Report of Present State of Constitutionalism underlines the attribute of legal code stability while he stresses the fact that: "it could happen that only superficial and hasty amendments of single legal institutions will lead in future to new changes conditioned by purposeful decision-making in the field of legislation. Therefore further reforms cannot be based only on "isolated" amendments towards which the political elite has a tendency. Also therefore it was necessary to make partial changes so that they may not weaken the principles of democratic state." (see Fogaš: Constitutionalism of our Legal Development in Constitutionalism and Politics 2000, No. 4 p.16 and the following).

The effectiveness of a law approximation is influenced besides comparatively unstable legal environment in the Slovak Republic also by the instability of legal adjustments in the European Union. Recently there was a further great amendment of Agreement on European Union in Nice signed which will influence also the field of the so-called secondary law of the European Union. A further negative moment, which will influence the quality and quantity of accepted legal adjustments, will crystallize in certain stage of legislative process. The tasks concluded from the Programme of the Government of the Slovak Republic are made actual in plans of legislative tasks of the government of the Slovak Republic for single years the government of the Slovak Republic approves by its statement. According to the tasks included in plans of legislative tasks for single years the proposals of acts are submitted in form of governmental proposals to the National Council of the Slovak Republic for further constitutional negotiations. The individual ministries and other central bodies of state legislation based on need to adjust social relations in a sphere of their activity submit proposals of acts also beyond the framework of the plan of legislative tasks which after approval by the government of the Slovak Republic are also submitted in form of governmental proposals for further constitutional negotiation to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Within adjustment of the plan of legislative tasks of the government of the Slovak Republic for the year 2000 62 % of these proposals were included in the plan. The government adopts an attitude also to initiative proposals of the representatives of the National Council of the Slovak Republic for issuing acts.

The norm forming of the government of the Slovak Republic is also negatively influenced by the fact that there still does not exist an overall conception of

transformation process in the law field. The only systematic process is carried out in the field of harmonization of our legal adjustment with the law of the European Union. The choice of other foreign models in different branches of law is made quite spontaneously and unconventional. In spite of this in the conclusion of the cited presentation L. Fogaš states: “In Report (on constitutionalism in the Slovak Republic – note of the author) the introduced data allow to state that constitutionalism in the Slovak Republic namely from point of view of government norm forming is satisfactory. This statement is also confirmed by the fact that in the 2nd election period in the Code of the Slovak Republic there was declared no case of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic of discrepancy of decree of the Government of the Slovak Republic with the constitution. Also the total number of cases of discrepancies of acts or their regulations with the Constitution can be evaluated as satisfactory. No proposal was submitted to the Constitutional Court which would dispute the discrepancy of text of act approved by the government with the Constitution.”

The following conclusions of my contribution will regard a significant element in the process of norm forming namely the harmonization of the Slovak legal code with law of the European Union. The outline of some theoretical problems which influences the effectiveness of process of approximation of law in the Slovak Republic is the following:

Despite the intensive effort of people who in the Slovak Republic deal with approximation of law and with the significant technical support of the European Union (counselling in legislation sphere, submitting legal regulations, assistance with material technical equipment of ministries and other central bodies, trainings and requalification of state administration) at realization of goals of approximation of law there arise several problems which can negatively influence the given process. Among the problems one can see above all:

- the fact that some sectors of the National Programme for Acceptation of Acquis Communautaire (for instance free movement of persons; employment and social affairs, education, professional preparation and youth) have a beyond resort character so they belong to competency of several resorts. This problem is gradually being solved so that differently oriented experts assess the subject of approximation and expert teams carry out the output;
- the difference between the structure of the Slovak law and structure of the law of the European Union.

The topical limitations of single Slovak legal regulation are not identical with topical sphere of directions of the European Union while it is necessary to include the given legal acts of the EU into several legislative proposals frequently from different branches of the state administration.

The problem, which arises in case of detailed formulation of directives of EC/EU, is solved so that it is necessary to transpose these directives on the level of tertiary regulations of ministries and other central bodies of the state administration. The process of approximation was connected also with application of the so-called

compatibility clause, which expressed the characteristics and count of legal norms of the European Union, which are relevant for the given proposal of the act. The degree of approximation of an act proposal with the legal norm of the European Union in the clause of compatibility is expressed in three degrees: a) full compatibility, b) partial compatibility, c) the proposal is not compatible.

In the first stage of approximation of law in the SR the clause of compatibility principally fulfilled its task and not only in legislative process but also the data about the degree of compatibility were used in technical exchange of information with the European Union. However it turned out that the clause of compatibility of proposal of act with the law of the European union provided a brief overview of relevant legal adjustment of given sphere of submitted proposal with the law of the European Union but in case of act with declared partial degree of compatibility it did not contain data about the actual degree of approximation, about differences and discrepancies in comparison with legal degree of the European Union and the clause gave only a little space to description of basic principles of legal adjustment of the European Union. The European Commission and the government of the Slovak Republic therefore started the verification of quantitative data of measures of the 1st and 2nd stage of the White Book for which the SR has accepted legislation and the degree of compatibility with these measures by help of the so-called concordance tables.

Investigation of economic impact of approximation of legislation on state budget, economy as a whole on the citizens and entrepreneurs who are active in market was also a certain specific problem. For this reason the Vice Prime Minister of the government for legislation L. Fogaš initiated the acceptance of task according to which the submitters of proposals of legal regulations are obliged to qualify also the total economic impact of proposed legal regulations on market environment. The task was approved by decree of the government of the Slovak Republic No. 68 in 1999.

The next problem is connected to translations of *acquis* into Slovak language. The candidate states have to translate the legal texts forming the *acquis* into their own language before their accession to the European Union. *Acquis* formed by primary and secondary binding legislation represents at present approximately 60,000–70,000 pages in an Official Journal. Help with realization of this process is given to candidate states within the programme PHARE. The SR similarly to other candidate states created a central Translating Coordination Unit. Up to now 35,000 pages from the Official Journal have been translated and more than 5,000 pages revised. With an aim to unify the process of translation Slovakia decided to grant legal validity to texts translated into the Czech language in a field of normalisation.

Another problem is the quality of translations. The effort to unify the terminology in the field of European law has not been fully successful and several resorts criticized the not completely perfect translations. We have not yet succeeded in creating a professional terminological committee, which would deal with issues of stabilization of terminology from the fund of *acquis*. The terminological committee of the government of the Slovak Republic appointed by the former Vice Prime Minister of

the government for legislation K. Tóthová, never started its activity. Currently there are suggestions that lawyers, linguists and other professionals should create an institutional base for the field of translations of legal texts into the Slovak language. In the future a reverse process will be also important, the translations of Slovak legal sources into foreign languages. I think that we can realistically consider the English version of Code.

From the point of view of norm forming with accent on the field of approximation of the Slovak legal code to the law of European Union we cannot forget the “Regular Report of the European Commission on the Progress of the Slovak Republic in Preparation for Membership in the European Union” which was published on 8th November 2000. A priority significance for our assessment standpoint is seen in the Part 3 of the given Report, *Ability to take over the commitments of membership* where on one hand information about the state of current Slovak legislation is introduced on the other hand there are evaluated the administrative capacities of Slovakia to implement the different aspects of *acquis*. The Slovak politicians accepted the given Report very optimistically even despite the fact that from the content of its third part results the slightly reserved attitude of the European Commission. The total positive evaluation alternates with partial criticism according to which the Slovak Republic should increase its effort with the aim to fully coordinate our legislation with *acquis*.

In the conclusion of the given Report it is stated: “Acceptance of act about civil servants and beginning of implementation of strategy of administrative reform of public administration (both short term priorities of Partnership for Accession 1999) lack behind” (The Regular Report of EC, p. 61).

In the report it is also given that the Slovak Republic made a progress in harmonization of legislation and *acquis* and so it strengthened its ability to fulfil tasks for a member state of the EU. Anyway the progress was not the same in all chapters. According to the Regular Report it lacks behind in the field of law for commercial companies, agriculture, transport, regional policy as well as coordination of structural tools, environment and financial control. The report further contains a statement that the progress is more visible in development of legislation than in strengthening institutions responsible for implementation and using legislation in practise. In the field of legislation of internal market according to the Report little progress has been achieved in the sphere of free movement of persons since the general framework for recognition of foreign professional qualifications has not been introduced. The European Commission regards for inevitable to harmonize the Slovak legal adjustment and *acquis* in the sphere of migration, frontier control and combat of criminality. According to the Report it is necessary to make more effort to complete the legislative framework and assure the right implementation of *acquis* in field of customs duties. In spite of objections from the European Commission to fulfilling some tasks in the field of formal and factual approximation, the analysis presented in the Regular Report should not mean criticism, but stimulation of all subjects who participate in the process of approximation of law to even more intensive activities.

According to submitted Legislative plan of tasks for the year 2001 effort of the government to deal with delay in submitting the proposals of legal norms is obvious. In given plan right at the beginning there are proposals of act about electronic signature, proposal for customs act, proposal of act altering and supplements the act No.132/1990 of Advocate Code, proposal of act about banks, proposal of act about patents, etc.

For the most effective tool of acceleration of process of approximation of law I regard the acceptance of adjusted article 120 of the Constitution of the SR according to which "If the law states so the government has a right to issue regulations for carrying out the European Convention on Association of European Communities and their member states on one hand and the Slovak Republic on the other hand and for carrying out international agreements according to article 7 section 2." The acceleration process of approximation of law is inevitable for the reason that in this field the Slovak Republic should fulfil its commitments by the end of a year 2002. The question of taking over the whole valid law of the EU will be included in the Agreement on Accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union.

Miroslav Kusý

Fulfilling International Commitments of the SR in the Sphere of Human and Minority Rights in the Year 2000

Balance of the half time of governance

In the year 2000 the half time of existence of the current governmental coalition as such and the Dzurinda's government in particular was balanced. Also those who have presented themselves until now as governmental permanent critics if they do not belong directly to radical political opposition they could not let a whole series of remarkable successes of this government unacknowledged, starting, of course, with foreign policy followed by economy (accepting Slovakia into the OECD) and stabilisation of rule of law by participation policy (presence of the Hungarian minority in the governmental coalition), by rehabilitation of political culture and even by fight against crime – as is for instance praised by Milan Žitný in the article *Home in the half time (Domino Forum 44/2000, p. 2)*. Even some moderate representatives of political opposition admit some undeniable successes of this government. In both cases this positive statement was accompanied by ambiguous *but...* followed by a fusillade of objections and disappointments, even invectives and offences of honour.

I am not going to enumerate and calculate all pluses and minuses. But in the given context one must take into consideration substantially impeded situation in which current new Slovak politics was born. Here it was not about continual progressive development in all spheres of transformation of Slovakia since 1989 as could roughly

be seen in neighbouring post-communistic countries. After the elections in '98 we had to change radically the trend started by destruction of Czechoslovakia in 1992 and following establishment, building and orientation of the Slovak Republic. The most telling name for this trend is the word *meciarism*.

Meciarism represented and still represents a fundamental deviation from the direction introduced to the world by the Revolution of November 1989 as in the Czech as in the Slovak part of the common state. Europe for us meant democracy as an opposite to reglementation, economic freedom as an opposite to the state controlled economy, a man's dignity as an opposite to educated serfdom to authorities, human rights as an opposite to absolute obligations of a socialistic man towards the socialistic state. Of course, Europe we dreamt about was not completely the European reality and differences between the dream and reality revealed only gradually. Despite this – sometimes even painful – incitement, Europe is still our goal worth the effort.

Meciarism did not restore communistic totalitarianism, but pro-European ideals of November 1989 Revolution were equally strange to it. Politically it aimed from totality to authoritarian state, from exercising the leading role of the Communist Party to implementing the leading role of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), from the class-divided society with superiority of one class to the nation-divided society with superiority of one nation; internationally from the so called proletariat internationalism to nationalistic isolationism and xenophobia against the closest neighbours. Economy directed from state controlled economy to economy of economy mafias, from nationalised enterprises to corrupted non-transparent privatisation leading to tunnelling and appropriation. In political culture form strict censorship of every published word to absolute devaluation of its value, to demagogy, primitivism and lie as a working method of meciarism.

After the 1998 elections we had to get back to original starting points and ideals of November '89. It was not possible just to jump over or push aside the seven years of meciarism. During that time meciarism rooted legislatively, institutionally and by social awareness in all spheres of social, political, economic and culture life of the country. Return to European November ideals is like making path through the in the mean time rampant jungle of meciarism.

The half time of the Dzurinda's government was therefore a good opportunity to confront reached results or loses not only with the coalition's Programme of the Government that resulted from an ad hoc consensus in 1998 but with the original European ideals of November 1989, as well.

Well, one must take into consideration what remained when they were freed of our naïve romantic illusions and also how these ideals crystallized in Europe itself.

During the Millennium UN General Assembly Session in September 2000 the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan stressed that pursuance of human and minority rights is the most important and most urging task of the UN for the closest future.

Protection of endangered persons and groups must reach such a level that coarse abuse of human rights will not remain unpunished. This philosophy is a philosophy

also of the Council of Europe, which in 2000 celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of the Convention of European Human Rights and Basic Freedoms. The European Union has prepared and in December 2000 adopted a document of its legalisation in a way of a modern *Charter of Basic Rights of the EU*. Human rights are a basis for all international relations between individual states; they make the cement of European unity. The Bills of Rights represent and will represent a threshold for entering Europe.

Stress on human and minority rights remarkably influences the character per se of European security. Traditional focus on state and territorial security is more and more changing into a conception of *human* security. This concept moves stress to human and minority rights as factors decisive for security. Traditionally understood state security is then just something derived from human security. This is more and more visible since the beginning of 90s, when states and their international unions became judged on securing protection of human and minority rights and when the level of the protection became a measure of security in individual world regions. That is why it is practically impossible today for states to protect themselves by impenetrable barriers of borders and intactness of sovereignty to violate human and minority rights.

This new approach to security much more focuses on a man than whenever before. Since beginning of 90s all the most important institutions of international co-operation devote their activities to importance of enacting human and minority rights as to a decisive road towards peace and stability in human society.

Respect to human rights so in relations between a state and a citizen as in relations among people in general became a probing stone of accepting states as members of the democratic peace international society of states. Respecting these legal principles helps at creating common opinions on value of life and removing possibility of wars by lasting strengthening mutual interdependence among human beings. At the European level that were the Council of Europe and European Union, who formalized human understanding of security as a condition of (future) membership by the Constitution as well as the Copenhagen criteria form 1993. States of Central and Eastern Europe were required to show their maturity by adopting these principles.

Of course, this does not mean that all states unconditionally agreed with the notion, that respect of human and minority rights will be the dominant principle of security in the 21st century. But experience shows that the pressure of international norms of codified human and minority rights on individual states leads to their permanent implementation in internal legislation. On the other hand it is the internal soil, where new human needs which often deserve transformation to international papers of codified human and minority rights arise and are formulated.

Now, at the break of centuries the Council of Europe absolutely eligibly brings attention to a progress reached during the last ten years in deepening general respect to human rights in Europe. Most states of Central and Eastern Europe are bind by their membership in the Council of Europe to follow the European Agreement on Protection of Human Rights and to submit themselves to decisions of the European

Court of Justice for Human Rights in Strasbourg. Dramatically increasing agenda of this court signals insufficiencies in protection and respect of human rights in individual countries but the fact that complaints on abuse of human rights coming from Central and Eastern Europe countries bring with them a new interpretation of individual paragraphs of the Agreement. It is so for instance in issues of understanding discrimination or equal opportunities based on education, etc.

Note of the half time of the rule of Dzurinda's team had more dimensions focused on past and future, inside and outside. While judging and comparing we shall not forget the main line, which brought home and international respect to this government, and which therefore binds it to the future. That were and that will be human and minority rights, emphasis on their implementation and protection.

European priorities in protection of human rights

The Slovak Republic today fulfils the basic European standard of respecting and protection of human rights in the level of civil and political rights, what do relevant world institutions and non-governmental organizations monitoring state of human rights in individual countries of the world unequivocally acknowledge. If we are still reminded of some weaknesses it concerns mainly Roma population (for instance the Amnesty International in its Annual Report 2000). Not that here we are worse than developed European democracies. But what is worse comparing to let's say Germany or France, is social status of our Romas. Their Romas are not running away because they would not be better off in other state. Their numbers can be neglected, our Romas compose a big social mass. Even if only a small part of them tries emigration and even if they do not get the political asylum for abuse of their rights, it signalises that there is something wrong in Slovakia in this sphere. The EU has enough of their own problems; it does not need to accept countries bringing new open issues.

The said shall not lead to our satisfaction with the state of the issue. It is more about the question: *what next?* The basic European standard is only a minimum, something as hygienic habits for healthy way of life: they must be respected every day, but they are not sufficient alone. With secured basic civic and political rights the citizen gets interested in higher levels of his rights: economic, social, culture, group rights and even rights of future generations.

So today we witness that the European standard is taken for granted and a citizen shows his dissatisfaction with the status quo in the mentioned higher levels, which before lay forgotten in the background. Still more and more emphatically individual *family, age and sex groups* are requesting their rights: women, children and youth, elderly people, gays and lesbians. They want something more than just right to vote, freedom to speech and conscience. They ask for respect to their biological specificity at defining and pursuing here resulting specific rights. General citizen rights are not enough for a woman, she wants specific women rights.

Then there are different *interest groups* as patients, consumers, prisoners, conscripted soldiers, handicapped people, employers, and university students. Their special group interests expressed for instance in the Codex of Rights of a Patient or Code of Academic Freedoms shall be taken into consideration.

Then there are *ethnic and language groups*. They are not satisfied only with the right to live; they want a right to live a full-fledged ethnic life in their own ethnic or language society. As do Slovaks in a society of Slovaks, Hungarians want to have it in a society of Hungarians. They are not satisfied with freedom of speech, they ask for a freedom of speech in their own mother language.

And finally there are *highly volatile groups*. That are marginalized, ostracized and ghettoised groups pushed aside from the majority society living on a margin of society and often regarded as menial and inferior people. There belong long term unemployed, homeless, refugees, foreign contract workers, foreigners of different skin colour. Quite often in combination with the previous groups. In some societies there are also women, gays and specially some ethnic groups as are Romas, Vietnamese or others living long term in the given country. In many of these special groups we are catching the lost, i.e. here it is to pursue and protect those specific rights, which in other developed European countries can be up to a noticeable level, taken for granted. For instance rights of women or rights of the handicapped. In these cases it is usually enough to get inspired by way of solving the issues in other countries. Way of fight against sexual harassment or introducing non-barrier entries need not be discovered again, tried and tested forms must be simply kept.

In other cases it is important simply to follow actual European trends and participate on their forming and searching for adequate solutions together with developed Europe. The Slovak Republic is a member state of the UN and the Council of Europe, the most important creators of modern agenda of human rights on universal or European regional scene. This agenda sets the trend of development of human rights, the priority that should be focused on also on individual member states. Representatives of the Meciar's administration in this sphere often acted double-dealing. They voted for relevant recommendations, resolutions and agreements on the international scene, but very often there was no their implementation in Slovakia. So it happened here with the *Framework Agreement on Minority Rights* or with the *Decade of Education to Human Rights*, declared by the UN for 1995 – 2004. This topical international agenda of human rights and its implementation on the Slovak soil must be followed very carefully and attention must be drawn to all negligence.

In the mean time the Dzurinda's administration reached fundamental progress in implementation of the *Framework Agreement*. But nothing has been done with the *Decade of Education to Human Rights* yet. The office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva balanced in 2000 conduct and results of the first half of the mentioned *Decade of Education to Human Rights* in the world and set new tasks for its second half. Slovakia did not appear in this settlement. And it is not a negligible matter. Since adoption of the General Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 we have

carried over the education to human rights for more than 50 years. All this time in Western Europe this human rights education went on permanently and the *Decade* was here only to strengthen it and direct it towards new issues. The *Decade* was voted for by governments (including ours even though the previous one) in the UN so it is mainly about issues realized on the governmental level. It should have started with instituting national or state commissions, committees (National Committee) for human rights, formed by representative personalities of each individual country. They should control a full complex of activities, organizational and institutional measurements in realization of the *Decade*.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Geneva Office Settlement published on the Internet brought many remarkable examples of successes of individual countries in the sphere of institutional and organizational arrangement of permanent human rights education. One example for all: in November 2000 in Japan the *Law on the Promotion of Human Rights Education and Human Rights Awareness-Raising* was passed. It sets up framework tasks for the central government, local government, school system, mass media, societies, etc. at realization of this education. I see it as a big handicap that Slovakia does not participate at the *Decade*.

Besides the *Decade* the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson sets fight against racism and protection of rights of notably vulnerable groups as unequivocal priorities. It is tailor made for Slovak conditions: both the priorities are in Slovakia concentrated in the Roma issue. According to Mary Robinson “In many countries there have not been created effective course of faction for undoing a wrong committed on victims of race discrimination, neither in penal law neither in civil law, neither in administrative law. And in countries where they exist, they are too little known, too complicated and effectively usable with difficulties, or they need huge financial sources, rarely available to the most suffering” (*Human Rights: From Paper to Practice*, Terraviva 41/2000, p. 5). And exactly in this context the High Commissioner stresses that we “have to bring extraordinary attention to the most vulnerable groups which are often the most marginalized, the poorest, the least educated and have the lowest chances to invoke official proceedings for undo wrongs... The fact that in many countries percentage of the imprisoned members of minorities is remarkably higher than the average and it is still rising – what can be considered an index of racism and discrimination in a society as a whole – is also disturbing.” (Ib.)

Finally, this was also how *the Geneva Special UN General Assembly Session on Social Development* in the end of June 2000 and *Millennium UN General Assembly Session* in New York saw current priorities in the sphere of human rights protection. Also the Council of Europe fully participates on this trend and comes with the *strategy of social cohesion*. This should prevent development of a “two speed society” where one profit from prosperity and others are sentenced to marginal existence. The *strategy* looks for effective ways of poverty elimination and for fight against social exclusion; restriction of unacceptably high level of unemployment in globalizing economic system; reaching and keeping high level of social protection; creating a new sense for

social solidarity and mutual responsibility in society for which seeking individual satisfaction is symptomatic; and finally transformation of growing ethnic and culture manifoldness into a source of power in globalizing world.

With an assistance of such effective tools as are the *European Social Charter* and *European Codex of Social Security* the Council of Europe endeavours to identify obstacles preventing people excluded from the main stream of society from profiting from their social rights mainly in the sphere of social protection, employment and accommodation. It offers its experiences in a sphere of social exclusion to those states that are trying to develop or strengthen their national strategy of fight against poverty and social exclusion. In this context it sees solution in policy of social integration of immigrants and disadvantaged ethnic minorities (see John Murray, *The Council of Europe's Contribution to the Geneva Special Session on Social Development*, Terraviva 41/2000, p. 7).

Even though the SR is not a member of the EU as a candidate country it must follow very closely direction of the Union also in the sphere of human rights. It fastens on the process, which underwent in the Council of Europe. It expressively bases on the *European Social Charter*. The *Amsterdam Agreement* lays in its preamble main stress upon social rights as basic human rights. And in development in the EU basic rights conception traditionally appears *discrimination forbiddance* from which the right of equal treatment is derived, for instance in access to employment, professional promotion, social protection.

No wonder that Europe is so sensitive to development of Roma issue in Slovakia, to our ways of solving (or neglecting) a status of highly vulnerable groups in the Slovak society and among them mainly Roma people as the biggest and the most endangered group. There is no wonder that many warning signals are sent to us. Europe will not solve it for us. But if we do not take European trends and experiences into consideration, Europe cannot calculate with us as with an equal partner.

World referendum

We are specifically focused on fulfilling requirements made by the EU and NATO. But the Western world we want to anchor in will not be reduced only to these to organizations. We must take into consideration its complexity, issues it lives through and we should participate on everything important that is happening in the life of West. Only thus will our integration be complete and real. This general scale of participation passes us unnoticed. I will give you one example for all.

In Slovakia we managed to absolutely devaluate, make repulsive and ridiculous an institution of a referendum. But in the world it is still a respectable and serious matter. It is usually used properly, where it is unique and irreplaceable. Results of such a referendum have their high value of notice: they express the will of people, an expression of direct democracy.

It is valid in international dimension in its way as well. Until September 2000 the UNESCO collected worldwide more than 60 million signatures under the *Manifest 2000 for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence*, posed to public by a group of laureates of the Nobel Prize for Peace. The UNESCO was here a coordinator of activities within the last year's *International Year of Culture of Peace*, of which the *Manifest 2000* was a basic part. The Manifest called upon people for signing it and thus to “claim values of peace, tolerance and solidarity and for spreading this values, attitudes and manners implementing culture of peace in their everyday activities”.

Transformation of the present culture of war and violence into a culture of peace and non-violence requires participation of every one of us and must offer young people and next generations values which would inspire them to build a world based on justice, solidarity, freedom, dignity, harmony and prosperity of all people. The values are simple, generally acceptable and understandable to everybody. A signatory of the *Manifest 2000* signs that “he is aware of his share of responsibility for future of mankind, especially children of today and tomorrow” and promises to “pursue in his everyday life in his family, his work, in his society, in his country and in his region:

1. *Respect all life*, what means to respect life and dignity of every living creature while excluding discrimination and any prejudices.
2. *Refuse violence*, that is to actively apply non-violence and to refuse violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economic and social, especially against the most endangered groups as are children and youth.
3. *Participation with other people*, i.e. dedicate them one's own time and perhaps even financial sources, with the aim to finish their marginalization, injustice, political and economic oppression.
4. *Listen with willingness to understand*, that means protect freedom of speech and culture diversity, giving priority do a dialogue and listening without bias seen in fatalism, blackening and rejection of other people.
5. *Preserve the planet Earth*, apply responsible consumer behaviour and ways of life respecting all forms of life and leading to preserving balance of nature on the Earth.
6. *Return to solidarity*, to participate on development of one's own society with full participation of women and respecting democratic principles for creation new forms of solidarity.

More than 160 international organizations and around 1300 national and local organizations participated on the action and represented part of Global Movement for *Manifest 2000* presentation to public and collecting signatures under it. The first set of them – mentioned 60 millions – was presented to the UN General Assembly at the Millennium Day of Peace on 19th September 2000.

The Manifest 2000 and to it connected the International Year of Culture of Peace stem from the UNESCO Establishing Document according to which “wars started in minds of people, so in minds of people defence of peace must be initiated”. The UNESCO Director General Koichiro Matsuura in his message at the beginning of the

International Year of Culture of Peace on 1st January 2000 stressed in this sense that “peace cannot be guaranteed exclusively by political, economic or military treaties. Finally it depends on unanimous, devoted and permanent involvement of people. This is why every one of us regardless age, sex, social status, religion or culture origin is qualified to build a peaceful world. Peace might be reached only via our behaviour, our attitudes and everyday activities. Culture of peace is a universal culture shared by all people. It is a substance of our common humanity.”

The UN General Assembly adopted in 1998 a definition of culture as a set of “values, attitudes and ways of behaviour expressing and inciting social interactions stemming out from principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, refusing violence and seeking prevention conflicts by removing their sources, solving problems by dialogue and negotiation and guaranteeing full exercising of all rights and means of the fullest possible participation on development processes in one’s own society.”

The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in his message at official opening of the *International Year of Culture of Peace* stressed that the UN “does not have higher aim, deeper interest and bigger ambition than to prevent armed conflicts. But the real peace means much more than simple absence of war. To have peace among nations there must be peace inside each nation, among groups of people and individuals. We all – young and old, rich and poor, governments and civil societies – we have to do our part here. Culture of peace belongs to us.”

Conception of culture of peace refusing war and violence must especially focus on their causes. To pursue culture of peace thus mean to fight for extradition of poverty, lowering inequality among people, to pursue sustainable economic and social development, to respect human rights, to support freedom of speech and democratic participation, to ease access to education and improving status of women.

The year 2000 was elected an *International Year of Culture of Peace* for its symbolism of number 2 marking the start of a new Millennium. It was to be a memento against any violence, a symbol of hope. Everyday permanent involvement of individuals, institutions and organizations on local, national and international level should constitute a strong positive influence on states, governments and their representatives, so also on creation of their political will which is an inevitable condition for creation and keeping long lasting peace in the world.

Development of *Global Movement* for pursuing this idea and for collection signatures under the *Manifest 2000* rested on partnership with non-governmental organizations, schools, universities, enterprises, media, parliamentary groups, cities and UN agencies. It concentrated on dominant actions organized during the *International Year* and on assistance to local projects of pursuing culture of peace and petition campaign for the *Manifest 2000*. The aim of the *Global Movement* was to collect all together 100 million signatures until the end of the year 2000.

UNESCO emphasized a whole set of positive examples of remarkable activities and results of petition campaigns in individual countries of the world. Among others

there are Nepal and Republic of Korea (1.6 million signatures), Turkey and India (30 million signatures), Togo and Brazil (11 million signatures), France and Algeria (800 thousand signatures) and from Central and Eastern Europe Bosnia and Herzegovina are mentioned. Slovakia and its neighbours do not figure among positive examples.

As if the appeal and notion of the UNESCO Director General to participate on “building this world of peace, starting by signing the *Manifest 2000*, by which we bind ourselves to apply universal principles of culture of peace, non-violence and harmony in our family, in our society and at work. Let’s start together to cultivate peace. Let’s ask ourselves: What can I do for peace today?” did not concern us.

The year 2000 finished a long time ago and I am not aware of any activities how Slovakia presented itself within the International year of culture of peace. I am not aware of any initiative individuals or non-governmental organizations taking part in the mentioned monumental Global Movement and securing Slovak stake in the petition campaign for 100 million signatures under the *Manifest 2000*.

We are so much focused on our internal problems and often pseudoproblems that we do not perceive what is happening around us and we ignore those international activities we assume they do not concern us directly. But Slovakia is a part of the world and wants to be its part much more integrated than before.

Should we exert at least as much effort as was given to the last lousy referendum, how many signatures would we be able to collect for the world wide *Manifest* in 2000?

Pavol Lukáč

Institutional Background of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic

The objective of my presentation is to reflect on the role of institutions in the process of forming the Slovak foreign policy and their transformation and effectiveness. Almost eight years have passed since the establishment of the sovereign state in 1993 and this is a relatively short term (under normal conditions two regular election periods), in our case a complicated one due to periods of government of V. Mečiar directed towards an extraordinary polarization of society what has also effected forming of character of many political institutions.

In several of my articles I tried to bring the attention to the influence of four basic actors in the sphere of foreign policy, namely: personalities, elite, institutions and conceptions. I would like to call attention to this model again so that we may understand our discourse on institutions in close connection with the other above-mentioned actors. It goes without saying that in this contribution, which is limited by time and space I cannot offer a deep analysis only a critical glossary. I will focus my attention on the following institutions: the President of the SR, Prime Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, educational institutions and new informal institutional initiatives.

Since 15th May 1999 when in the second round of a direct election Rudolf Schuster was elected the President of the SR by citizens of the SR a new basic element appeared in our constitutional system. In spite of the fact that the legislation was adjusted so that the President of the SR is elected by citizens directly his power was not adjusted in any special sense. We should take this into consideration when evaluating his activities. The role of the president in our constitutional system is still politically

representative. As I mentioned above I would like to concentrate on institutional survey and not on the evaluation of personal activities of Mr. President in the sphere of foreign policy. Relatively shortly after his appointment changes were made in the Presidential Office and the special Department of Foreign Policy established by his predecessor M. Kováč was dismissed. In connection with M. Kováč I can positively assess his choice of advisers also for the sphere of foreign policy. There were mainly the former Minister of International Relations of the Slovak Republic from the time of the Czechoslovak Federation and later a famous civil activist Pavol Demeš, then the former Member of the Federal Assembly of the CSFR, social-democratic politician and at one time an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Lubor Bystrický, currently an ambassador to Vienna, and for a short time also one of our best diplomats Miroslav Mojžita or Veronika Lombardini worked in the Presidential Office of the SR. Unfortunately in the current Presidential Office of the SR there is an absence of similar case where the adviser for foreign policy would be a personality of a higher rank with an adequate authority and experience in this field. This fact is reflected in the majority of foreign policy activities of the President of the SR. On evaluation conference last year some of us witnessed a sharp criticism of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by our president. The target of criticism was among others the quality of material and speeches written for him. One should think why the President has not got around him also such people who would be able in adequate co-operation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic to write key speeches, which would continually form the conception of his ideas and personal political agenda. An actual example is the present cause of the “state doctrine” which the President introduces like his political initiative. Up to now we have not had any possibility to hear and learn what this conception means. From the history of international relations we know many doctrines called after their authors: Monroe doctrine, Truman doctrine, Hallstein doctrine, Sonnfeldt doctrine, Brežnev doctrine, Kvicinsky doctrine, Kozyrev doctrine or the so-called Sinatra doctrine (according to the song of Frank Sinatra “I did it in my way ...”). At their beginning there were no paper analyses and arguments, but rather certain very simple principles or maximums that through their application achieved a doctrinal character. Should our President besides the idea of the state doctrine as a material with a medium-term or long-term outlook offered us a certain material the team of his advisers would work up we would be further in our discussion. We can see today that his ideas are picked up by such forces as the Conference of Slovak Intelligentsia Slovakia Plus or Robert Fico, the chairman of the SMER party who recently announced his interest to co-operate on doctrine.

Anyway, the total realization of the idea of the doctrine finished on Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR where many of “draft-makers” did not accept it.

If today I criticize the absence of specialized advisers – experts for foreign policy who would exist in institutions of top constitutional representatives I cannot omit the Prime Minister. Although formally his adviser for foreign political affairs is Ján Figel it is difficult to imagine his effective work for the Prime Minister because he is

overloaded by his responsibilities as a State Secretary and simultaneously the Chief Negotiator for accession of the SR to the Union. The adviser of the Prime Minister could develop his specialized topics and his foreign political agenda. It is interesting that the Office of the Prime Minister has been looking for such a person already for a longer time.

I just would like to mention that yesterday at the meeting with the president of FRY Vojislav Koštunica I was pleased to meet in position of his foreign political adviser the professor Predrag Simič a director of the Institute for International Policy and Economy who I have known from international conferences. As you can see the president did not hesitate and hired one of the most capable people.

It is also connected with the task of “writing speeches” for conferences, media or other special occasions. In western world from which we would like to learn sometimes there is a long-term practise of the so-called speechwriters. Recently in “Economist” I came across an advertisement where a British Member of Parliament is seeking a speech writer with adequate politological and economic education. For politicians or statesmen like the President, Prime Minister or Minister of Foreign Affairs such a speechwriter would be necessary as salt. Besides close personal communication where he could personally talk about some topics and being aware of certain continuity of thoughts in speeches he would in fact create the basis of political publicity of active politicians-statesmen which are so absent here.

Frequently the politician of the above mentioned rank does not even know the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who routinely and often in the last minute write their speeches without spark and noblesse.

Also the Department of Analysis and Planning of the MFA of the SR (where I had an opportunity to complete my professional study stay two years ago) is not accepted in the right way. This department should not be a speech-writing department. When in 1947 for the first time in history of international relations it was established by nobody smaller than the guru of foreign policy of the USA George Frost Kennan he intended to create an inner ministry actionable think tank, which produces real analyses and looks ahead in planning. Also the Department of analysis and planning in the MFA of the SR should achieve this status.

Since in the morning session several representatives of the National Council of the SR had an opportunity to talk I will again devote only a marginal gloss to the task of the parliament, concentrating on position of an assistant of a Member of Parliament. The final implementation of the position of an assistant of a Member of Parliament is a positive step. Everybody who knows the western democratic parliamentary life understands how important role this assistant plays. Especially in American system the “staff” is not only a “stooge” of the MP but often a highly educated and knowledgeable expert who has a big influence on creating the agenda of the MP. To illustrate this the son of Zbigniew Brzezinski Ian Brzezinski works as a staff of one of the oldest and most respected senators William Roth, an enthusiastic defender of the policy of enlargement of the Alliance. Not a very positive concomitant of legislative

establishment of the institute of a MP assistant was the largely negative information reduced to repeating the sum, which the taxpayer has to contribute to the salary of the assistants. I consider this approach highly unprofessional although from the point of view of the reader obviously “favourable”. The same by the way applies to information about the costs of foreign trips of members of parliament. Nevertheless I will completely agree with journalists should they criticize and concretely argue in cases when a MP hires a non-qualified member of his family as his or her assistant or they will point at some trip of a MP, which had more a holiday than a business character. In our institutional construction of supports of foreign political direction we should think more conceptional of an education structure of diplomacy candidates. High specialization in the EU should reflect in a specialized study. It is not possible that a student of the Faculty of International Relations completes semesters Theory of Chaos (entropy) and simultaneously does not get actual basic information on functioning of the EU in its single spheres. As the date of our accession to the Union approaches it is more and more important to have experts in such fields as agriculture, social affairs as well as problems of food or some ethical problems of medicine or artificial intelligence. All this we will have to solve or should solve if we do not want to be taken with the current only.

One of the biggest challenges of international happenings during the nearest decades will be the solution of burning issues in the West Balkans. The Slovak journalism, publicity, but also the politicians and diplomats themselves like to repeat the fact that the role of Slovakia in solution of the political crisis in the Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was especially positive. Just to mention the appointment of Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Kukan as a special envoy of the UN Secretary General for Balkans, extraordinarily active mission of our ambassador Miroslav Mojžita in Beograd, but also the unneglectable role of the OSCE Secretary General Ján Kubiš in the Balkans. A lot is being said about our connection with the Balkans, the cultural historical connection or “mental” connection (factors as Slavonic kinship, absence of language barrier, our Slovak minority in Vojvodina, etc.). I would not like to omit the share of our Slovak NGOs in the process of democratisation in that region by monitoring the election process in Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Yugoslavia and Montenegro. The reality suggests that we pay very little attention to more detailed investigation of the Balkans. There do not exist many “Balkanists” – experts for this region. Only one journalist from the Pravda Daily (J. Lorenz) who is linguistically well equipped, studies the problems of the Balkans in more detail. There is a very good tradition of linguistic education here besides a high quality Slavonic high school there existed for years a high quality University Department of the (then) Serb-Croatian language under the leadership of professor Horace. It might be a good to consider possibility to establish a special educational institution in one of our universities, best of all at the UK, which would be by associating several interdisciplinary oriented scientists (historians, ethnologists, linguists, translators)

dedicated to both research and education of young candidates in this field. Here I would like to speak in favour of such an institution.

Finally I would like to concentrate on two interesting activities, which are fairly recent. One is the *US-Slovak Action Commission* and the other one the so-called *Convent*. Through a remarkable and interesting initiative, which resulted from a long-term co-operation of the Centre of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington and the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (SFPA) with consistent assistance and support of the Embassy of the SR in Washington on 2nd November 2000 in Bratislava the US – Slovak Action Commission was established. Similar bilateral commissions under the auspices of the Centre of Strategic and International Studies have been established before: Polish-American, Ukrainian-American, Russian-American or Romanian-American. From the American side a prestigious and respected political authority was chosen for the leadership, frequently a so-called polit-entainer: e.g. the co-chairman of the Ukrainian-American Commission and the Polish-American Commission is Zbigniew Brzezinski, of the Russian-American one Henry Kissinger and Romanian-American one William Perry. Thanks to an enormous effort of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association and Embassy of the SR in Washington Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former adviser for national safety in the administration of James Carter was finally persuaded to take up this post and start the activity of this Commission. In plenary meeting at the occasion of starting the activity of this Commission our prime constitutional representatives, the Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda, Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Kukan, Minister of Defence Pavol Kanis, Minister of Finance Brigita Schmögnerová and dozens of representatives of financial and bank sectors, representatives of international business community and other experts participated. The work of the Commission should be on the level of concrete recommendations for the Slovak government in integration process (enlargement to trilateral part SR-USA-EU is being considered as well, like in the case of Poland). For example in a week's time the final version of the so-called White Paper will be ready, prepared by analysis experts of the RC SFPA in co-operation with former US ambassador to Bratislava Ted Russel and Janusz Bugajski from the CSIS and it will present a brief argumentation why the Alliance should be enlarged by the SR.

For a longer time already the problem of Slovakia has been its inability to react to topical issues of international happenings should it be a discussion about the character of EU, ESDP or NMD. The Slovak policy does not react to key topics and presentations of Fischer, Chirac, Blair and other significant European statesmen. The Declaration about the future of the EU adopted by the European Council in December 2000 in Nice challenged the Swedish and Belgian presidency of the EU to support the discussion about the future of the EU. National parliaments, political, economic and university circles, representatives of civic society from member and also candidate states should be involved in discussion. The result of the discussion will be the acceptance of further declaration of the European Council in Laeken (Brussels) in

December 2001 which should talk about the division of competence among the EU and member states of the EU, about the Statute of the Charter of Basic Rights in the EU, about simplification of Conventions on EU and the role of national parliaments in European architecture. For year 2004 the further intergovernmental conference is planned whose agenda will include the above-mentioned problems.

It is important to initiate a national discussion on the topic of future of the EU and Slovakia in the EU for home political reasons (sensitivity of population to “European topics” with regard to relatively short period of our accession to the EU), but also from the point of view of all-European discussion on given topic. Several member countries formally asked the SR to express its attitude towards the future of the EU. The MFA of the SR suggested creation of the *Convent on European Future of Slovakia*, which would consist of representatives of government, parliament, non-governmental organizations, academic community, interest groups etc. The idea of creating the Convent is inspired by good experience of the EU at preparation of the Charter of Basic Rights. The Convent consisted of 62 members (EC Commissioner for justice and inner affairs A. Vitorino, 15 representatives of member states, 16 representatives of European Parliament and 30 representatives of national parliaments) while all members had the same status. The president of the Convent was the former German president Roman Herzog. The members of the Convent did not have imperative, only free mandates. The work of the Convent was characterized by maximal transparency. All meetings were public and the results were published on the Internet. The prepared Charter of basic rights was accepted by members of the Convent almost unanimously.

At present a working group made up from the representatives of the MFA of the SR and the SFPA is dealing with these problems and preparing material (content of the Convent, topics and material for discussion), which will create the basic starting points for the discussion of the Convent. The establishing meeting of the Convent should be held in March 2001. The focus of activity of the Convent should be the work of group, which would invite the representatives of expert community for some specific topics. The Convent should meet minimum twice a year.

The presumed content of the Convent:

- One representative of each parliamentary political party (both coalition and opposition), 8 persons, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR, chairman of the Committee for European Integration of the NC SR
- From the executive the Vice Prime Minister for European Integration, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR, State Secretary of the MFA of the SR and the Chief Negotiator for accession of the SR to the EU, event. General Directors of some sections of the MFA of the SR
- For non-governmental organizations the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Institute for Public Affairs and Centre for European Policy (CEP)
- From academic community two representatives of the Chancellor Forum

- For interest groups Association of Employers, Slovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Confederation of Trade Unions, Association of Towns and Villages of Slovakia*.

The last two initiatives I consider extraordinarily positive models of effectiveness of foreign policy of the SR.

* I would like to thank for information concerning the Convent to Vladimír Bilčík who as a researcher of the SFPA is a member of preparation group of the Convent.

Kamil Sládek

European Integration and Slovakia

The Centre for European Policy is engaged in informing and discussing with the public integration of Slovakia to the European Union and North Atlantic Alliance – thus the focus of our activity is a public education.

In 2000 we organised 132 events: seminars, lectures, discussions and conferences for more than 6000 participants. Soldiers of the Army of the Slovak Republic, university students and secondary school students participated in majority of meetings. In the framework of a cross-border co-operation we co-operated with representatives of municipalities, state administration and non-governmental organisations from the Slovak-Hungarian and Slovak-Austrian border. We also addressed the general public during the whole year via regular dialogues with well-known personalities in the TV series “Slovakia and Europe” on channel STV 2.

The Slovak Republic made from the point of view of our integration effort a step towards its goal last year. As the fore-speakers mentioned acceptance into the OECD, preliminary closed chapters, negotiated positions and others might be judged as a obvious progress. Because of the activities of the CEP I’d like to focus on a NGO point of view. The majority of our activities is organised in a milieu where participants are familiar with each other (schools, barracks...), and this allows for a better spontaneity in expressing ideas and formulating questions.

As we have been organising such events for four years now, we can compare reactions of people. During the last year we noticed a better openness from the audience, a better orientation in the problem, maybe because the European integration is becoming more and more a part of our everyday life. It’s not only because new institutions are being established, more people are involved in negotiation with Brussels, in developing laws, in information campaign, but also because of the increase of

public interest on the problem and the increase of need to be informed properly. To be informed mainly on the impact on everyday life of citizens of Slovakia: work, family and municipality. What will be losses or profits?

One of the minuses is presentation of integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. The EU and NATO became a sort of an abracadabra – politicians, in order to provide reasons for introducing an unpopular law, will comment on it by saying it was a requirement from Brussels for Slovakia to get accepted into the EU or NATO. In the mass of similar arguments, the fact that by applying to European structures Slovakia committed itself to bring closer its internal situation to the one in member states, is slowly fading out. At the same time, there is hardly a notice mentioning, this is not to be done for the EU sake but for us.

In order to have good legislation, the economics working better and in order to have normal, standard state of affairs. All previous governments declared in one breath integration efforts to the existing structures as well as a promise, they will do their best in order to provide for the best living conditions for the Slovak citizens – their voters. Sometimes it seems as if these two goals would exclude one another. Also the politicians present them similarly quite often, as if they would like to apologize for their decisions – or as if they'd like to transfer part of their political responsibility to someone else. This example has been recently an inspiration for people on different posts and they use the magic word “Brussels” even in the most absurd connections. Recently students asked me during a discussion in a Business Academy in a small Slovak town whether it is true that the EU requires changes in the teaching process because this was their teacher's argument.

This year in the third sector meeting in Levoča, which addressed public administration reform and integration of the SR to the EU, the Hungarian representative mentioned the major change, that came to existence in his country recently: citizens changed from voters to tax-payers. This change is rather slow in Slovakia also because citizens have little help in this change.

There is a lack of straightaway and available information on values and objectives that the EU is being built upon, or information on institutions and processes in the EU, but mainly on the position of Slovakia and its regions in the integration process; there is an absence of naming advantages and disadvantages, on the impact on everyday life of the population and there is an absence of timely, precise, clear and available information on grants/projects of the EU. This is linked to a good advisory. There is also missing a sound discussion on the position of Slovakia in the EU, on our input and our place in it. On Slovakia's input to European policy, on understanding the European policy in Slovakia and for Slovakia. It has not been said so far, that the EU is not self-saveable, that it will be us to build Slovakia even after joining the EU and that there will not be anybody to do it instead of us. This is a superior area for NGOs, elementary and mainly secondary schools, army and media. Each of the entities mentioned above is looking for its place in this area and the population's expectations are much higher.

Last December Mr Figel, the Chief Negotiator, said in a conference after the Nice summit: “The general public has to be informed. It can’t be only discussed joining or not joining the European Union, or the number of chapters or dates, but also the impacts. And this is a huge area for all, especially for media. They should go deeper to the connections, NGOs; they should create a social background for such discussions not only in the academic area. We need a true image of the European Union. On both sides of the Schengen border that is meeting Bratislava we have to adopt a positive philosophy of enlargement in terms of enlargement not being a problem as such, but on the contrary, it is a way how to solve problems.”

There is another problem rooting out of lack of information and the way of presentation that we come across in the majority of our meetings – the people do not feel they are a part of these processes and they do not perceive any chance to influence activities in their nearest area. Integration is being discussed as a fact focused on itself and living on itself. Or something that we have to fall into line with. Mentioning the fact, that there are better chances for Slovakia and its regions is failing, when meeting the fictional discrepancy of everyday reality and top politics.

Another issue on my agenda is public support of Slovakia’s joining the EU. Many politicians refer to it nowadays. Based not only on our experiences it might be said that despite the fact that there is a strong public support of Slovakia’s joining the EU, there is a prevailing fear of this step based on mistrust towards West European countries – because of their politics, interests, different system and incomprehensibility. This is the reason for the necessity to travel to the people, the necessity of looking for ways how to get closer to them and to mediate in a comprehensible way the complex changes that the Slovak society is facing. The participants expect information on the basics and on the reasons of the EU enlargement (mainly from the EU side), on positive aspects and on problem areas of the enlargement, on Slovakia’s place in the EU and on everyday life of the people in the EU.

This topic is closely related to the people’s expectations. It is not appropriate to present integration as an exclusively political and economic issue. A massive obstruction to this process is bypassing values, historical, cultural and intellectual basics of integration of European countries, not mentioning the place of Slovakia in a European history and its perceiving and accepting from our side.

To wrap up, I’d like to mention briefly situation in the Army of the Slovak Republic (ASR) on information on integration of Slovakia. The ASR has the advantage of a regular training of its members. Based on our experiences and jointly with some officers we concluded that despite formal conditions (regular training) we can see shortcomings in preparation and knowledge of the presenters (lecturers), as well as in the form of study material (for the majority of soldiers of conscript service it is neither comprehensible nor interesting), which is ending up in a lower level of training and consequently in a low level of knowledge of the trainees (nevertheless I understand integration is not a priority task in training soldiers). However, it should be mentioned that at all, almost fifty seminars, there was a vivid

interest in discussion. The opinions on integration of the SR into the EU and NATO, of course, copied the public opinions.

The Slovak Republic completed the second year of negotiations of joining the European Union. This fact is encouraging and a good news, as well as a good card of the present government. Slovakia is on a right track. At the same time, of course, we are critical from the Slovak side, to the speed and quality of the whole integration process. Not only in order to be able to follow or not to lose the track. It is common knowledge that support of the majority of population is a condition for Slovakia joining the Trans Atlantic organisations. One cannot rely on the fact that the present polls are optimistic. If we really follow them, we have to assume, that the development in public awareness is not positive and besides that we have to count on the situation that some populists, either with a hidden or open anti-European orientation, might influence the Slovak population more than desired. This might be a good reason for all the events and all promotion activities to be prepared on concrete and comprehensible facts. The term “Europe” became for general public a rather abstract name for political interests of some groups. It might be more appropriate to argue by detailed comparison of social and economic development and changes in some of the countries before and after joining the NATO and European Union (e.g. Spain, Portugal, etc.).

The population will support activities of the government where they are clear, available and helpful in everyday life. I do not have any doubts that it is profitable for Slovakia to integrate to international structures. To be comprehensible and available it is not only the task of the third sector but above all a task for the government, parliament and state institutions. It is very important that we are able to provide a qualified proof and a trustful stress of this “profitability”.

Juraj Marušiak

Polish Impulses For Slovak Foreign Policy

Priorities of both Poland and Slovakia are: integration to NATO, European Union and building good relationships with the neighbours.¹ They are signified by long-term continuity in both countries, at least in the level of declarations.² The most important difference between Slovak and Polish foreign policy is not in the distinction between the declared aims of foreign policy and its non-realization in practical politics from 1994 to 1998.³ In contrast to Slovakia, whose elite has not tried to search for a deeper argumentation of their foreign policy stock, and it seems that they originate in pragmatic calculations, Polish priorities were formed on the basis of historical experience and orientation of civilization of the country.

Poland clearly recognizes itself with civilization and a cultural tie with the West.⁴ Polish political representation declared many times that Poland does not follow only military policy aspects by the membership in NATO but also the “overtaking of many delays in development and civilization, stabilization of democratic political system and economy based on the principles of free market”.⁵ Poland, as a member of NATO, does not recognize only the military aspect of security in its security strategy. Polish security doctrine discerns the danger of non-military security risks. Economic endangerment related to the process of globalisation belongs to them. Special attention is focused on providing of the energetic security, which requires “stratification, and protection of sources and channels of supplies of the most important imported sources of energy to the country, such as oil and gas.”⁶ Poland is interested in having contracts for their import with the allied countries, as well as with other partners. Uncontrolled border crossing migration, ecological risks, terrorism, organized crime and activities

of foreign intelligence services are another risks. Last but not least, Poland considers new dividing lines in Europe caused by “enlargement of economic and civilization differences in the world and mainly in Europe between dynamically developing regions and regions that fall into stagnation” as imperilment of its security. Hence, Poland declares to be its interest preserving the open character of European institutions, persistence of the dynamics of integration processes and development of active and bilaterally advantageous co-operation with countries and regions, which are not members of European integration groups.

Poland made intensive diplomatic effort to become a member of the Alliance. It appeared to be an initiative partner during the negotiations and it clearly refused solutions that could be interpreted as an alternative to a full NATO membership.⁷ For instance, Poland significantly influenced the final form of Partnership for Peace in 1994 by the reaction to the Partnership, especially from the point of view of defining the perspectives of NATO membership for active associates of the program, if they express their interest in the membership, and defining the criteria of acceptance to the Alliance.⁸ Co-operation in the field of Weimar Triangle allowed gaining the status of associated partner of the West European Union to nine countries in Central Europe: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania and Bulgaria.⁹ Poland had presented itself as an expressively pro-NATO oriented partner before it entered the Alliance, especially by its taking part in multilateral forces IFOR/SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰

Poland is actively engaged in discussions about the future form of the Alliance. Poland understands NATO enlargement as a process that accelerates the European integration and enlargement of the EU. Similarly, according to the opinion of Polish experts “enlargement of security guaranties guaranteed by NATO and integration negotiations of the EU to the Balkans and other countries of Central and East Europe should not be understood as a stop of the enlargement of NATO, but as a direct geopolitical conclusion derived from the membership of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO”.¹¹ Apart from this, Poland is involved in building international forces and mechanisms of automatic reactions of NATO in case of endangerment in any part of its territory. It also supports the preservation of the Article of the Washington Agreement about collective defence as the major task of NATO, and Alliance’s present nuclear strategy. It defends the preservation of strong Euro-Atlantic ties in the field of security, i.e. preservation of the USA’s presence in European security politics.¹²

Poland’s approach to the issue of integration to the EU is similar to the approach in the process of integration to NATO. Even the agreement about trade and co-operation between Poland and the European Community from 1989 did not deal only with economic relations but the political and cultural dimension was also a part of it.¹³ In the association agreement between Poland and the EC and its member states signed on 16th December 1991, the “common cultural and civilization heritage” is stated as one of the reasons of its acceptance. Apart from free movement of goods and capital,

the agreement contained regulations of a political dialogue as well.¹⁴ Poland has never understood joining the EU as an administrative or economic matter, as its political representation emphasizes the civilization aspects of the process: "The notion of political factors, which were at the sources of the European integration, has significant role in our effort to receive membership: effort to overcome the dividing lines, effort to prevent conflicts, common values that unify countries entering the integration process. Poland professes the same values, it has the same historical roots, and it took part in all important historic and cultural events that formed the character of the continent. According to the opinion of the majority of Poles, the European Union is not just a symbol of harmonic development of member countries and constant civilization progress, but it is a symbol of certain values of democratic establishment, respect of human rights and rights of ethnic minorities."¹⁵ Poland is one of the initiators of more intensive integration processes in relation to the EU, and it sensitively reacted to their weakening in past.¹⁶

Poland formed a civilization and political message during its way to NATO and after its successful completing. Poland should be the bearer of the message: "Poland is a model for the region, more than ever; it is an example of a successful transformation which resulted in the desisting from the world of political relationships based on the dependence on the Soviet Union, and we entered the world in which freedom means a possibility to gain economic success and national independence."¹⁷

This message reveals not just in Poland's acting as an "advocate of its neighbours"¹⁸ defending their integration ambitions but also in the support of democratisation processes in Europe. Thus, Poland stresses the importance of the OSCE, although it refuses the Russian concept of collective security. On bases of the Russian concept, the OSCE should become the major institution of security system in Europe.¹⁹ "Poland supports the growth of abilities of this biggest security organization on the European continent to act effectively, especially in the field of preventive diplomacy, management of crises and renewal after conflicts, development of (so-called) soft guaranties and security means, as well as in the field of building democratic institutions and development of citizens' society."²⁰ Poland presided over the OSCE in 1998. On 17th January 1998, Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs Bronislaw Geremek declared next main aims of Polish presidency in the OSCE: to adjust the organization so that it will be able to react to new challenges of the present time, to raise its effectiveness in solving conflicts, to revive the human dimension of the OSCE, fulfilling the duties that arise from the position of a coordinator of the Charter of European Security, to start more efficient co-operation with other Euro-Atlantic organizations, and to strengthen the democratic standards of relations among the European countries.²¹ As a result of Polish effort, the Kosovo Verification Mission was founded in Kosovo in 1988. Its aim was to influence both sides to give up the violence. Poland was also active in organizing the OSCE mission of observers during the general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in passing the tasks of police monitoring from the UN to the OSCE in East Slavonia. While being the presidency country of the OSCE, Poland was active in supporting

the democracy in Slovakia by pressing the government of Vladimír Mečiar to agree and accept the OSCE observers during the national parliament elections.²²

Historic experience, effort to prevent arising new dividing lines in Europe which would once again situate Poland in the collision zone between the sphere of Russian influence and NATO, but also the effort to spread the ideas of western civilization were the reason why the Polish foreign policy orientated to building good relationships with the neighbours but also with those, whose relationships to Poland were marked by a negative experience in past. Poland has signed agreements about co-operation and good relationship with all neighbouring countries. The principle of unchangeable borders and guaranteed protection of minorities were accepted, as well as both sides gave up all the land claims. Poland supports the principle according to which the issue of the minorities in neighbouring countries can be the only factor that determines its politics towards them. The most important matter for Poland is reconciliation with Germany, which confirmed the border on rivers Odra and Luzicka Nisa in 1990. Germany supported the integration efforts of Poland in Weimar Triangle and the structures of the European Community and later European Union. Reconciliation between Poland and Germany allowed more intensive bilateral relationship, as well as the start of the process of enlargement of NATO eastwards. According to Z. Brzezinski, the reconciliation between Poland and Germany had an importance that can be “compared only to the consequences of the reconciliation between Germany and France.”²³

Special attention should be given to Poland’s “East politics”. It is subordinated to the primal aims – integration or active membership in Euro-Atlantic structures. At the same time it aims to make its “East politics” the East politics of the EU and NATO in future, which is natural (barring in mind that Poland has an important part of its border with the former USSR and, together with Norway, they are the only members of the Alliance that have a direct border with Russia). On the other hand, Poland watches the events in neighbouring former Soviet republics with a great interest and in spite of certain worries about the Polish minorities in those countries, it warmly welcomed the independence of the former USSR republics. Poland spends a lot of energy in weakening the orientation of the new post-USSR countries to Russia. It supports the adjustment of their interior and foreign politics to the European norms, acceptance of these countries into European institutions and mechanisms in the issues of security, supports the reform of their political system and development of human and minority rights. On the other hand, the Polish analysts claim that the economic relationships with these countries “must be built in co-ordination with the criteria of rationality”.²⁴ Being a neighbour of Ukraine and Lithuania has special importance in Polish politics. Poland supports development of independence of these countries. It is based on Prometheus school that was founded by Józef Piłsudski and after the WW2 evolved in exile among the intellectuals from Paris-based magazine *Kultura*, Jerzy Giedroyc and Juliusz Mieroszewski. According to their BLU concept (Byelorussia-Lithuania-Ukraine), the independence of Poland depends on the relationship with the three

countries.²⁵ Poland supports the pro-European and pro-Western tendencies in Ukraine and supports its joining the European integration processes. The presidents of the two countries meet regularly and the Consultation Committee of Polish and Ukrainian presidents was established. The presidents signed the declaration of reconciliation between Poland and Ukraine during A. Kwaśniewski's visit to Kiev in May 1997.²⁶ Poland's support of Ukraine was also expressed in 2000, when Poland did not follow the Czech Republic and Slovakia and did not introduce the visa obligation for Ukrainian citizens²⁷ and it tries to prevent leaving out Ukraine from building the gas-line Jamal. Poland is interested in strengthening the relationships between Euro Atlantic structures and other countries in East Europe by its membership in NATO. A small Lithuanian troop (30 soldiers) and another Ukrainian troop (108 soldiers) are a part of a Polish unit of KFOR and they are subordinated to it. The Polish side finances accommodation and board of the Lithuanian troop. There are also common Polish and Ukrainian (POLUKRBAT) and Polish and Lithuanian (LITPOLBAT) military troops ready for taking part in peace operations.²⁸

Poland was especially active in establishing special relationships between the NATO, Russia and Ukraine. According to A. Kwaśniewski, it is impossible to build a system of European security against Russia or with Russia that turns its back. These relations were determined by the Act that regulates the relationship, co-operation and security between the NATO and the Russian Federation, signed on the 27th May 1997 in Paris, and by the Charter of Special Partnership between the NATO and Ukraine, signed just after the Madrid summit in July 1997. Recent Security Strategy of the Polish Republic valid since the year 2000 states "constructive development of relationships between the Alliance and the countries of East Europe, including the relations of the Permanent Committee NATO-Russia and the Commission NATO-Ukraine, as well as the Partnership for Peace, is Poland's vital interest".²⁹ Poland tries to build the relationship with Russia on principles of mutual benefits and equality. In Byelorussia, Poland supports the democratic opposition against the government of president Lukašenko. Trilateral consultations among Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania are regular on the level of presidents. Poland supports acceptance of Lithuania in the NATO, although its major priority is acceptance of Slovakia into the Alliance.³⁰ Polish politicians declare their support of neighbouring countries in joining the NATO as a "moral duty" of their country.³¹

Another distinctive feature of Poland is the wide support of declared aims of foreign policy by the majority of the population. The same applies to the major part of the political parties. The competence in the field of foreign policy has often been the subject of conflicts in past. Representatives of Solidarność and the following groups had been in the leadership of the ministry until the presidential elections in 1995 when the candidate of the social democratic Union of Democratic Left (SDL) Aleksander Kwaśniewski was elected. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who can be marked as the main architect of the concept of Poland's foreign policy, was the minister of foreign affairs from 1989 until 1993. Nominates of president Lech Wałęsa³² were his

successor until 1995, after SDL had won the parliamentary elections: an economist Andrzej Olechowski and a historian Władysław Bartoszewski. The competence conflicts were mainly the result of cohabitation of a left-wing government and a conservative president, later the left-wing president Aleksander Kwaśniewski and the right-wing government of Jerzy Buzek.³³ Generally, in spite of the competence conflicts that are the matter of prestige, foreign policy priorities of Polish governments after 1989 are continuous.

Membership in NATO has always been the aim of Polish foreign policy with no regard to the political representatives. The same applied after the parliamentary elections in autumn 1993 when the post-communist Union of Democratic Left (SDL) won. Until 1993, there were some voices in this union that called the opinions of dismissing the NATO and substituting it with the OSCE as the main guarantee of security in Europe but SDL started to support the Polish membership in the NATO after taking the power over the country. The people of Poland have traditionally supported Poland's NATO membership. It has never been lower than 75 per cent since 1992; it even rose to over 90 per cent in 1997. A nationalistic political party Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) and a part of Polish People's Party (PSL) were against Poland's membership in NATO. Presidential candidate A. Kwaśniewski announced the referendum about joining NATO before the elections in 1995 but this issue has not been opened later because of a strong support for the NATO membership among the people and consensus among majority of relevant political parties.³⁴

Publication of a report Poland and NATO in September 1995 had a great influence on orientation of Polish foreign policy and it supported Poland's activities in relation to NATO but it mainly influenced the policy of the Alliance towards Poland. The report originates in the North Atlantic Organization and Stefan Batory Fund, although its authors Henryk Szlajfer, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Andrzej Olechowski (and others) were in opposition at the time. The document analysed obstacles on Poland's way to NATO and also importance of Poland for the Alliance. The report criticized irresolution of Polish political representation during last three years and in country's preparation to the membership in the Alliance, pointing out that "it is impossible to carry on in hesitation about accepting the resolution about investments to the program of Poland's political and military integration with the Euro-Atlantic structures". The document presented a concern that after the Bill Clinton's visit to Poland in July 1994 the question "when and how" in relation with joining the Alliance has changed to "why and how" during following months. The document also formulated aims of Poland's foreign policy in relation with Poland's integration with NATO; special attention was given to various aspects of Poland's "East policy". The document advised establishing a full democratic and civil control over armed forces and raise the security expenses since 1996. Completing the pre-entering procedures before 1999 (i.e. the 50th anniversary of the Alliance) was recognized as Poland's strategic aim towards NATO. The document indirectly criticized efforts of a part of Polish political representation to draw the

country closer to Russia after 1993; it also set the demand for an “attempt for recreation of intensity and level of Polish-Ukrainian dialogue” which aims to support Ukraine’s pro-Western orientation. The authors stressed the necessity to pay the attention to the role of Russian energetic sources in European economy. Reduction of militarising of the Baltic Sea region, especially the Kaliningrad region, was claimed to be the vital interest of Poland.³⁵ Postulates and recommendations of the report have become the basis of the Poland’s foreign politics although the authors were in opposition when it was written. It is a sign that the Polish elite is able to find a consensus for defining the basic interests of the country in the field of foreign policy in spite of different political opinions. The way the report was received is a symbol of open acceptance of civil society in political life. Last but not least, voting of the Polish Sejm about the ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty characterizes the high level of social consensus in the field of foreign policy. On 17th February 1999, 409 Members of the Parliament voted for the ratification, 7 were against and 4 abstained. Poland actively supported the Alliance’s decision about the military interference in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the Kosovo crisis in the spring 1999. Majority of the public supported the NATO’s interference during whole time of its lasting.³⁶ This is one of the reasons why Poland is described as “the most Atlantic”³⁷ country from the three new members.

While Poland’s membership in NATO was supported by general consensus, integration with the EU is not in clear favour of the public. The reason is mainly the situation in Poland’s agriculture, which employs about 25 per cent of the population, although its contribution to the gross domestic product is about 5 per cent.³⁸ Significant part of the public feels to be endangered by joining the EU. The Polish People’s Party (PSL) is reserved in the matter of joining the EU, the liberal Union of Freedom (UW) and the left-wing SDL support integration with the EU and reforms of agriculture. Majority of political parties support speeding up the process of integration with the EU. In past, PSL, especially its faction around former Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak claim that Poland should not hurry to the EU. The only party that refuses joining the EU, similarly as it was with integration with NATO, is nationalistic KPN.

Current governing the right-wing action Solidarność (AWS) is formed from various political parties, majority of Christian-national right-wing parties supported Poland’s membership in NATO but not in the EU in past. Nowadays, majority of Polish right wing supports the concept of the EU as a union of strong national countries. As a contrast, A. Kwaśniewski supports the concept of the EU as a political union with the European Commission transformed to the executive body and the European Parliament as the highest legislative assembly of the EU. According to Kwaśniewski, its democratic legitimacy should be strengthened by better connection to the electorate in the member countries, for instance by creating the second chamber that would consist of members of national parliaments.³⁹ Although Poland is not a member country of the EU yet, it takes active part in discussions about its future. As a contrast with Slovakia, this is a subject of a home policy discourse as well. It is a sign that the Poles are better informed

about different dimensions of integration processes and that the local elite is more responsible with the issue.

Similarly as in the pre-entering negotiations with the NATO, Poland enters the negotiations with the EU as an active partner. It is probable that Poland will be the “pioneer” in negotiating more advantageous conditions for Slovakia and other candidate countries as well, especially in the area of agriculture, free movement of persons and environment. At present, Poland supports direct payments to the farmers from the EU budget and absolute access to the structural and cohesive funds but the representatives of the European Union do not agree. Poland requires limiting free movement of capital in the area of purchase of land by citizens of other member countries, environment, work safety norms and preservation of special economic zones for certain transitional period of time. Of course, the chance of Poland to “soften” the requirements of integration with the EU for the other candidate countries including Slovakia will be real if the Slovak integration with the EU is dealt at the same level and in the same time as it is with other countries of the Visegrad Four.

Also, Poland emphasizes the work of various regional groupings. The most important are the Visegrad Four and CEFTA. Poland is active in the Central European Initiative and the Committee of Countries of Baltic Sea but because of the heterogeneity of their members they have only character of proto-integration structures. “Poland understands this co-operation only as a way leading to deleting current dividing lines, existing stereotypes, forming stable and safe regional surrounding, creation of new relationships in all parts of lives of the countries and at the same time as a factor facilitating future integration with larger groups, which Poland is interested in.” Poland sees its priorities e.g. in building infrastructures, co-operation in telecommunications, environment preservation, tourism, also in the field of new security risks, such as organized international crime, preventing ecological catastrophes, drug smuggling, etc.⁴⁰ Slovakia may take suggestions from the Polish experience in the area of international co-operation. Poland has a co-operation with all its neighbours at the level of Euro-regions.⁴¹

Slovak politics should be inspired by the Polish experience with co-operation with the Polish Diaspora abroad. Poland managed to persuade the Senate of the USA when the ratification of Poland’s integration with NATO was concerned with the help of Polish organizations united by the Polish American Congress (Kongres Polonii Amerykańskiej) and the campaigns they originated. Activities of the Polish nationals living in the USA contributed to the ratification of Poland’s, Czech’s and Hungary’s invitation to NATO⁴² at night between 30th April and 1st May. The core of the matter is the fact that the organizations of Polish nationals accepted the principles and values that are basic for the Western democracies. They used the same, compatible “language” in the communication with Western representatives. That is why they were more successful with the defence of Poland’s interests than majority of Slovak exile politicians who are linked with the heritage of the regime of war-time Slovak State.

NOTES

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Ludmila Lipková

Some Aspects of the Enlargement of the European Union and the Position of the Slovak Republic

The incorporation of the economy of Slovakia into the economic integration within the European Union is the only possible way how to solve present economic problems. Even at the beginning of the 21st century it did not emancipate from the big recession, which had hit the Slovak economy after the transformation process in the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Nowadays individual candidate states for the membership in the European Union reach a different degree of deficiencies comparing to the European Union average. At the beginning of the 21st century Slovenia is the nearest to the average of the economic level of the European Union reaching 71.2 % of the average, it is followed by the Czech Republic (68.8 %), Hungary (68.4 %A), Estonia (65.2 %), Poland (61 %), Slovakia (58.8 %), Latvia (56.1 %), Bulgaria (54.6 %), Lithuania (52.2 %) and Romania (47.1 %).

According to the opinion of experts the states in Central and Eastern Europe will face their economic deficiencies for another decades. A minimal period of equalization of the economic level of the Czech Republic is expected to last for 10 –15 years, in the case of Albania for 65 – 70 years. In comparison with other states of the Visegrad Four group the Slovak economy is strongly undercapitalised. The undercapitalisation of the economy and a technological deficiency cannot be solved in any other way but by means of making our economic background more attractive due to its incorporation into a larger economic whole. Even after the accession of Slovakia into the European

Union our equalization the average level of the present member states will last for 25 – 30 years.

The term of accession of Slovakia and other new member states into the European Union remains still an open issue. The European Union has prepared three alternatives of the possible enlargement. According to the first one, the first so-called mini-enlargement would concern only the best-prepared countries and could be already accomplished in 2005. The most often mentioned candidates for the membership are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. In the second half of the decade next six candidate states could be accepted. Or the European Union will decide upon the so-called big convoy or the big bang and will accept all eight states at once except for Bulgaria and Romania. A presumable term of their accession will be 2008.

Some experts use the following arguments for the accession of a larger number of candidates. *One of them* is the argument pointing out the fact that the new members would make decisions upon accession of the states that are in fact on the same or almost the same economic level but with the disadvantage of not being members of the European Union. The next argument is based on the fact that during every wave of the enlargement activity of the European Union is paralysed for several months and they would like to avoid this situation.

The second alternative of the European Union enlargement presupposes to accept the new members gradually after their preparation. This alternative should be considered irrational and less probable.

The third one presupposes the accession of the new members in three smaller groups called convoys namely in 2004, 2006 and 2008. Experts have recommended the representatives of the European Union not to settle any exact enlargement terms but to come to an agreement upon the terms of closing negotiations. 2003 is expected to be the most probable term of closing the first negotiations. The accession of the new member states into the present “European 15” will affect both the parties in a positive as well as in a negative way. Some present member states proclaim the European Union must not become more expensive due to the enlargement. This is the opinion mainly of those countries that are geographically more remote from the candidate states and they express the least understanding for the European Union enlargement upon the new poorer states. Except for closing individual chapters, five criteria have been determined for the preparation of the states: real economy, dynamics of the development, economic policy and general climate, foreign relations, financial and tax policy. It is necessary to expect some problems in the initial period after the enlargement.

The most positive effect of the enlargement of the European Union will be the enlargement of the sales market for all the member states. After the accession of ten candidate states the sales market of the European Union will enlarge upon 105 million consumers. Producers in Western Europe but especially in Central and Eastern Europe will be at risk of strong competitive pressure of new cheaper products.

In the European Union as well as in the candidate states, three different opinions concerning the European Union enlargement can be met. Representatives of one extreme opinion claim an enlargement will be advantageous only for one party. The representatives of another extreme opinion state that the enlargement will not be advantageous for any of the parties so far. The authors of a more analytical opinion indicate that the enlargement is of real value to the present members but they have to pay for it. The present contributors to the common European budget will pay even more.

The study of the Institute for the World Economy in Kiel states that all countries will make profit on the enlargement. In spite of this fact the countries that will gain the most show the greatest concern about it. It is expected that due to the enlargement, the gross national product in Germany and Austria will increase by 2 %. The candidate countries expect a direct support from the structure funds of the European Union. Due to the support from the structure funds and to the taking advantage of the wider sales markets the candidate countries will make profit by increase of the GNP in 5 – 7 %. The economy of the old member states will increase on average by 0.1 – 0.2 %. The enlargement will bring not only the higher increase of the GNP but also more working possibilities and higher level of life. But the member states are afraid that the accession of the new states will cause increase of criminality and other negative phenomena that are more spread in the candidate states than in the European Union. Accepting standards equal to those of the European Union could solve these problems. Probably it will not be possible to solve them only by means of legislation improvement because they are closely connected to poverty reaching considerable measures in the most backward candidate states. Therefore it will be a long-term task to solve the problem.

In case of non-enlargement, problems arising in the candidate states due to social, economic and safety issues would cause the necessity of higher expenses for the European Union.

If the European Union will accept six new candidates, the costs of its activity are expected to increase by about a half. Contribution of the member states to the common budget would be 0.2 % of the GNP (at the maximum determined contribution of 1.27 %). The accession of all twelve candidate states would increase the costs by another quarter. Contribution of Germany to the common budget would increase from 0.11 % to 0.18 % or to 0.25 % of the GNP. Many studies express the opinion that the access of the new states into the European Union will be financed by itself because the higher budget expenses will be covered by income from higher prosperity stimulated by the enlargement of markets of the new members.

After the accession of the new states into the European Union both the parties will get a transition period for gradual adaptation to new conditions. The issue discussed most of all is the length of this period for the European Union as well as for the candidate states and at the same time the definition of the areas temporarily protected by a special regime. The most sensitive issue for the European Union is the issue of the free movement of labour. Austria and Germany claim for restrictive measurements

concerning free movement of labour because they will be struck most by a probable wave of immigrants. Germany proposes 7-year transition period during which residents of the new members will not be allowed to work in the old states of the European Union. Instead of an absolute restriction of immigration in an exact determined period a new Hungarian proposal has emerged according to which each member state of the European Union would determine its quota according to its needs to regulate a flow of cheaper labour from the Central and Eastern European states.

Attitude of the European Union to the issue of the free movement of labour will be strongly influenced by the situation that is expected in 2010 but at latest in 2012. As a result of the demographic trend and the economic development a larger demand for qualified labour will arise in the so-called old states of the European Union. A flow of new workers could save the social systems of the western states and bring the growth potential of the European Union near to the growth potential of the USA characterized by high employee mobility. According to the demographers' estimation the number of working people will start to decrease in the next ten years and in 2025 will decrease to 223 millions in comparison with 225 millions in 1995. The number of people older than 65 years will increase constantly and in comparison with the present 15 % it will reach 22 % of the entire population.

Germany refusing a free movement of labour most of all, immediately after the accession of the new states into the European Union will have to face such a demand for qualified labour that even a cumulated immigration potential from the Central and Eastern European states will not be able to satisfy. According to the prognosis more than 18 million inhabitants of the Central and Eastern Europe might move to the old states of the European Union in 2010 (690,000 from Poland, 520,000 from Romania, 178,000 from Bulgaria, 154,000 from Hungary, 87,000 from the Czech Republic, 69,000 from Slovakia, 25,000 from Slovenia, 81,000 from Lithuania, 56,000 from Latvia and 27,000 from Estonia.)

The European Commission conscious of future decrease of number of inhabitants in the old states of the European Union demands an offensive and active immigration policy from the member states. For the European Commission, the member states have to prepare a report with the data concerning the number and the qualification structure of immigrants they are willing to accept. According to the opinion of the European Commission a controlled immigration will have a positive impact upon the national employment markets in the states of the European Union. The European Commission refuses any quotas or other restrictive measures on principle. They intend to introduce the so-called inductive goals instead that would meet the needs of the national employment markets and take into account the public opinion of the problem at the same time. It can be expected that the states of the Central and Eastern Europe will not dispose of sufficient migration potential to cover the needs of the employment market of the present fifteen states. According to the experts from the OECD contribution of the immigrants to the social systems of the host countries will be higher than deficiency they will cause in new states.

On the basis of this partial analysis it can be stated that in spite of some partial and transition problems caused by the enlargement, advantages of the economic integration will be provided for all participants.

The position of the Slovak Republic in the accession process into the European Union is special. Apparently the representatives of our state as well as general public are persuaded not deep enough Slovakia belongs to the countries that will be accepted to the European Union as the first.

The only alternative for the successful development of the Slovak economy is our active involvement in the economic integration of the states of the European union. Disadvantages of our present position have several reasons – due to its small consumption market Slovakia is not attractive for foreign investors, foreign partners do not trust our internal political stability manifested by our late entry into the so-called Luxembourg group of applicants for the membership in the European Union. For Slovakia the issue of the membership in the European Union means securing of our economic prosperity in medium-term period or economic backwardness in an open-ended period.

Ján Figel

The Slovak Republic and the European Union

Introduction

The jubilee year 2000 brought a crucial qualitative improvement in the field of the European integration. Opening the official accession negotiations in February 2000 was a historical moment. Of great importance is also the fact that in 2000 the European Union initiated two negotiations with the Slovak Republic concerning 16 chapters, whereby 10 of them were preliminary closed. The Slovak Republic along with Malta reached a leading position in the group of countries that had opened the negotiations in 2000 and at the same time with its number of closed chapters got nearer to the countries that had opened the negotiations with the EU in 1998.

The next important milestone in the process of the European integration was the December summit in Nice. Its conclusions not only confirmed a historical importance of the EU and a flexible attitude of the EU towards the issue of a faster proceeding of the best prepared candidates in the negotiation process but also an agreement was reached upon the institutional reform of the EU removing obstacles that might restrain the EU enlargement upon all contemporary candidates negotiating the accession.

The Portuguese Presidency of the EU

The negotiations of the EU with the Slovak Republic were officially opened on 15th February 2000 in Brussels at the Accession Conference of the ministers. At the conference

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both the parties discussed the so-called general negotiation positions declaring a basic framework of negotiations. In accordance with the proposal of the European Commission, the EU opened negotiations with the SR regarding the chapters Small and Medium-sized Enterprises, Education, Science and Research, Foreign and Security Policy, Statistics and Foreign Relations that were also preliminarily closed. The chapters Economic Competition and Culture and Audiovisuals were also opened. The SR submitted its negotiation positions in further 5 chapters: Fisheries, Social Policy and Employment, Industrial Policy, Consumer and Health Protection and Customs Union.

The French Presidency of the EU

The Slovak Republic entered the period of the French Presidency of the EU in the second half of 2000 with expectations of preserving the negotiation process dynamics and strengthening Helsinki principles. On the basis of the proposal of the Commission the member states of the EU took the decision to open the negotiations with the SR regarding 8 new chapters: Free Movement of Services, Free Movement of Capital, Transport Policy, Telecommunications and Information Technologies, Customs Union, Fisheries, Industrial Policy and Consumer and Health Protection, whereby three last chapters were preliminarily closed. The decision on closing the chapter Culture and Audiovisuals opened in the previous Presidency was taken, as well, so 10 chapters altogether were closed (the number of the opened chapters amounted to 16). The SR submitted its negotiation positions regarding all remaining chapters at the end of the French Presidency.

The European Conference

During the French presidency two European conferences were held regarding the institutional reform of the EU. On the ministerial level the conference was held in Sochaux on 23rd November 2000 and on the level of the Prime Ministers on 7th December 2000 in Nice. The member countries of the EU, the candidate countries and Switzerland took part in both the conferences. The Slovak party presented its standpoints concerning the main issues of the institutional reform of the EU.

Presentations of the representatives from the candidate countries regarding the main issues of the official agenda of the Intergovernmental Conference corresponded with the position presented by the SR. The candidate countries asserted their participation at the discussion on the future reform of the EU after the summit in Nice. It is satisfying that the member countries confirmed their interest in regular discussions of the EU reform as well as the future of Europe with the candidate countries. The President of the EU expressed the same opinion. It is the EU that could be a suitable platform for this discussion.

The European Council in Nice

The European Council summit (7th -11th December 2000) concentrated mainly on closing the negotiations of the Intergovernmental Conference regarding the institutional reform of the EU and the EU enlargement. Except for it the summit dealt with some other issues such as the Charter of Fundamental Rights, Common European Security and Defence Policy, European social agenda, employment, coordination of economic policies, innovation and knowledge, health protection, food security, sea-transport security, protection of the environment, security of the inhabitants of the EU, issues of home affairs and justice (fight against money laundering, police co-operation, asylum and migration), culture and sport and some current foreign affair issues (Cyprus, Western Balkans). In accordance with the decision of the Council Slovakia will have an adequate representation in the future organs of the EU: 7 votes in the Council, a member of the Commission, 13 members of the European Parliament, 9 seats in the Committee of regions and the ECOSOC. This position corresponds with the position of the similarly large states (Finland, Sweden).

The European Council repeatedly confirmed a historical importance of the EU enlargement. It welcomed the progress of the candidate countries achieved during the entry negotiations. The summit supported the Strategy Document about the enlargement elaborated by the EC. The European Council expressed pleasure in the new confirmation of the differentiation principle and the catch up. The negotiation timetable elaborated for the next 18 months should make the negotiations easier whereby the better prepared countries can proceed faster.

The proposals in the Strategy Document regarding the enlargement and a successful closing of the Intergovernmental Conference on the institutional reform of the EU create good pre-conditions to accept the candidate countries that will be ready for the accession ad finem 2002. These countries will also be able to participate in the future elections to the European Parliament. At the Göteborg summit in June 2001 the European Council will estimate advances in the implementation of this new strategy with the goal to offer an appropriate regulation regarding the successful completion of the process.

The candidate countries were asked to forward reforms necessary for the accession especially what regards reinforcement of their administrative capacity. The European Council issued an instruction for the Commission to consolidate their economic competitiveness.

The National Program of Adoption of Acquis Communautaire (NPAA)

Based on the Partnership for the Accession in 1999, the second Regular Report of the European Commission in October 1999 a revision of the National Program for Adoption of *Acquis Communautaire* was elaborated by the Slovak government and

ratified in March 2000. The revision concentrated on the programming of short-term and medium-term priorities concerning approximation and implementation of the *acquis*, creation and consolidation of administrative structures, improvement of the timetable of adoption of the *acquis*, specification of the technological assistance, definition of the financial needs for the implementation of the EU legislation and differentiation between real needs and requirements. The government made a decision on a regular assessment of the execution of the NPAA every second month to preserve the dynamics of harmonization of the Slovak legislation with the *acquis* and creating institutions. The National programme is of great importance not only from the point of view of the Slovak integration policy but at the same time it is an indicator of the fulfilment of the Programme of the Government in the area of foreign policy where the membership in the EU is a clear priority.

Regular Report of the European Commission on the Slovak Republic Progress Regarding the EU Accession

The European Commission published the Regular Report on the Slovak Republic's progress regarding the EU accession on 8 November 2000. The Report states that Slovakia fulfils the political criteria for the membership in the EU. For the first time the Slovak economy was evaluated as a functioning market economy able to cope with the competitive pressure and market powers within the European Union in the medium time period.

The Report stated that an insufficient progress had been achieved in the agriculture, power industries, regional policy, environment, financial control and rights of business companies. A significant achievement was made in internal trade (public procurement, financial services and free movement of capital), statistics, industrial policy, telecommunications, culture, audiovisuals and customer and health protection. Along with the regular Report, the European Commission released the Strategy document. For the first time the Document of the EC draws on the main items of the on-going negotiations process strategy. In certain proposals concerning possibility of an agreement upon transition periods it distinguishes acceptable, negotiable and non-acceptable transition periods. According to the submitted time schedule (road map) the negotiations regarding the selected chapters will continue up to the end of 2002.

Three conditions have to be fulfilled for the accession of the first candidate countries to the Union: 1. The EU will keep to the financial framework of the Berlin summit 2. An institutional reform of the EU will be accomplished successfully 3. The candidate countries meeting the accession criteria will close accession negotiations. The Government of the Slovak Republic responded to the Regular Report by the approval of the complex document identifying the priority tasks in the individual areas of the accession process. The Document contains specific deadlines for fulfilment of the tasks. It concentrates on the integration tasks concerning legislation but it also includes

conceptions and tasks connected with the building-up administration necessary for the implementation of the acquis into the legislation of the Slovak Republic. The priority tasks concerning legislation mentioned in the submitted Document will also be included in the Plan of the legislation tasks of the Slovak Government for 2001 to reach a close connection between the planned legislation changes and the European integration process.

Economic Development of the SR from the Point of View of the Integration into the EU

A crucial issue of the preparation of the Slovak Republic for the EU membership was the economic reform. Ability of the Slovak Republic to adapt to the difficult requirements of the internal market of the EU depends on its encompassment. The Slovak Government accepted a number of complex measures to consolidate the macroeconomic stability (to lower public expenses and activate public incomes) and to improve the microeconomic level of economy (restoring the financial discipline of economic subjects and initiation of re-structuring of banks and a business sphere).

The Government adopted the strategy for foreign investments with the view to improve the investment climate in Slovakia and to make it more attractive. New measures i.a. contain taxation relief, various allowances and tariff concessions. The Amendment of Exchange Act ensured possibility to foreign investors to gain real estates in Slovakia. A successful re-structuring of the Slovak industries as well as lowering unemployment rate depends on creating promising investment background. Liberalization steps taking place within the framework of the re-structuring of the Slovak economy conform with bonds of the Slovak Republic as a new 30th member of the OECD as well as with the requirements for the transition into the second phase of the European Treaty fulfilment regarding accession of the SR into the EU.

The Slovak Parliament adopted the Amendment of the Act regarding conditions of state property assignment to some other person so called Large-scale privatisation act enabling privatisation of natural monopolies whereby continuous participation of the state have to be maintained amounting to minimum 51 % in 6 enterprises (SPP, Transpetrol, Slovenské elektrárne, and three energetic plants). In September 2000 the fundamental treaties were signed concerning entry of the U.S. Steel into the VSŽ Košice. With the tenders of July 2000 the Government started the privatisation of the state banks. A strategy partner of the first of them – Slovenská sporiteľňa – became the Austrian Erste Bank. In August Deutsche Telecom entered into Slovenské telekomunikácie as a majority stockholder. According to the registration of the National bank of Slovakia, the SR quoted the following economic ratio in 2000: the economic development reached 2 % of the GNP, inflation 8.4 %, foreign trade balance 42 milliards SK, and unemployment 17.9 % at the end of the year.

Summary

2000 can be characterized as the year of sharp progress in the fulfilment of the European integration ambitions of the Slovak Republic. Whereas for Slovakia 1999 was the year of fulfilment the economic criteria mentioned in the evaluation of Slovakia as a functioning market economy able to cope with a competitive pressure within the EU in the medium-term period. 2001 should be a year of the fulfilment the legislative criteria. First of all it is the Constitution Amendment regarding the integration ambitions of the SR and the public administration reform. During 2001 about 170 acts concerning the European legislation have to be adopted. We have to pay attention to the government and office services, Regional Development Act, Alien Residence Act, Refugee Act and some other acts, the Penal Code, Advertisement Act etc.

The SR welcomed the effort of the Kingdom of Sweden to lead the Presidency of the EU in the first half of 2001 in terms of intensifying negotiations, opening all other negotiation chapters with the prepared candidate countries of the Helsinki group to hold the rate of the accession process. The catch up principle defined at the Helsinki summit in December 1996 would be thus fulfilled. Whereas the SR fixed the 1st January 2004 as a deadline of the preparation to access the EU it is our concern to keep the standing dynamics of the entry process also during the period of the Belgian Presidency of the EU in the second half of 2001.

Roman Bužek

International Organizations and Slovakia

The prior aim of Slovakia in the field of security policy in 2000 has remained: the aim to receive an invitation from the NATO to become a member at the next summit of the Alliance. However, the year 2000 was not a period of political discussion about the enlargement of the NATO, as the expectations showed. The member states of NATO concentrated their attention on the Membership Action Plan of (MAP) and preparation of candidate countries. Despite this, the first political exchange of opinions about the enlargement of the Alliance in this phase took place in Berlin at the plenary session of the North Atlantic Alliance in November. Furthermore, a concrete resolution, which called upon the member states of NATO to invite other countries to become a member, was brought.

Slovakia in 2000 continued in its policy of strengthening its position as a strong candidate and a natural applicant for membership of NATO in the next round of its enlargement. The visit of the Secretary General of NATO in May 2000 and the visit of the Prime Minister of the Government of the Slovak Republic in the NATO Headquarters in November 2000 had proved the integrational ambitions of the Slovak Republic. Both of the meetings proved that during the last two years Slovakia could benefit from its internal political development and became a respected candidate for the NATO membership. The basic pre-conditions for early membership in NATO, which are important to develop immediately, are as follows:

- adoption of legislation and creation constitutional pre-conditions for sending the Slovak Army troops to abroad and invitation for foreign troops to Slovakia. The

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National Council of the Slovak Republic fulfilled this aim by Amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic on 23rd February 2001;

- adoption of Security Strategy and Defence Strategy of the Slovak Republic;
- implementation of the reform of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic;
- introduction of personal management and defence planning in the Slovak Republic;
- insurance of protection of classified information; adoption of the Law of Protection of Classified Information and establishment of the National Security Office in the Slovak Republic.

On the basis of the Membership Action Plan launched by the Washington Summit of the NATO the Slovak Republic has started its National Program of Preparation for NATO Membership (NP PRENAME) in 1999. The program elaborates the preparation for membership in five areas: political and economic issues, defence and military issues, issues of sources, security and legal issues.

In the field of *political and economic issues* the Slovak Republic continued to cultivate the existing democratic institutions and stabilized the macroeconomic environment in 2000. The contacts were intensified and the flow of information between the Slovak Republic and the Alliance or its member states has improved. The standard co-operation with the NATO member countries within the frame of the V-4 group has continued. The government adopted the Concept of Communications Campaign before Slovakia's entry into the North Atlantic Alliance. In the field of crisis management the proposal elaboration of the crisis management system in the Slovak Republic on a professional level was the main priority. The establishment of the temporary Situational centre in the Slovak Republic was an important step in this sphere.

In the field of *defence and military issues* the attention was turned to continuation of reform of the Ministry of Defence and preparation of basic strategic, planning and norm-forming documents. The integrational Ministry of Defence and General Staff, or the directed management of field and air forces were established. The Ministry of Defence initiated the program of defence planning on the basis of principles similar in NATO countries. The implementation of recommendations called "Evaluation of the state of defence of the Slovak Republic" (the so-called Garrett study elaborated by the team of the Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom) should also contribute to reaching the aims and priorities more effectively in the field of defence and military issues.

In the third field – *issues of sources* – the main aim was the provision of sources for the PRENAME process in 2000 and 2001. The adoption of sources (1,274.960 million SKK) for implementation of the PRENAME tasks in 2001 supports the reliability of the Slovak Republic and its seriousness about its integrational intentions. However, this budget does not cover the tasks implemented in the Partnership (the needed amount is 1,975.7 million SKK), therefore, it will be necessary mainly to identify the missing part of this budget in 2001.

In the field of *protection of classified information* creation of conditions for the institutionalisation of the National Security Office was the main goal. Preparation of

the Law of Protection of Classified Information has continued, it should enter into force in September 2001.

In the field of *legislation* Slovakia complexly analysed the NATO acquis, and the majority of its treaties could be ratified after the Slovak Republic enters the Washington Treaty.

The year 2000 finished the initial phase of preparation of the Slovak Republic for the NATO membership within the frame of the MAP. New functional structures and mechanisms for co-ordination and management of the PRENAME process were created in this phase on national inter-departmental level in the Slovak Republic. This phase was finished by evaluation of the Slovak Republic at the North Atlantic Council session on 7th April 2000. On one hand, the evaluation has proved the right direction of preparation of the Slovak Republic and appreciated the results reached so far. On the other hand it provided valuable feedback for improving the process of our preparation. It is evident, that the stability of political leadership of the country, continuation of political and economic reforms and improvement of reform of the department of defence are the most important factors for Slovakia to successfully enter the North Atlantic Alliance.

The Slovak Republic intensively discussed and consulted its preparation for the NATO membership with representatives of the Alliance and its member countries. The recommendations and experiences of our partners amongst the new member countries of the NATO were of a great help for us at the adoption of all PRENAME documents.

One of the main priorities of the Slovak Republic in the field of foreign policy in 2000 was to finish the accession process and receive membership in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). We can conclude with satisfaction that the Slovak Republic reached this aim.

During the first half of the year 2000 Slovakia concentrated on screenings in many committees of the OECD – in the Committee of Tax Issues, Trade Committee, Committee of Financial Markets and Committee of Environmental Politics. The government of the Slovak Republic has finished the technical part of the accession process of the Slovak Republic to the OECD after the positive evaluation of meetings of the committees CIME/CMIT on 27th April 2000, which concerned the evaluation of the position of the Slovak Republic towards the Liberalization Codes of the OECD. After reaching a compromise in the field of audiovisions, the Slovak Republic was officially invited as the 30th member of the organization on 29th July 2000. The Minister of Foreign Affairs on 28th September 2000 signed the agreement between the Slovak Republic and the OECD about invitation of the Slovak Republic to join the Agreement of the OECD. Afterwards, the National Council of the Slovak Republic gave its assent to the “Agreement of OECD” and the “Agreement of Charters and Immunities of the OECD”. The President of the Slovak Republic ratified both of the documents on 9th November 2000 and the Minister for Foreign Affairs officially signed the ratification letters on 14th December 2000. Therefore, 14th December 2000 is the day of the Slovak Republic accession to the OECD.

The Government of the Slovak Republic fulfilled the important obligation of its Programme Declaration with entering the OECD, which is an important step in the integrational policy of the country. The fulfilment of criteria of becoming the OECD member proved the high level of liberalization of economics, bank sector and trade, just as improvement in the field of protection of environment, legislation and social politics. We will use the experience from the work on correction and harmonization of legislative norms in fulfilling the criteria of joining the European Union, and NATO, as well.

The membership in the OECD has a great political importance for the Slovak Republic from the point of view of our future integrational ambitions. It certainly has an economic effect as well, in the form of increasing the trust of foreign investors and increase of the flows of direct foreign investments.

The field of disarmament was an important part of the foreign politics of the Slovak Republic in 2000. Slovakia belongs to the group of countries, which try to completely forbid usage of land mines. The Slovak Republic ratified the Agreement of Complete Prohibition of Land Mines already in February 1999. Slovakia eliminated all its reserves of landmines (with the exception of minimal amount of these mines allowed by the Agreement), and thus, it joined the 20 countries, which fulfilled one of the main obligations of the Ottawa Agreement.

Slovakia is also known for its active participation in the landmine elimination works in different regions of the world, especially on the territory of former Yugoslavia. We intend to continue in these activities in the future as well. Success of this work also depends on further development and production of effective anti-landmine equipment of Bozena and Belarta, which proved in practice that they are among the best in the world. Slovakia owns technology and equipment for ecologically non-destructive elimination of landmines. After destruction of reserves of these weapons in the Slovak Republic, these capacities are available for other countries as well.

Our activities aiming at receiving full membership in the MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime) has continued in 2000. Slovakia has voluntarily implemented into its system controls of export and regulations required by the trends of the MTCR, and as a non-member it is actively contributing to the policy restricting the extension of missile carriers, weapons of mass destruction and technology of their production. The delegation of the Slovak Republic also participated in the round-table meeting of members and non-members of the MTCR, which was organized for the first time in 2000. Active co-operation with the United States in elimination of missile systems SS-23 was a part of the strategy aiming at gaining membership in the MTCR. This was successfully finished on 27th October 2000. We consider this step as an important milestone in the way to become a full member of this important international organization.

The Slovak Republic, as the owner of strategic atomic materials, and as a successful runner of safe atomic power stations, has continued in its effort to effectively implement control regimes of the export of atomic materials, such as the Zangger Committee,

Nuclear Suppliers (NSG) and Dual Use Regime (DUR). We have also continued in harmonization of our legislation to adaptation of agreements about complete guarantees with the IAAE.

Slovakia held presidency of the plenary session of the Wassenaar Arrangement.

This fact is the proof of its active participation on the activities of this organization. The successfully functioning multilateral regimes of the control of weapon export, military material and other materials and technology of double use are of prior importance for Slovakia. The authorization of basic principles of the control of portable anti-air defence systems (MANPADS), positive shift in opinions about enlarging the range of notification of the control of conventional weapons and the growing support of requests aiming at the elaboration of the problem of agencies in businesses with weapons were the most important outcomes of the meeting of ministers of the WA member countries in Bratislava.

Our activities with the Council of Europe also continued in 2000. The Slovak Republic signed or ratified 12 new agreements of the Council of Europe. The European Charter of Local Governments, civic-law and criminal law agreement on corruption and the Protocol No 12 of the European Convention of Human Rights were amongst them. The Slovak Republic is a member of 75 agreements of the Council of Europe altogether. Slovakia is the first member of the Council of Europe, which concluded the Memorandum of Understanding of the Status of the Council of Europe Information Office.

Activities on the soil of the United Nations represent also one of the most important lines in foreign policy of the Slovak Republic in 2000. The Slovak Republic considers it very important to be a member of this global organization. The active participation of the delegation of the Slovak Republic – led by the Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda – on the Millennium Summit of the United Nations proves the importance of this organization. Slovakia actively participated in the discussion about the correction of the contribution scale of the UN peace operations. The voluntary decision of the Slovak Republic to leave the group I and join the group H has proved the seriousness of its interest in this field. The contribution of the Slovak Republic to the peace operations of the UN was increased by 50 %. Slovakia supports the reform of the UN as it is stated in the report of the Secretary General of the UN “We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century”, and it is actively participating in the on-going discussion on these issues.

Slovakia, despite the short time of its membership, takes upon the very positive 35th place amongst the contributors to the peace missions of the UN. The commission of 157 individuals to the mission of the UNMEE at the borders of Ethiopia and Eritrea was the last significant step in this field.

The above-mentioned steps are the part of an endeavour of the Slovak Republic for more active participation in solving peace and security issues in the world. Slovakia repeatedly submitted its candidacy for the position of an elected member of the UN Security Council in 2006-2007, what is an integral part of its policy. The active

demonstration of this policy already in the previous year has created an important part of foreign political activities of the Slovak Republic in 2000.

The year 2001 will be a period when a crucially important discussion about the enlargement of the NATO takes place and the member states formulate their standpoint. In the near future, all the questions of the Alliance will be targeted at the field of complex on-going politico-economic reforms in Slovakia. The Slovak Republic expects from the NATO Summit in Prague in 2002 that the open door policy of the Alliance will end up with the invitation of the most prepared candidate countries. The task of the Slovak Republic in the preparation process for membership in the Alliance is to prove that it has all pre-conditions to become a member of the NATO, and to take upon full responsibilities arising from the membership and to be a contribution for the Alliance.

Pavol Zatlkaj

Preparation of the Slovak Republic for a Membership in NATO – Advancement on the Integration Way

Result of the Washington Summit in April 1999, which returned Slovakia to the general course of integration, became a challenge and a vast commitment for Slovakia to put through the real preparation for the membership in NATO in the maximum possible extent. Governmental coalition, which resulted from the election in 1998, was aware of the fact, that any vacillation or declarative fulfilment of criteria and requirements formulated in the Membership Action Plan – MAP would inevitably be reflected in our assessment by NATO and it would distinctly decrease our chances to acquire invitation to be a member of the Alliance in the imminent future. Therefore the Government of the Slovak Republic, except of establishing an effective managerial and coordination mechanism for preparation of the Slovak Republic for the membership in NATO, ordinance of *The Committee of the Government for Preparation of Slovakia for NATO Membership* on the level of Ministers and State Secretaries (GC PRENAME), as well as defining its distinct framework and formulating its objective content, it has supported its domestic preparation for membership by particular steps to support the policy of the Alliance. One could mention, for example, demonstration of courage and political foresight in the time of military operation of NATO in Kosovo, but also attendance of members of the Slovak Armed Forces in missions of SFOR, AFOR and KFOR. The pace and definiteness with which it was possible to excise former deficits

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in the internal politics were also important. On the basis of these steps Slovakia was not only positively extricated from the isolation of the previous period of time and was classified among real candidates for invitation into NATO, and more countries of the Alliance begun to consider Slovakia as one of possible leaders of the process of enlargement on the side of candidate countries.

During the year 2000, of course, no member country of the Alliance questioned the idea of continuing its enlargement and the rhetoric, in accordance with it, rooted from the open doors policy in which NATO committed itself to continuation during the Washington Summit. While one could have noticed manifestation of some fatigue from the previous round of enlargement during part of the year 2000, an obvious dissipation of special willingness or euphoria which was connected with enlargement of NATO in the time before Summit of the Alliance in Madrid, by the end of the year 2000 some signals occurred that the political discussion about the enlargement inside the Alliance, which did not exist till then, is topical again. This conclusion was confirmed especially by results of the Parliamentary meeting of NATO in Berlin in November 2000 where, practically, the first political exchange of opinions about the NATO enlargement took place in the year 2000 and where the special resolution was adopted which invited member states of NATO to ask new countries to become members. New NATO members (the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary) made themselves heard unceasingly, but also voices of northern countries (Norway and Denmark which were lobbying mainly for Baltic countries) could be heard that it is necessary to develop this discussion more actively.

A meeting of the North Atlantic Council on 27th February 2001 in Brussels could be possibly considered a beginning of a more resolute discourse about opinion formation of member states on continuation in the process of the Alliance enlargement and its dynamic. In connection with this fact, Slovakia welcomed signals that the enlargement still remains a priority of the Alliance and that it is assumed it would be listed to the agenda of the Prague Summit at the end of 2002, which may witness one of the biggest international achievements of independent Slovakia. It might be rightfully anticipated that the discussion on the enlargement of the Alliance will intensify with approaching date of the summit in Prague. The year 2001 is considered to be a key period from the implementation of the Slovak Republic integration ambitions standpoint. There is a general agreement in opinion that the result of discussions about the next round of enlargement will largely depend on the standpoint of newly formed US administration. Successful enlargement of NATO, of course, needs also a European “sponsor”, while according to the present knowledge it is possible to designate as potential adepts, except new members of the Alliance, the Scandinavian members, eventually the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the fact that the year 2000 was not a period of political discussion about the Alliance had a positive relevance on the fact, that NATO member states could concentrate their attention on the MAP and on preparation of candidate states in a larger extent.

Formation and functioning of internal structure of PRENAME

Consistent exercising of the MAP as a key instrument for improvement political, defensive, economic and juridical structures and norms of the Slovak Republic in such a way that they would as soon as possible and sufficiently correspond with structures and standards of NATO, belongs to the decisive preconditions for achieving actual progress in preparation of Slovakia for membership in NATO. In accordance with this requirement Slovakia has established preparation for membership at implementation of the “Programme of Assigning Preparation of Slovakia for the Membership in NATO” which the government adopted by the decree No. 480 in June 1999. The situation in preparation of Slovakia for the NATO membership occurred by adopting this material on qualitatively higher level. The primary asset was that the government of the Slovak Republic succeeded in forming suitable preconditions and to stimulate sectors to efficient contribution to the preparation for membership in NATO. Adopted Programme of Providing Preparation of Slovakia for Membership in NATO ordered sectors and state administration authorities to form working groups for 14 main spheres of preparation of Slovakia for membership in NATO (the number was decreased to 11 in February 2000 according to the decision of the GC PRENAME at the level of State Secretaries) and to assign preconditions for their functioning (institutional structure of PRENAME – Appendix No. 1).

Complex providing domestic preparation was the content of the Programme of Assigning Preparation of Slovakia for the Membership in NATO, which emphasizes the following:

1. Creating domestic structure of PRENAME, compatible with structures of NATO;
2. Effective managerial and coordination mechanism in correspondence with assessing process of the Membership Action Plan (MAP);
3. Content framework of practical implementation of preparation of Slovakia for the NATO membership, similarly in correspondence with the MAP.

The MAP was incorporated into the Programme of Assigning Preparation of Slovakia for Membership in NATO with the intent to employ it as one of the main instruments of exact preparation for admission in NATO stressing three basic areas:

- preparation in accordance with specific spheres (political, economic, defensive and military, sources, safety and legislative),
- feedback from NATO – regular and individual assessment of the state of preparation of candidates – MAP Review – size 19 + 1 on relevant levels from the North Atlantic Council to NATO’s teams of experts,
- help from NATO and its member countries in preparation for membership.

The National Programme of Providing Preparation of Slovakia for the Membership in NATO (NP PRENAME) rooted from the Programme of Assigning Preparation of Slovakia for the Membership in NATO, adopted by the government in October 1999 and it contains goals and assignments due to fulfil before the presumptive date of invitation for a member of NATO. The NP PRENAME includes a yearly Programme

PRENAME for the year 2000, which was updated by the government in March 2001. Based on NP PRENAME the government adopted on 27th September 2000 a Yearly National Programme of Preparation of Slovakia for Membership in NATO for the year 2001. Attention was concentrated on stating priorities necessary for accomplishing goals during the year 2001 while pointing out certain future assignments with appointing responsibility and stating their financial provision. On the basis of implementation of tasks from the yearly Programmes of PRENAME, Slovakia should be prepared to meet such level of preparation, which expects from a candidate ability to obtain an invitation for a member of the Alliance at the Prague Summit at the end of 2002. Consequential integration of Slovakia to NATO should be without any problems.

Slovakia tries to demonstrate endeavour for preservation credibility in all spheres of preparation. In the sphere of foreign and security policy Slovakia made the contacts with the Alliance more intensive and continued in above-standard co-operation with new members of NATO within the framework of V-4. The quality of exchange of information between Slovakia and member countries of NATO as well as its headquarters in Brussels improved and, equally, the co-operation with representatives of new members of NATO became more effective. Assessment of Slovakia closed the initiatory period of preparation of Slovakia for membership in NATO at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) in the NAC+SR format on 7th April 2000. The Alliance welcomed the transition of Slovakia from the planning into realizing phase of PRENAME at this meeting. Assessment confirmed accuracy of general tendency of preparation of Slovakia on one hand and appreciated accomplished results; on the other hand it provided feedback for further improvement of PRENAME. This feedback was reflected in individual assessing and planning PRENAME documents. The necessity to stress realistic goals and financial safety in the next phase, which Slovakia will be able to fulfil in this period of time while the determinative principles of our endeavour are and will be continuity, credibility and consistency, became evident especially after the meeting of the Strengthened Political Committee of NATO at a higher level (SPC(R)+SR) in October 2000, after the international seminar about the MAP implementation in November 2000 in Slovakia, and largely after the November meeting of Prime Minister M. Dzurinda with NATO Secretary General G. Robertson in November 2000.

In the sphere of dealing with public opinion it is necessary to assess positively the “Concept of Communications Campaign before Slovakia’s entry into the North Atlantic Alliance”. It was adopted by the government on 1st March 2000. It is detriment that due to the delayed allocation of financial resources in the year 2000 realization and various planned activities were postponed at the beginning of 2001. In the sphere of crisis management the main priority was to develop a plan of a system of crisis management of the Slovak Republic at the supreme level in accordance with current trends of crisis management of NATO. There is a positive assumption that the final version of this plan will be presented at the meeting of the government in the first quarter of 2001. It is necessary to assess positively the fact that as the first step to solve this problem was that the Slovak government adopted a project for establishing

a temporary Situation Centre of the Slovak Republic, which created an important element of a crisis management compatible with NATO crisis management structures.

In the sphere of defensive and military issues fulfilment of assignments of the previous year concentrated on continuation in the reform of the Ministry of Defence and on preparing basic planning and normative documents. Integrated Ministry of Defence was formed, the General Staff was incorporated into it, Headquarters of the Armed Forces and Air Forces were established, and armed corpses were abolished. This was the first step of forming structure comparable with the internal structure of defensive departments in the countries belonging to NATO. Ministry of Defence of Slovakia initiated beginning of defensive planning in accordance with principles comparable with those of countries belonging to NATO. Adequate Partner Goals (PGs) were incorporated into the Plan of Activities for the Years of 2001 – 2006. Implementation of Recommendations of Evaluation of the State of Defence of Slovakia (Garrett's study) and of the team of the Ministry of Defence from the United Kingdom contributed also to a more effective attainment of goals and priorities in the area of defence and military issues. Establishment of a modern human resource management, defensive planning and universal training which would be supported by actual sources is a necessary precondition for continuation in reform of the Armed Forces of Slovakia.

In the sphere of the third chapter of MAP, which deals with formation of necessary sources, the stress is put on problems concerning providing financial resources for the PRENAME process in 2000 and 2001. The planned resources were, finally, provided from the privatisation of Slovak Telecommunications in 2000, though their decisive part was not allocated until the second half of the year 2000, that's why it was not possible to fulfil all assignments of PRENAME in planned scope, especially the financially more demanding activities.

Ratification of resources for fulfilment of PRENAME assignments in the year 2001 in the state budget of the Slovak Republic, in the scope of chapter the General Treasury Administration amounting 1,274.960 mil. SKK, proved credibility of Slovakia and seriousness of our integrative intentions. Allocated means did not quite cover the fulfilment of partner goals up to 1,975.7 mil. SKK, therefore it was inevitable to identify especially those absent sources in the year 2001. Because of incompatibility of the planned amount and the one actually allocated for realization of PRENAME assignments in the year 2002 as well as for the reason of its division, which significantly differentiates in the final form from its source, on basis of which the Annual National Programme PREANME 2001 was developed, the Government of the Slovak Republic adopted the Updated Annual National Programme PRENAME for the Year 2001 (ARNP PRENAME 2001) in March 2001. The content of document is rooting from the already mentioned material Annual National Programme of Preparation for Membership in NATO for 2001, which was adopted by the government in September 2000.

The most significant changes appeared in the second part of the "ARNP PRENAME 2001 Assignments" and they root from authorized amount of financial

resources for individual departments and authorities of state administration, which participate on the fulfilment of NP PRENAME assignments in the year 2001 in the total amount of 1,274.96 mil. SKK and which are allocated in the chapter General Treasury Administration of the state budget, also from financial raising for the department of defence in 469.7 mil. SKK and from internal sources of individual involved departments in amount of 987.6 mil. SKK what makes altogether 2,732.3 mil. SKK (see Appendix No. 2). This formed preconditions for fulfilment of all defined assignments PRENAME in full extent.

In the sphere of economy and co-operation in production for defence needs the co-operation with Industrial Planning Committee (IPC) of NATO continued. This Committee co-operates with the Conference on National Armament Directors (CNAD). Working on existing projects of scientific co-operation with NATO at the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the universities continued successfully. In the area of environment approval of method for preparation and realization of project for protection of environment, which concentrates on military forces of Slovakia, can be considered to be the most important asset in improving preparation of Slovakia for membership in NATO.

In the area of classified materials the National Security Office of the Ministry of Interior was established on 1st January 2001 and the preparation of the act on protection of classified materials with expected force from September 2001 has continued.

In the area of legislation the NATO acquis was analysed in a complex way. The agreements of acquis could be ratified (the majority) after Slovakia joins the North Atlantic Treaty. By that time it is necessary to bring internal legal system into the harmony with international obligations resulting from the mentioned documents. In correspondence with this strategy preparation of acts related to defence and security issues took place.

Functional structures and mechanisms for coordination, security and management of the PRENAME process were formed in Slovakia in the year 2000. This phase was completed by evaluation of Slovakia at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council and Slovakia on 7th April 2000. The evaluation confirmed accuracy of the general tendency in preparation of the Slovak Republic and it appraised results that have been accomplished up to this time at one hand, on the other hand it provided for a valuable feedback for further improvement of the process of our preparation.

The most important conclusion resulting from this feedback is that stability of political leadership of the state, continuance in the process of political and economic reforms and particularly a significant progress in the reform of defence sector, which takes place at the moment, are crucial for a successful integration of Slovakia in the future.

Feedback from NATO

The results of the whole rank of bilateral contacts between Slovakia and NATO contributed to the reinforcement of the position of the Slovak Republic as a natural candidate for the membership in NATO. It is necessary to recognise especially the results

of the visit of the NATO Secretary General in Slovakia in May 2000, meeting of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic with the NATO Secretary General and ambassadors from selected member countries of the Alliance in the NATO Headquarters in November 2000, as well as visits of other top representatives of the Alliance in Slovakia. These meetings confirmed that Slovakia did not waste the time in previous two years and made the most of internal political development and became a respected candidate for a membership in NATO. During the year 2000 the Slovak Republic intensively debated and consulted its preparation for the NATO membership with representatives of the Alliance and its key countries, while the significant position belonged to other members of NATO. Also comments and pieces of advice from the committee of partners from the NATO member states were employed for processing all PRENAME documents.

The visit of the Enlarged NATO Team under the leadership of the NATO Deputy Secretary General K.-P. Kleiber in February 2001 in Bratislava and the following March meeting of the NATO Politico-Military Steering Committee with Slovakia in Brussels was an important milestone in the regular evaluation process of the SR within the Membership Action Plan. It was aimed to verify preparedness of the Slovak Republic for the NATO membership and based on it to draft the *Progress Report of the SR* within the MAP in 2000 – 2001. The *Report* was handed over to representatives of the SR during the joint meeting of the North Atlantic Alliance and the SR on 20th April 2001 in Brussels.

The meeting of the Enlarged NATO Team with representatives of Slovakia focused on all five spheres of preparation identified in the MAP: 1. Political and economic issues; 2. Defence and military issues; 3. Resources; 4. Security issues; 5. Legal issues.

During the meeting there were no relevant problems indicated concerning the first MAP chapter – Political and economic issues – which should be solved immediately. Reached progress and interdepartmental and complex character of the formed PRENAME structure was highly appreciated. It will be requisite to pay attention to the level of political and economic stability, to the extent of the support of membership in NATO, building civil society and to the full integration of minorities.

Discussions on the second MAP chapter – Defence and military issues – made evident that serious discrepancies between declared goals and accomplished results of defence sector reform as well as identified threats and a formed structure of The Armed Forces still remain and even rise sporadically. At the same time this disharmony endanger integration ambitions of Slovakia.

Representatives of NATO on the basis of consultancy expressed a belief, that there is a need to fundamentally reassess (to make a stocktaking) of the situation of the Armed Forces (the so called Defence Review) and to form immediately a working “ad hoc” group, which would provide the above-mentioned stocktaking.

Also discussions about the third MAP chapter – Resources – showed that existing concepts of defence reform are not sufficiently based on analysis of a safety environment in Slovakia, on safety appeals, threats and risks and requirements for defence resulting from it. It is also necessary to form a system of medium-term financial resources planning.

Discussions about the fourth MAP chapter – Security issues – proved that the security system of classified materials in Slovakia corresponds with the standards of NATO and also a sphere of administration security is on a sufficient level. In the area of personal safety it is necessary to provide more detailed check upon people in their place of permanent residence. This problem will be solved by upcoming legal regulation.

The results of discussions about the fifth MAP chapter – Legal issues – brought among others also a conclusion that it is necessary to define first vital and fundamental political attitudes when creating new legislative regulations and consequently to develop their professional aspect. Discussed problems of Slovak flexibility in the sphere of sending military troops to foreign countries was solved in harmony with NATO requirements by an amendment to the Slovak Constitution, which has been ratified in the meantime.

The February visit of the NATO team was immediately followed by discussions of NATO Politico-Military Steering Committee with Slovakia on 9th March 2001 in Brussels. At this meeting representatives of the NATO member countries opened particularly questions referring to a reform of the Armed Forces, their structure, financing and logistics. In connection with those items attention was paid to problems of introducing defence planning, to the situation in human resource management as well as to the prepared concept of the Air Forces. The situation in development of basic strategic documents and the way of their consideration in the process of forming the concept of setting up The Armed Forces was also a subject matter.

Discussion during the conference was held in a very positive atmosphere and majority of the questions asked by delegates of the Alliance member countries was fully answered. The fact that Slovakia was able to react on conveyed reservations in a quite short period of time since the meeting of the Enlarged NATO Team in Bratislava was highly appreciated. Representatives of Slovakia explained legal aspects of dispatching and receiving troops after adopting the amendment to the Slovak Constitution and they introduced the main intentions of the Armed Forces Reform. Information on intents to prepare the *Long-term Concept of The Armed Forces Development – model 2010* was received with interest. The form of this concept will be presented to other members of NATO in September 2001.

Progress was noticed also in other spheres, for example, position of the Railway Army and Army of the Ministry of Interior, or in development of legislation for protection of classified materials. There are still certain reserves in the sphere of human resources management and, especially, in language preparation of experts.

The second yearly cycle of regular evaluation of the SR preparation for the NATO membership within the MAP culminated by the meeting of the North Atlantic Council and the SR held on 20th April 2001 in Brussels. It was focused on assessment of the concrete progress in the NATO membership preparation reached by the SR in all five MAP spheres. Notions of representatives of the Alliance member countries during the meeting confirmed that the SR is in the NATO perceived as a serious candidate for the membership. According to presented standpoints the SR gave a quality performance within the second yearly cycle of the Membership Action Plan and an unequivocal move forward

comparing to the last year was registered. The SR according to the NATO countries representatives is on the right way and it is necessary to continue in the started trend.

The North Atlantic Council especially appreciated more realistic and more responsible approach of the SR to the MAP implementation, what was positively reflected in perception of the SR as a more confidential and more reliable partner. In this sense the following was positively emphasized:

- progress in strengthening democracy (adopting the Constitution Amendment),
- adoption of the Security Strategy of the SR with support of significant part of the opposition,
- macroeconomic stabilisation,
- growth of public support for the NATO membership,
- very good level of relations with the neighbouring countries (especially within the V-4),
- already reached results in the minority policy,
- started trend of realism and responsibility in the approach to the Armed Forces reform,
- decision to work out a complex concept of the Armed Forces development (model 2010) and postponing the further decision about the Air Forces development that is to be solved within the concept.

The opened questions and comments indicated fields of the PRENAME/MAP that need increased attention in the following time period:

- to sustain continuity of democratic development, maintain political stability and macroeconomic balance,
- further consensus building in main political forces, permanent attention to work with the public opinion,
- minority policy with emphasis on solving problems of the Roma ethnic group,
- further development of good neighbourly relations,
- development of pragmatic and balanced relations with Russia,
- building transparent pro-investment environment,
- increase SR's participation in peacemaking and peacekeeping mission under the NATO leadership in the Balkans,
- reassessment of building extend of the Territorial Defence Forces,
- guaranteeing necessary financial sources for the Armed Forces reform and their optimal proportional division,
- work out the Long-term Concept of building the Armed Forces – model 2010.

Perspectives of further development

Inclusion of items of NATO enlargement into the agenda of the Prague Summit will be decided already this year at the NAC Ministerial Conference in Budapest in May. At the same time the political decision about the beginning and tendency of official

discussions on when and in which way the Alliance will be enlarged will be accepted. The NAC Ministerial conference, in the framework of defining the agenda of the Prague Summit, will deal with the question “in which way to enlarge the Alliance”, including debate about the best-prepared candidate countries for membership in the Alliance. The whole event will take place in Brussels in December 2001. It is possible to expect that in the mentioned discussions about the choice of candidates in the second wave of enlargement consideration of two groups of principles will probably play the key role:

1. The way how the candidate countries implement general political principles which are identical with the “Madrid” ones, that means they were valid in the first wave of enlargement. In case of Slovakia the key stress will be focused on two levels:
 - the level of security of political, economic and social stability of the state; first place, to make sure that possible change of elite in the election 2002 will not cause a change in political tendency of the state. It is evident, that the member countries of the Alliance would also welcome if the majority of the population identifies with the assignments of the state in the area of security, especially if it supports integration of Slovakia into NATO (development of support from the populations’ part – see appendix 3);
 - level and progress in adopting basic concepts and strategic documents of the Slovak Republic, especially they should include identified material and human resources and the basic political spectrum of the state should identify with them. It is also necessary to make PRENAME goals a priority and to find sufficient financial sources for their realization in advance. It is inevitable for Slovakia to plan transition to the biennial planning cycles now in case that it obtains an invitation for admission to the Alliance to be able to match its planning procedures with the plans of the Alliance.
2. Decision about obtaining an invitation will be influenced not only by experiences from the first wave of enlargement, but (in contradiction to it) also real capabilities of candidate countries to contribute to the potential, or to the fulfilment of NATO assignments. Enforcement of these new pragmatic principles means primarily an actual level of preparedness, or in reality accomplished progress of one or another candidate country for a membership in the MAP framework . The meaning of this group of principles can be illustrated by the words of the NATO Secretary General G. Robertson who said during his February visit in the Czech Republic, that the main criterion for obtaining an invitation would be the level of preparedness of Slovakia for membership. This was a reaction to arguments of Czech top politicians about advantages (geopolitical and geographical) for acceptance of Slovakia into the Alliance as a member.

Specific level of preparedness of candidate countries will be to a decisive degree determined by the choice from a vast range of possible Alliance enlargement scenarios. According to the present discussions it is possible to distinguish five scenarios, which might be presented at the Prague Summit:

- *The first* possibility is that the Alliance will not submit invitation to any of the candidates, but it will confirm the open doors policy (according to the Washington treaty article No. 10). It is a less possible variant because it is not clear, how the candidate countries will be integrated into the MAP.
- *The second* possibility is that the summit in Prague will consent a resolution about the postponement of invitation to the next NATO summit, which will take place in 2004 – 2006. Then one or more candidate countries will be invited. That is a relatively realistic scenario, which has advocates in candidate countries, and its acceptance would confirm credibility and commitment of NATO to the idea of enlargement. Of course for Slovakia it would mean postponement of admission into the Alliance.
- *The third*, quite probable variant (promoted, for example, by the Czech Republic) is that one or maximum three candidate countries will be invited to discuss the admittance. Such decision would, in practice, confirm the open doors policy and Slovakia must convince in the remaining time that, unlike the other candidate countries, it reached such a level of reform implementation, which would allow it to obtain an invitation.
- *The fourth* – less probable possibility – is that the Alliance will invite 5 or 6 countries at the summit.
- *The fifth* scenario is an invitation (so called big bang) of all nine (maybe without Macedonia and Albania) candidates under such a condition that the real membership (ratification) will happen after the fulfilment of all preconditions which are listed in the five chapters of the MAP. Candidates, according to this scenario, should concentrate on serious preparation, though this is also a less probable variant.

It is most likely that integration ambitions of the Slovak Republic will be performed in terms of this scenario and it is necessary for Slovakia to feature in each decision about enlargement at this summit.

Implementation of integration ambitions of Slovakia is inseparably connected not only with supporting the process of forming the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) which is an initiative of the USA, but Slovakia is equally supporting the enforcement of responsibility of European countries for security of the Continent in terms of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and it actively presents its interest in taking an active part in participation in those processes.³ The most favourable variant for the Slovak Republic is the one according to which the European integration in the field of security and defence should not, on any account, lead to mitigation of assignment of NATO as a basic pillar of European safety, that is to weakening of the transatlantic alliance.

From the point of view of Slovak integration ambitions the meeting of the North Atlantic Council and the Slovak Republic will be an important benchmark. This meeting will take place in Brussels on 20th April 2001. A Progress Report will be presented to the Slovak Republic, which will provide a view of the Alliance at the state of preparedness for admittance into NATO. Based on the results of discussions between the Slovak Republic and the Alliance implemented till now, it is possible to expect that this year's report will be more detailed and probably also more critical

than the report of the previous year. This should be a challenge for Slovakia that aiming at improving quality and emphasizing the relevance of the PRENAME process in the remaining period of time before the NATO Prague Summit it will give priority and it will adopt efficient measures in order to:

- improve the quality of dealing with public opinion,
- develop necessary political and legislative framework stressing the preparation of strategic documents, legal standards and legislation resulting from the NATO “acquis”,
- implement assignment of reform of the Armed Forces and provide defence of the state,
- develop a functional system of national crisis management of the Slovak Republic at the top level,
- implement rules for protection of classified materials,
- provide necessary financial sources to implement the PRENAME assignments.

Conclusion

The membership of the Slovak Republic in the Alliance can signify a positive asset for fulfilment of its assignments. Above all, the Slovak Republic is a natural and active part of V-4 and it brings elements of permanent co-operation to it and this means a contribution for all countries involved. We have necessary preconditions as the only country having borders with all its members. From the point of view of the Slovak Republic admittance of our country into the NATO as a member will restore compactness of the Central European region, it will also enlarge and strengthen safety stability in the region. We will use experiences of the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary from the process of their admission into NATO. We will use security interest of the V-4 countries for admittance of the Slovak Republic into NATO in future, which results from the importance of Slovakia for the regional security.

The Slovak Republic expects from the Summit of NATO in Prague at the end of the year 2002 that the open doors policy of the Alliance will end up in the invitation of the best prepared candidates. There are twelve months maximum that we have to prove we are able to be a reliable and creditable partner, which is able to undertake commitments resulting from the membership in NATO.

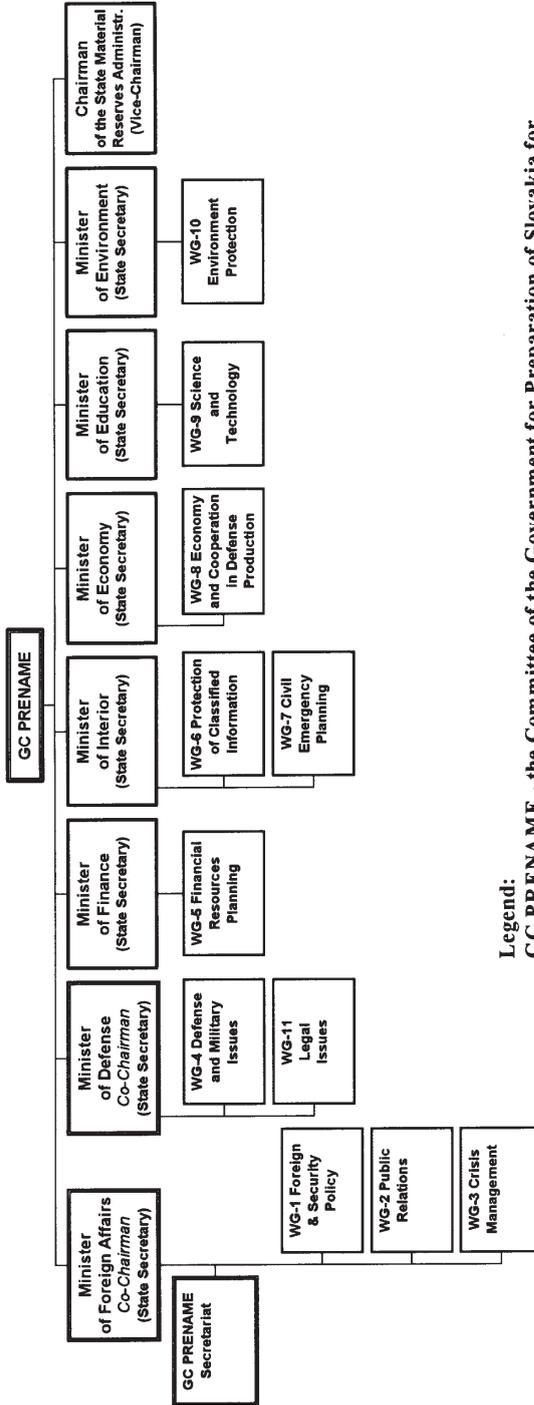
Particularly the period of time before this year’s conference of NAC in December the Slovak Republic should use in maximal extent to finalize and adopt other strategic and conceptual documents about safety as well as legislative materials in question necessary for implementation of defined intentions. It is very important for Slovakia to present in autumn this year the concept of building the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic with a prospect to the year 2010. This concept should completely meet the identified security risks and threats, which are included in the Safety strategy of the Slovak Republic as well as with integration intentions of the state. Slovakia, thanks to

its own performance, should influence the decision of the Alliance when considering the candidates for invitation.

Notes:

1. Adopting the Security strategy of the Slovak Republic by more than three fifths in the Parliament on 27th March 2001 is very important. This document with its content, structure and philosophy, but also by the way of its constitution, corresponds with similar documents of advanced democratic countries and it is fully in correspondence with the Strategic Concept of the North Atlantic Alliance accepted at the Washington Summit in 1999. It is also very important that representatives of all political parties, except the Slovak National Party, voted for acceptance of presented proposal and in the discussion the proposal got a large support. It provides the basic precondition for successful fulfilment of integration ambitions of the Slovak Republic towards NATO as well as towards the EU.
2. Concerning development of relations between the EU and NATO in the field of security the Minister for the Foreign Affairs E. Kukan emphasized at the end of 2000 that “we are happy that understanding between Europeans and the USA has improved. The United States were literally frightened after the summit in Helsinki, that those Europeans are going to break loose, they were asking – what you are doing there, etc. I have been in the Congress at that time and I reminded them of the fact it was them who said that Europe should take a bigger share of responsibility in defence of the Continent. Now we are starting, so why do you get so excited. We are glad that those things became politically explained. But it will remain like this for a longer period of time that any operations will be performed in co-operation with the Alliance. In case of critical situations consultations will take place and then it will be decided whether NATO will participate or whether only European forces will be concerned in the whole matter”. Pravda 21st November 2000, p 6.
3. On 21st November 2000 the Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic P. Kanis conveyed to his colleagues from 15 EU member countries and associated countries a decision of the government of the Slovak Republic on allocation of certain contributions of the Slovak Republic for military and civil crisis management in terms of common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In the sphere of military capacity the Slovak Republic offered a mechanized troop with corroborative elements, four transport helicopters MI – 17, dispossessing corps of engineers, unit of military police and military mobile field hospital with surgical potentials and with capacity of 80 beds. Except for that the Slovak Republic offered a group for examining chemical and radiological substances, a mobile laboratory and an emergency accommodation capacity for 400 people in tents in case of humanitarian disasters. Besides the Slovak Republic offered police unit including 50 members to operate in international peace missions and operations of civil crisis management. SWAT team (they should be European forces, not only EU units and as long as we are not members of the EU we should attend its activities ad hoc) will be entirely in the competence of the EU and it should have in its disposal more than 100 thousand soldiers, about 400 planes and 100 crafts appointed to react in critical situations – from the evacuation of EU residents to the peace missions. Before the end of the year 2003 the EU wants to accomplish the ability to dispatch a unit of 60 thousand members in the course of 60 days, which would be eligible to be employed in terrain for one year at least. See Pravda 18th November 2000, p 2., Pravda 21st November p 6, Národná obroda 22nd November 2000, p 6.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF PRENAME



Legend:
GC PRENAME - the Committee of the Government for Preparation of Slovakia for NATO Membership- meets 2-3 times per year at the ministerial level, monthly at the level of respective state secretaries; since 20 December 2000, relevant Chairmen of the National Council of the Slovak Republic committees have been invited and participated in GC PRENAME sessions (e. g. Defence and Security Committee, Foreign Committee, Committee for European Integration); since October 2000, the Deputy Director of the Slovak Information Service participates in sessions as an observer.

WG - PRENAME Working Group – intersectoral expert groups (originally 14 WGs; the PRENAME structure was changed to 11 WGs at the GC PRENAME session on 14 February 2000).

Annex No.2
Summary of planned financial costs of ARNP PRENAME 2001 (in SKK)

	WG 1	WG 2	WG 3	WG 4	WG 5	WG 6	WG 7	WG 8	WG 9	WG 10	WG 11	Total
MoFA SR	1 290 000 3 598 000	25 550 000	560 000 265 000							35 000 000		62 400 000 3 863 000
MoD SR		13 960 000		1 430 540 000 895 530 000						25 000 000	200 000 200 000	1 469 700 000 895 730 000
MoE SR			120 000	77 000 000		1 200 000 680 000	500 000 370 000			17 670 000		19 490 000 78 050 000
MoF SR					250 000							250 000
MoE SR		1 500 000						670 000				2 170 000
MoEn SR									900 000 190 000			900 000 190 000
MI SR							53 274 000 1 540 000			84 440 000		137 714 000 1 540 000
MoTPT SR							500 000			2 250 000		2 750 000
MC SR		2 800 000										2 800 000
MoH SR							266 000					266 000
MoLSAF							320 000					320 000
SŠHR SR						90 000	4 000 000 6 650 000					4 000 000 6 740 000
SIS										41 900 000		41 900 000
ÚGKK SR				1 000 000								1 000 000
ÚJD SR				500 000								500 000
Total	1 290 000 3 598 000	43 810 000	680 000 265 000	1 430 540 000 974 030 000	250 000	1 200 000 770 000	58 860 000 8 560 000	670 000	900 000 190 000	206 260 000	200 000 200 000	1 744 660 000 987 613 000
Total planned costs to cover the ARNP PRENAME 2001 assignments												2 732 273 000

Note No. 1:

Financial expenses from the chapter the General Treasury Administration of the State Budget (including 469.7 mil. SKK bound resources for the Ministry of Defence, allocated by decree of the government 121/2001/C.2.) are listed at each sector in the uppermost line. Resources allocated from the sector budgets (for Ministry of Foreign Affairs the resources are postponed from 2000) are stated in the lower line.

Note No. 2

Working group 1 – 1.1. Sphere of foreign and security policy

Working group 2 – 1.2. Sphere of dealing with public opinion

Working group 3 – 1.3. Sphere of crisis management

Working group 4 – 2. Chapter Defence and military issues

Working group 5 – 3.1. Sphere of planning financial sources

Working group 6 – 3.2. Sphere of economy and co-operation in production for defence

Working group 7 – 3.3 Sphere of civil emergency planning

Working group 8 – 3.4. Sphere of science and technology

Working group 9 – 3.5. Sphere of environment

Working group 10 – 4. Chapter Security issues

Working group 11 – 5. Chapter Legal issues

Annex No. 3

Development of opinions on integration of Slovakia into NATO

Time of survey	Integration of SR into NATO		
	necessary	not necessary	do not know
November 2000	41 %	42 %	17 %
February 2000	38 %	49 %	13 %
October 1999	35 %	50 %	15 %
March 1999	39 %	50 %	11 %
October 1997	46 %	26 %	28 %
May 1996	44 %	30 %	26 %
January 1996	43 %	33 %	24 %
May 1995	38 %	35 %	27 %
May 1994	49 %	29 %	22 %

Note No. 1

The column includes sum of answers “necessary” and “more necessary than not” and the column “not necessary” includes sum of “not necessary” and “more not necessary than necessary”.

Source: Názory, bulletin SSU, 2000, No. 4, p 13.

Note No. 2

Development of respondents' opinions for integration of the Slovak Republic into NATO is from October 1999 characterized by a gradual increase of the notion that it is necessary and by decrease of the notion that it is not necessary. Though the opinion, that integration of the Slovak Republic into NATO is more unnecessary than it is necessary still slightly predominates. From the difference 15% in October 1999 it declined to the minimum difference of 1% in November 2000. The level of opinions that integration of Slovakia into NATO is necessary still does not reach the level of the years 1996 and 1997.

The number of indecisive (answers do not know) decreased when compared to the past. It was lower nearly about a half (46%) in the years 1999 and 2000 when compared to the years 1996 and 1997.

Peter Javorčík

Slovakia and the European Union

The year 2000 could be mostly characterised as the year when Slovakia opened its accession negotiations with the European Union. After the strategic decision of the Helsinki Summit about the opening of accession negotiations Slovakia concentrated on reaching a quick progress in the negotiation process. In this way Slovakia consistently pushed forward the realization of the key principles accepted by the Helsinki Summit: the principle of differentiation of candidates according to their preparedness, and the so called “catch-up” principle which allows us to catch up with the countries that already began the negotiations in 1998. Our preparedness to reach our aim, to enter the EU together with the other countries of the Visegrad Group, was proved by the careful preparation of position documents, while they were delivered in due time.

Progress of the negotiation process

The negotiations with Slovakia were formally opened during the Portuguese Presidency on 15th February 2000 in Brussels, when with the participation of Foreign Ministers the Conference on Slovakia’s accession to the EU was opened. The parties exchanged their so-called General Position Documents, which declare the basic framework of the negotiations. The opening of the Accession Conference meant progress and the beginning of a new era in the relations between Slovakia and the EU.

According to the proposal of the European Commission to open the negotiations with Slovakia on eight chapters in the first half of 2000 the first meeting of the Accession Conference took place in Brussels on 28 March 2000 with the participation of representatives. Negotiations were opened on the following chapters: Small and

Medium-Sized Enterprises, Science and Research, Education and Training, External Relations, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Competition, Statistics and Culture and Audio-Visual. At the second meeting of the Accession Conference with the participation of representatives held in Brussels on 25th May 2000 Slovakia provisionally closed the first six chapters – Small and Medium-sized Enterprises, Education and Training, Science and Research, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Statistics, External Relations. Simultaneously, Slovakia handed in its Position Documents in the next 5 chapters: Fisheries, Social Policy and Employment, Industrial Policy, Consumers and Health Protection, Customs Union.

The results of the negotiations between the EU and Slovakia during the Portuguese presidency were evaluated at the second meeting of the Accession Conference with the participation of ministers held in Luxembourg on 14th June 2000. The conference has confirmed the provisional closing of negotiations on 6 chapters. This way, from Slovakia's point of view its expectations have been fulfilled as to the number of closed chapters and to the overall process of the negotiations, as well as to the practical implementation of the two principles: the principle of differentiation and the so called "catch-up" principle. The results achieved so far are the evidence of Slovakia's ability to negotiate.

In the second half of 2000 Slovakia entered the French presidency with the expectation that the above trend would continue. Position Documents were delivered in the next four chapters: Free Movement of Capital, Free Movement of Services, Transport, Telecommunications and Information Technologies. According to the proposition of the European Commission the member states of the EU agreed to open negotiations with Slovakia on 8 new chapters. On 24 October 2000 at the third meeting of the Accession Conference with the participation of representatives negotiations were opened on 4 chapters: Fisheries, Industrial Policy, Consumers and Health Protection, Customs Union, from which the first three were provisionally closed. The next meeting of the Accession Conference with the participation of representatives was held on 14 November 2000 and adopted a resolution to provisionally close the chapter Culture and Audio-Visual and the EU opened negotiations with Slovakia on a further chapter: Free Movement of Capital. At the same time Slovakia delivered seven Position Documents: the updated Position Document on Social Policy and Employment and six new Position Documents on the following chapters: Free Movement of Goods, Legislation for Business Companies, Taxation, Economic and Monetary Union, Energetics, Financial and Budgetary Provisions.

At the third meeting of the Accession Conference with the participation of ministers held on 21st November 2000 negotiations were opened on the three remaining chapters, which were included in the schedule of the French presidency: Free Service Providing, Transport, Telecommunications and Information Technology, by which the plan of the French presidency was completed. The meeting also summarized the results of the negotiations during the second half of the year and confirmed a provisional closing of 4 chapters, by which the number of closed chapters increased to 10.

In December 2000 Slovakia delivered to the EU the Position Documents on the remaining 6 chapters. This procedure, recommended by the European Commission in its document "Enlargement Strategy", was to confirm that Slovakia is capable of a fast progress in the negotiations.

The Slovak Republic and the European Union negotiations dynamics during 2000 can be thus evaluated positively. During the first year of negotiations Slovakia opened negotiations on 16 chapters from which ten have been provisionally closed. Together with Malta Slovakia has gained a leading position among the candidates, which began the negotiations in 2000. In the number of closed chapters we succeeded to catch up with the Luxembourg Group to a great extent.

Regular Report of the European Commission

On 8th November 2000 the European Commission published its Regular Reports on the progress of candidate countries in their integration into the European Union. The European Commission evaluated Slovakia, as well as the other countries, on the basis of their performance of the Copenhagen political and economic criteria, on the basis of their ability to perform their duties arising from EU membership, as well as on the basis of their administration capacity to implement the *acquis communautaire*.

The Regular Report on Slovakia became a very important political, economic, legislative and institutional evaluation of Slovakia's progress in its preparation for the EU membership in the last year. In the last report the Commission welcomed and recognized Slovakia's progress; however, at the same time it pointed out the deficiencies of certain fields.

According to the European Commission's opinion Slovakia made progress in the performance of political criteria for the EU membership. This progress was first confirmed in the Commission's report in 1999. Slovakia advanced in the consolidation of the democratic system and in the ensuring of the functioning of its institutions. A further progress was achieved in the treatment of minority issues. A significant reform concerning the independence of judiciary still has not been realized. However, in the fight against organized crime and corruption there is a need to focus on the resolute implementation of plans and concepts. The report has pointed out that there was a delay in the introduction of a new law on civil service, as well as in the adoption of crucial resolutions concerning the reform of public administration.

In comparison with the previous report Slovakia achieved the most significant progress in the field of economic criteria and for the first time was mentioned as a country with a functioning market economy. The report says that: "Slovakia can be regarded as a functioning market economy, which should be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the EU in the medium term on condition that the program of structural reforms will be fully realized and extended with the remaining necessary reforms." The European Commission stressed that in the next

period the consolidation of the government stock the continuation of its reform and the reduction of its deficit in the medium term will be of vital importance as to the results of macroeconomic stabilization.

Slovakia's success in the fulfilment of the third and fourth criterion – ability to assume obligations arising from the EU membership as well as the setting up of relevant administrative organizations – was diverse. Considering internal trade Slovakia fulfilled most of the priority tasks. Significant progress was achieved in the fields of public procurement, financial services and free movement of capital. While short-term priority tasks in social policy and employment, energetics and co-operation in the field of justice and home affairs were partially carried out, in agriculture this happened only marginally. Short-term priority tasks were not performed in environment and in the reinforcement of administrative and judicial capacity. Slovakia progressed in the passing of approximative legislation in the evaluated areas, however a smaller progress was achieved in the implementation and enforcement of these legislative norms. Except the already mentioned sensitive fields, which are the independence of judiciary, improvement of the social position of Roma, reform of public administration, social and regional policy, environment, agriculture and financial control, the Commission drew attention to the need of implementing the approximative legislation and to the need of developing administration structures, which are to ensure the implementation of this legislation.

Results of the Summit in Nice considering EU enlargement

The results of the summit in Nice, for Slovakia and also for other candidates, are of utmost importance concerning future perspectives of the enlargement process. This summit of the European Council brought us closer to the EU membership, as by approving the text of a new Treaty it definitively got ready for the welcoming of all at present negotiating countries. The suggested time of the enlargement matches with our internal presumption about Slovakia's accession – 1st January 2004. Our accession in that period on the one hand would allow the Slovak citizens to participate in the elections to European Parliament in 2004, on the other it would allow the political representation to take a standpoint as a fully entitled partner on the future of EU at the Intergovernmental Conference to be held in the same year. The importance of the summit was also underlined by the fact that concrete agreement was reached about the future distribution of places at the negotiation table of the European Commission, about the votes in the Council of Ministers and about the mandates in the European Parliament, where we got representation equivalent to those of advanced member states of the EU. The summit also confirmed the principles of differentiation and catch-up approved by the Helsinki summit.

With a view to the results achieved in these three important processes – accession negotiations, preparation of Slovakia for the EU membership, Union's creating

conditions for enlargement – the year 2000 could be characterised as the year of significant process in the realization of Slovakia's integration ambitions

Priorities of our foreign policy towards the European Union in 2001

Accession Negotiations

At the end of 2000 Slovakia delivered the Position Documents to the member states and to the European Commission on all 29 chapters, by which it created the conditions for opening the negotiations in all fields of the *acquis* already in the first half of 2001. We welcomed the work schedule of the Swedish presidency, which included the enlargement in its first three priorities. In the first half of 2001 the European Commission suggested to open negotiations with Slovakia on 12 negotiation chapters. In the case of positive development there is a possibility of opening negotiations on the last of the 29 chapters, Financial Control.

Besides our effort to open negotiations on the maximum number of chapters our aim is to provisionally close several chapters opened during the French presidency, as well as to significantly progress in the negotiations on newly opened chapters and to provisionally close some of them. By the realization of this effort Slovakia would gain a stronger position among the candidate countries and they would not be distinguished as "Luxembourg Group" and "Helsinki Group".

The concrete elaboration of Slovakia's progress in the negotiations between the EU and Slovakia will depend on the conclusions and suggestions of the European Commission in its document "The Strategy of Enlargement", on the conclusions of the summit in Nice and on the work schedule of the Swedish and Belgian presidencies. In 2001 the negotiations should enter a new, qualitative stage where negotiations will be provisionally closed also on those chapters where Slovakia demands transition periods.

Discussion about the future of Europe

At the summit in Nice besides the new treaty about the EU the member states undertook in a separate political declaration that in 2004 a further Intergovernmental Conference will be held. Candidate countries, which will have finished accession negotiations by then will attend the conference as fully entitled participants, the others will be invited as observers. Thus the discussion about the future of Europe, which will start this year as a part of the so-called post-Nice process, will affect Slovakia directly. At the same time we hope that we will present our suggestions about how we imagine the future distribution of competences among the individual levels of the EU or the position of national parliaments.

Therefore as a future member state of the EU one of the main challenges of our foreign policy is going to be the finding and forming Slovakia's standpoints regarding the above questions.

Communication Strategy

One of the priorities in our relation to the EU in 2001 is going to be the start up of a so-called external communication strategy in the member states. The impulse in this matter was given by the initiative of the European Commission to begin a communication campaign among the population of the member and candidate states about the process of the EU enlargement. The European Commission has already set aside the necessary funds for this purpose in the amount of 150 million Euros for six years.

The campaign will be to inform the public in the member states to a chosen extent and in a chosen structure about the aims of enlargement including its positive and negative influence on the citizens of the Union, as well as to begin a dialogue on the selected levels of society in the EU member states, thus increasing the consciousness of the wide public about Slovakia in the member states (including its history, standard of living, economy and also presentations about the probable development after Slovakia's accession)

The basic priority of Slovakia's foreign policy in its relation to the EU stays the same – to progress in the negotiation process with the aim to enter the Union together with the countries of the Visegrad Group. To reach this aim there is a need to further intensify our preparation for the membership and to progress effectively in the negotiation process.

Ján Šoth

Bilateral Relationships of the Slovak Republic in the Year 2000

The last year meant for the Slovak Republic a further increase of activity and fulfillment of new tasks in co-operation with foreign partners. A reflection of dynamic presence of the Slovak Republic in the system of international relationships became mainly intensification of contacts and increased quality of the relationships with the developed countries of Europe and the world together with enforcing of the goals of the SR in the European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

Bilateral diplomacy and integration of the SR into EU and NATO

In the enforcement of the key priorities of the foreign policy of the SR one of the most important instruments is the bilateral diplomacy and the bilateral dimension of relationships with the member states of the integration groups as well as with other candidate states. The portfolio of the bilateral co-operation is in relevant relations enriched by the integration agenda, which presents its fundamental, and in many points a supreme part. The main tasks in the year 2000 were dialogues with partners in integration processes about the interests of the SR, the enforcement of the goals, which were traced within the integration, and gaining support from partner countries for the position of the Slovak part. It's just the bilateral dimension that multiplies the integration efforts of Slovakia and it creates conditions for successful course of enlargement processes, as well as for providing support from the member countries

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for SR's integration into NATO and the EU. An important point in the relation to candidate countries is to continue the dialogue, reciprocal support and exchange of experiences. It can improve the quality of accession measures of the SR, as well as increase dynamism and keep openness of the enlargement processes.

In this connection, in the year 2000 the number of activities in focus directions of bilateral dimension of the Slovak foreign policy was intensified on the level of supreme representatives of the SR, individual departments, as well as on broader level of economic, cultural and other spheres of co-operation.

On the other hand, in the year 2000 there was a broader application of the impact of the Slovak integration dynamism on the quality of the bilateral relationships with developed partner countries. A practical result of this positive development is a wide support of the SR in terms of approximation to the EU and especially the enforcement of our membership in OECD. It was successfully reached thanks to finding a consensus under assistance of member countries of this organization. Another manifestation of a more intensive incorporation of the SR into the co-operation of developed democratic countries was the intensification of the bilateral activities on the level of top representatives of the states, governments and parliaments. At the same time after the period of Slovak activities abroad, the SR was successful in completing the time schedule of important foreign visits to Slovakia (e.g. the German Chancellor G. Schroeder, the British Crown Prince, etc.)

As an important vector of foreign policy of the SR with huge potential is regarded the Visegrad cooperation, which in the year 2000 showed its importance and place in building homogeneous space of partnership and prosperity in the Central Europe. Visegrad is a concrete manifestation of the connection of bilateral co-operation and common integration effort of the participating countries, an example of co-operation of a European type that the SR wants to develop with its partners also in the process of approximation to the EU and after enlargement into it. We believe, that a confirmation of the positive development of the Visegrad dimension and geopolitical integration of the Central European space will be the integration of the SR into NATO and common approximation of the Visegrad countries to the membership in the EU.

In the year 2000 there was a shift in some important agendas of foreign relationships of the SR. One of them, for instance, was the issue of Roma migration and a number of partners reached constructive solutions, which will reduce negative impacts of this phenomenon on bilateral relationships and they will lead to elimination of the limits for travelling of Slovak citizens in case they still exist. We welcome the offers for help and common programs offered by partner countries, which reinforce the total amount of resources dedicated to the solution of this problem.

The improvement of the quality of the co-operation with foreign partners and the emphasis on the principal foreign policy priorities of the SR asks for intensifying of efforts of our diplomatic officers, increase of their qualification and their general knowledge. In this direction the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the SR is prepared to continue the trend of intensification of professional level and education of its staff

and in creation of conditions for development of diplomatic service of the SR. This is connected to the effort of making the performance of the foreign service of the SR more effective within the current conditions of the state budget. In this link the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR is preparing new fundamental materials on a complex provision of foreign service of the SR. The objective of these materials is the perspective of the net of foreign offices of the SR abroad, rationalization of activities of the sector and the increase of the share of professional activities. It should be followed by a reduction of administrative and routine work.

In the development of reciprocal relationships between the Slovak Republic and its partners an important place had the bilateral relations of the countries of Western and Southern Europe and the Northern America.

The relationships to the *United States of America* as the dominant subject of the present system of international relationships in the world are for the Slovak foreign policy dominant in number of aspects. In the context of reinforcement and development of transatlantic structures, in the last year Slovakia continued in building of confidence and credibility in opinion-building institutions and administration of the USA with the aim to create a good position for the invitation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization during its summit in the year 2002. Not only the meetings of the supreme representatives of both countries were targeted to this aim, but mainly a permanent expert dialogue with a special emphasis on co-operation in the area of security and defense and the Slovak Republic was represented in these dialogues by the Ministry of defense, as well as by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The SR is intended on its own tenacious presentation in political area, as well as in economical and cultural spheres. The SR will intend to organize meetings with the supreme representatives of the USA and new administration in order to follow up the achieved level of relationships and to improve them. Importance of the Atlantic links is underlined by the interest of the Slovak Republic in universal development of the relationships with *Canada*. Within the frames of reciprocal contacts in the last two years there were visits realized of the chairman of the Lower House of the Canadian Parliament and in this year the chairman of the Slovak National Council should visit Canada. In the political area it will be necessary to continue the preparation of the meeting of supreme representatives and in economic area in intensification of economic contacts. In the year 2000 there was a progress achieved in the co-operation with individual departments. This contact has been stimulated by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). In the context of future perspectives, the SR will welcome the postponed visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Slovakia.

Slovakia considers the *Republic of France* as one of the key European partners. The potential of the co-operation with France is henceforth not completely exerted. It is determined. To intensification not only by its leading role which the French Republic plays in European integration processes, but also by the tradition of the whole range of the reciprocal relationships – from political and economic to co-operation to culture, education and direct contacts of individual regions. From the point of view of the

future enlargement of the EU, Slovakia positively evaluates the activities of the French EU presidency in the year 2000, as well as the results of the summit in Nice. France is the 7th strongest investor in Slovakia as to the direct investments.

The Slovak Republic believes in the multiplicity effect of the co-operation with France and important francophone countries such as Canada, Belgium and Luxembourg as well as number of countries of the Asian and African continent. It should be supported by achieving the status of an observer in the International Organization of Francophony. This should be achieved in autumn 2001.

In the relationships with the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, the Slovak Republic feels a strong support of its integration priorities. The level of the political dialogue is high and it is very constructive and open. The SR was in the last year for the first time visited by the Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, and protocolarily the most important visit was the one of the Prince Charles to Slovakia. A graduation of the wide spectrum dialogue was confirmed by the visit of the delegation of the state secretaries of the United Kingdom to the SR in November led by Keith Vaz. One of the important aims of the SR in this year in the relations to the United Kingdom is to make use of each possibility to organize a full-fledged meeting of the Prime Minister of the SR with his British partner, and to follow up their first personal meeting in Warsaw (October 2000).

Current active development of the co-operation of the SR with individual federal countries was in the last year transferred to the contacts with the *Federal Republic of Germany* as a whole. Reciprocal Slovak-German relationships gained a new dynamics. The historically first visit of the federal chancellor G. Schroeder to the SR, as well as meetings of the Presidents R. Schuster and J. Rau in Berlin and the visit of the German Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Fischer to the SR took place. On various occasions there were three visits realized of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda to Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany has kept its position of the most important trade partner of the Slovak Republic and the biggest foreign investor in the SR. A lot of statements of German politicians have indicated at the same time, that the SR belongs to the most perspective candidates for the accession to the EU and NATO. In the year 2000 a significant shift in some open questions of mutual relationships was noticed, such as e.g. in the question of the compensation of the Nazi victims and in the problem of compensation of the SR for losing of the foreign office building. A lasting open question of mutual relationships is the problem of completing the revision of the contract base.

The most important event in the relation to the *Republic of Ireland* up to this time was the official visit of the Deputy Prime-Minister (June). She brought a trade and investment mission of 22 entrepreneur entities and it was preceded by a visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs (April). Both parts confirmed their interests in increase and intensification of their relationships. The SR is prepared to continue building of balanced relationships with the Republic of Ireland.

A significant partner country in all areas of co-operation for the SR is the *Italian Republic*. Traditionally intense are the contacts in regional co-operation. Even if in

the area of the political relationships it can be stated, that these contacts belong to the most frequent ones, the SR will welcome intensification of the dialogue on the level of parliaments. Slovakia is prepared to welcome the visit of the President of the Italian Republic, as well as representatives of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the Italian Parliament. The Prime Minister of the SR was in the last year awarded by a prestigious international award of the Foundation of Vitorin Colombo located in Milan. Concerning the volume of foreign trade with the SR Italy is on the third place.

In the last year the SR and the *Holy See* signed and ratified the so-called Basic Treaty, which will solve the position of the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the relationships of the state to the Church. In this way they confirmed the high level of their relationships. Fully realizing the busyness of the Holy Father and the difficulties in planning his foreign visits, the SR claims its deep interest in his visit to the SR in case the Holy See will consider the possibilities of its realization.

The SR is noticing a significant dynamism in the development of relationships with *Malta*. It is not caused only by the European integration context of effort of both partners, which is connected to the soonest achievement of the EU membership, but also to discovering of the potential and possibilities of mutual co-operation. The SR believes, that the coming official visit of the President of Malta to Slovakia will be an important impulse for the specifying a number of areas for co-operation.

The relationships with the *Benelux* countries have for the SR a specific dimension of co-operation of small countries, which support each other and they continue in developing of a diapason of mutually advantageous bilateral relationships from the point of view of coexistence in the enlarged EU. A common denominator of relationships with the *Kingdom of Belgium*, the *Kingdom of Netherlands* and the *Duchy of Luxembourg* is an open, objective and constructive dialogue. The SR appreciates the support getting from its partners in the effort to achieve a membership in the EU and NATO. In the last year a number of visits from these countries came to Slovakia, e.g. the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Wim Kok, the chairman of the Senate of the Kingdom of Belgium Armand de Decker and in February the Prime Minister of the SR visited Luxembourg at the invitation of its Prime Minister Jean-Claud Juncker.

The Government of the SR works in the foreign policy on development of the relationships with the countries of the south part of the EU and NATO. From this point of view it accesses the development and intensification of the relationships with the Kingdom of Spain and the Portuguese Republic. The visits and meetings of the representatives of these countries with the representatives of the SR have a progressing trend. With Spain the relationships are developed not only in the political area but also in the area of economic and cultural co-operation. The SR appreciates the way of the leading the EU by Portugal as the presidency country in the first half of the last year.

The priority tasks of the foreign policy of the SR in the last year included *the development of the relationships with the neighboring countries*.

The relationships of the *Slovak-Czech* relations are of a high standard. The co-operation and communication of both countries on the integration process into the EU, as well

as support of Slovak ambitions of membership in NATO were the constants in the Slovak-Czech relationships during the last year. A suitable political atmosphere created a possibility to finalize a very sensitive issue, distribution of the property of the former Federation. The prime ministers of both countries agreed, that in the year 2001 a special attention would be paid to development of the mutual trade and the maximum utilisation offered by the possibilities of customs union, to the issue of borders operation efficiency and eliminating problems of the low “comfort” in passenger traffic and freight service.

To the standard characteristics of the mutual relationships between the SR and the *Republic of Poland* belonged in the last year partnership, reliability and solidarity. A real and diplomatic help provided Poland at admission of the SR into OECD. The Republic of Poland supports the open door policy of NATO and an early membership of the SR in the Alliance. Both countries co-operate and mutually support their EU integration ambitions. The bilateral co-operation in all areas was intensive on the level of presidents, parliaments, as well as on the level of the governments. The positive trend of development of the mutual trade exchange continued. This exchange exceeded 1 billion USD in the last year.

The positive development of the *Hungarian-Slovak* relationships continued in the year 2000. The quality of mutual contacts exceeded any previous level. The process of improvement was supported by depolitization of some bilateral issues (Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros). In the development of the mutual relationships are used the possibilities offered by the Basic Treaty. Hungary presented new quality of life of the neighbouring countries by expressing its support to the SR during the process of enlargement into to European and Euro-Atlantic integration structures and by development of intensive political contacts. The main event of the Slovak-Hungarian relationships in the discussed period of time was the official visit of the President of the SR R. Schuster to Hungary. A number of meetings of the Prime Ministers and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs took place, as well as negotiations of the members of both governments.

In the frames of the positive development of the relationships with the neighbors of the region of the SR a special attention was paid to the intensification of the co-operation in the frames of the *Visegrad group*, which has made its international positions stronger and became a foreign policy concept that is generally accepted. The co-operation in the frames of the Visegrad group plays an important role also for a good preparation of its members for the integration into the EU and for the stability in the region. Also thanks to the support of the CR, HR and PR Slovakia can decrease its lagging in the integration process into the EU and NATO. Establishing of the International Visegrad Fund with a secretariat in Bratislava as one of the institutional forms of the Visegrad cooperation became a manifestation of looking for new and effective forms of cooperation in the area of science, education and culture. The V-4 countries decided in the year 2001 to raise their basic contributions for the activities of the Fund.

Austria has a long-lasting second place concerning the amount of investments in the SR and an undisputed prominent position in the Slovak foreign trade balance. Following up this fact, in the year 2000 a positive shift in the area of political co-operation was noticed. The policy of the SR towards Austria is based on reliability to traditional and solid basis of democracy in Austria. Official contacts on all levels were realized, including presidents, prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs. Austria is a very effective partner for the SR from the point of view of preparation for the accession into the EU. The effort of the Austrian government to build a “strategic partnership” with the countries of the North-Eastern Europe is finding attentive listeners in Slovakia. A positive role was played by an open and highly professional approach of the SR to the discussion on the problem of nuclear energy. For the Austrian population this is a very sensitive subject.

The level of bilateral contacts between the SR and the *Confederation of Switzerland* (CoS) registered at the end of the year 1999 and in 2000 an unusual dynamism and very good level. In the year 2000 a number of visits on the top level were realized, including negotiations of the Presidents R. Schuster and A. Ogi in Davos, two visits of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan to CoS, as well as a visit from the Swiss Federal Parliament to the SR.

In the mutual relations among the SR and the countries of *Scandinavia* in the last year a positive shift in the co-operation in the political area was registered. A number of contact activities were realized on the governmental level. It is expected, that the revival of the political dialogue will reflect also in the trade-economic and investment area. The SR appreciated the fact, that a great number of the northern countries understood the problems connected with the migration of Roma (not political reasons, but almost economical and normally speculative). In the period of preparation for taking over the EU Presidency by the *Kingdom of Sweden*, the Swedish Prime-Minister and the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs visited Slovakia.

The revival of mutual relationships between the SR and the *Baltic countries* also took place. The development of the mutual co-operation is supported by identical, close priorities of the foreign policy of the SR and the Baltic countries. The goal of this policy is seen in the integration into the EU and NATO. The transformation processes of these countries are similar as well. Besides visits on the governmental and working level, our interest in co-operation with Baltic countries was confirmed by establishing an Embassy in Riga also with reference for Lithuania and Estonia.

Democratization in the region of *South-East and East Europe* is very important for the international relationships, especially from geopolitical, economic and security point of view. The SR enlarges economic and political structures with the countries of this region and it has an interest to achieve a new better quality of mutual relationships. As the area of the South-East and East Europe will claim abilities of the EU to solve crisis and precede conflicts, involvement of the SR in the process of development of mutual relationships and the renovation of the region (west Balkan) can significantly contribute to planning of its integration ambitions. A priority of the foreign policy of

the SR remains in making use of special relationships of the SR with the countries of the region generally significant for one common feature – they are not laden by a negative experience in the past.

From the point of view of enforcement of our integration interests, our relationships to the *Hellenic Republic* as the EU and NATO member country are of a special significance. An important fact in the last year was, that the Greek government confirmed during all bilateral and multilateral meetings its clear support to our integration efforts into European and Trans-Atlantic structures. In the year 2000 the development of intensive political dialogue with the *Turkish Republic* continued. The Turkish part supported the SR in its integration process into OECD and at all bilateral meetings declared the support to its integration into NATO. Not less important goal of bilateral activities with both countries was the assistance to the development of mutual relationships, especially to the economic co-operation.

The development of intensive relationships with the *Republic of Bulgaria* and *Romania* was significant too in the last year, especially from the point of view of common foreign affairs orientation of the countries and mutual support to the integration into the EU and NATO.

Together with the political dialogue, the relationships are of broad economic range. In this link, there is a very positive assessment of the intensive negotiations of entrepreneurial entities (EE). The goal was a stronger enforcement of Slovak investment to Bulgaria in the frames of the EE projects for the south-eastern Europe. The relationships with the *Republic of Cyprus* were friendly, without open issues. The Slovak Embassy in Nikozia has a tradition of an active and discreet participation in the difficult inter-Cyprian political dialogue.

The region of the *Western Balkan* became for the Slovak foreign policy the first serious test of its involvement in direction of a vital importance. The policy of the SR towards the West-Balkan region is determined by main strategic goals of the foreign policy. It was presented already in the attitudes of the Slovak government during the crisis in Kosovo and it is presented also in its attitude to common policy of the EU towards South-Eastern Europe and other countries of this region. In the foreign policy of the SR towards other countries of the West Balkan more than in other cases the complexity and sense for coordination of a very broad spectrum of activities, which includes political, security, military, economic, cultural and other relationships are present. A new dimension gained the activities of the non-governmental sector. The overlap of the activities with the foreign affair goals and activities of the government of the SR became relatively clear and efficient.

The current balance of the bilateral cooperation with *Slovenia* is very good and the Slovak-Slovenian relationships have achieved a necessary dynamics. Both countries are undergoing a difficult process of economic transformation and consolidation of democratic political system. The mentioned facts, as well as the same foreign affairs priorities, aimed on integration into European and Euro-Atlantic political, security and economic structures, have built also for the future a broad platform for leading a quality and constructive dialogue in all issues of common interest.

Providing for contact activities with *Croatia* was an important contribution to the fulfillment of the foreign policy tasks of the SR in the year 2000. Basic philosophy during their preparation was, that Croatia is an important stability factor in the region, which has an interest in integration into European and Trans-Atlantic economic, political and security structures. The negotiations on agreement on stabilization and accession to the EU presents in this direction a significant issue.

In the foreign affairs activity of the SR in *Bosnia and Herzegovina* the questions of stability of the internal situation and the development of the relationships targeted especially to economic area were taken into consideration.

The relationships with *Macedonia* were focused on building a standard contract base, especially in the economic and trade area, further development of the political dialogue and realization of the contact activities. The starting point for the intensification of the development of the political dialogue was the fact, that Macedonia is an important stability element in the region and its traditional links with Serbia can enforce this moment. Macedonia started the negotiations with the EU by agreements on stabilization and accession.

In the relationship to *Albania* conventional bilateral contact activities took place, the subjects of enlargement of the contract base were elaborated, especially in the area of economy and trade. The attention was paid to conceptual goals of the EU in the relationship to Albania and its place in the region.

A special meaning had the relationships with the *Federative Republic of Yugoslavia*. These can be divided into two phases: the election of the federal president, parliament and local self-governments in Serbia and political elimination of the S. Milošević represented a milestone. Till September 2000 the international isolation of the Yugoslavia lasted and strict sanction regime influenced the development of the relationships in the political and economic areas. From the beginning of October, after starting the process of democratization, the mutual relationships turned to be more intensive. Till September the Slovak representatives visited only the compatriot environment of Vojvodina. On the other hand, the SR was visited only by pro-democratic representatives of the non-governmental sector, self-government and professionals. The SR became the location of the 5th conference of the so called Bratislava process (7th – 8th July), which has helped to consolidate the “third sector” in Yugoslavia as an engine of democratization changes. After the changes in October, the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan visited for the first time Yugoslavia in the responsibility of an special envoy of the UN Secretary General for the Balkans and the Minister of Economy L. Harach led an economic-trade delegation. The visit of V. Koštunica to the SR (26th February 2001) should be followed by a regular sequence of political contacts on other levels.

Ukraine has special place in realization of our integration ambitions. The relationships with Ukraine can be generally characterized as good, historically unloaded and without significant political or other problems. The main task of the foreign policy of the SR in the year 2000 was the support to Ukraine in the process of integration

into European and regional structures, especially CEFTA, activation of the political dialogue and mutually useful economic co-operation aiming at a goal to solve the negative tendency of the decreasing mutual trade. The contract modification of the bilateral relationships with Ukraine belongs to the richest ones. In the year 2000 the candidacy of the SR for membership in the EU was reflected in the further approach of the visa policy of the SR to this organization according to the EU Council Decree No. 574/99 on determination of the third countries, whose citizens are supposed to have a visa when crossing the outer borderlines of the member states. Starting 28th June 2000 visa regime was introduced towards Ukraine. This step on the Slovak side was negatively received by the Ukrainian part and it caused a reduction of the bilateral contacts of top representatives, as well as threat of single sided cancellation of readmission agreement. At the present time the process, by which comes into force the agreement on liberalization of the visa regime for chosen categories of citizens, is in its concluding phase. The change in this tendency came into existence after the meeting of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda with the President of Ukraine L. Kučma during the UN Millenium summit UN in New York. The mentioned positive trend was confirmed also during the historically first official visit of the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine in the SR V. Juščenko in December 2000.

In the relationship to the *Republic of BelaRus* the contacts were limited to meetings during multilateral activities. The priority of bilateral relationships from the point of view of the SR there was the enlargement of the trade-economic relationships, settling the Belorussian debts towards the SR and the area of legal rights.

The development of the relationships with the *Russian Federation* confirmed the started tendency of their formation into a transparent and standard level, without questioning moments. No controversial activities were discovered, which would more significantly interfere into mutual relationships. The SR realizes the importance of the partner which Slovakia has in the Russian Federation. In this sense the SR committed itself to develop with Russia correct, transparent and balanced relationships. The basic line of the Slovak-Russian relationships is starting step by step getting to a stable frame. The Russian Federation is for Slovakia one of the most important economic partners, the economic part of the Russian-Slovak relationships represents a key area, especially the raw materials link between SR and RF and this issue should be concerned in a pragmatic way. Russia keeps a position of a monopoly supplier for strategic raw materials for the Slovak economy. A specific agenda is the question of the debt of the Russian Federation (for the former Soviet Union) towards the SR, which when taking into consideration the conditions of the SR is very big. (by 1st January 2000 it was 1.183 billion USD, by 31st October 2000 within the frames of deblokade the debts were re-counted to 14.7 mil. USD)

In the year 2000 a partial shift in the relationships between the SR and the countries of the South Caucasus (*Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia*) took place, between January and February 2000 these countries were officially visited by the Minister for Foreign

Affairs of the SR E. Kukan together with the Minister of Economy of the SR L. Harach. In all three countries there signed intergovernmental agreements on trade-economic, scientific and technological cooperation, as well as protocols on cooperation between the ministries of foreign affairs. As a whole, despite the mentioned visit, the level of the contacts and co-operation cannot be considered as a satisfactory one.

The year 2000, likewise the previous period, left the relations of the SR with *the countries of the Central Asia* an uncompleted potential. SR has a direct diplomatic representation in Uzbekistan.

A successful procedure of the Slovak foreign policy in the process of integration into European and Trans-Atlantic political, economic and security structures has a positive influence also on the development of the bilateral relationships of the SR with *the countries of Asia, the Near East and the Latin America*. (130 countries, 26 effective Embassies and Consulates of the SR). This group of countries is considering the dialogue with the EU a very important one and therefore it positively evaluates the integration ambitions of the SR into the EU. The enlarged dialogue of the EU with individual countries and regions helps in this way to improve the quality of political and economic co-operation of the SR with mentioned countries. The stabilization of the foreign policy was manifested positively as well as gradual improvement of the external image of the SR.

Coordination of the foreign policy of the SR with the countries of the EU is an important part of the integration process . A significant part of this process is active joining and support to standpoints of the EU to the regional issues in the world. A relevant attention is paid to the consular area and to the legal-contractual issue, as well as to the gradual accession of the visa practice to the EU standards. The increase of the illegal migration from developing countries to Europe asks for a better preciousness when issuing visas, especially in the countries with a special visa regime.

The priorities of the Slovak foreign policy in the mentioned spheres have to start at diversified approach to individual countries based on their geopolitical importance and position in the international relationships – e.g. the membership in OECD (Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico) and in the UN Security Council. (China and possibly Japan).

In spite of the limiting factor of geographical distance, the main importance of the mentioned regions for the SR is in the fact, that they represent for the Slovak economy, according to economic level, broad and relatively absorbing markets (especially India, China, Thailand, Indonesia), or sources of investments and lucrative credits. A proof of this is a positive trade balance with majority of these countries. An important factor in the economic dimension of the co-operation are also the perspectives of further entering of investments of the developed countries of the region to the economy of the SR, including the connection to on-going privatization process in the SR (Japan, Korea, Thailand, Australia, India).

From the quantitative point of view, the states of Asia, the Near East, Africa and Latin America play an important role in the international organizations and integration regional configurations. This fact has to be necessarily used from the

point of view of the Slovak candidacy into the UN Security Council for the years 2005-2006.

The admission of the SR into OECD increased the credibility of the Slovakia towards the partners in the mentioned spheres. Together with the philosophy of reinforcement of the global co-operation and raise of the importance of the international political and economic relationships it causes an increasing seriousness of the foreign offices activity when enforcing the goals and interests of the SR abroad. A positive step is gradual nomination of the ambassadors in a number of Embassies and quite often these are the first ambassadors since 1993 in the given country.

The bilateral co-operation in culture, education, science and health care

The development of the bilateral contacts in culture, education, science and health care and presentation of the Slovak culture are important elements of enforcement of the foreign policy interests of the SR. In the year 2000 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR focussed in this area on fulfillment of the tasks especially in the relation to the neighboring countries, EU countries and other important partners.

For the smooth integration of the Slovak Republic into the European and Trans Atlantic structures besides the opinions and evaluations of the governments of the member countries also the attitudes of their parliaments/MPs are very important. The attitudes of the legislation bodies, which will participate in the integration of Slovakia, are by large influenced by the public opinion – in other words, it will depend also on the population of the EU and NATO member countries, whether and when Slovakia will be integrated into the EU and NATO. Keeping this fact in mind, the Slovak diplomacy paid an essential attention (within the budgetary and sponsor possibilities) also to the presentation of the Slovak Republic in the countries, with which we want to have closer links.

An important role had the coordination of the process of preparation of the legal contractual base for the development of the contacts in culture, education, sport, science and health care in collaboration with the head departments of the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health of the SR.

In the year 2000 the SR signed international agreements on cultural co-operation with the Polish Republic, Spain, Czech Republic, an agreement on scientific and technological co-operation with the USA, an agreement on co-operation in health care with the Czech Republic. Cultural agreements with Mexico and the Republic of Korea and the program of co-operation with Italy, Cyprus, India and Egypt are prepared to be signed.

In November 2000 the agreement between the governments of the SR and Japan was signed, based on which Japan offered to the State Theatre Košice a grant of 42 900 000 jens to purchase musical instruments.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR presented itself via Embassies by own touring exhibitions organised on the occasion of anniversaries of important personalities

and historical events. Especially the exhibition “M. R. Štefánik, an astronomer, soldier, politician (1880-1919)”, which after its opening in Paris last year was reopened in Rome, Prague, Warsaw, Berlin, London and Bern. On the day of the 120th anniversary of birth of M. R. Štefánik (27.7.2000) it was opened also in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR. The exhibition “Slovakia – Velvet Revolution 1989” was presented in Prague, Berlin, Warsaw, Dublin and Bern via Embassies.

Other important events, organised with active participation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or by the foreign offices were the following ones: an exhibition on an important Slovak diplomat Š. Osuský, a representative exhibition “Treasures of the folk arts of Slovakia” installed in Paris and Rome, an exhibition of modern graphics, installed in Cairo and Alexandria, and an exhibition “Bratislava – a coronation city”, installed on the occasion of the opening of an Embassy in Riga.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs co-operated with the Ministry of Education of the SR in the admission of the foreign students at the universities in the SR and in proposals of awarding state scholarships. During the academic year 2000/2001 the Slovak government awarded 77 scholarships to regular HEI and doctorate studies for developing countries and 96 scholarships for compatriot students. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepares every year a schedule of scholarships, it supplies the notification and it participates in the process of granting within the Commission of the Ministry of Education. The co-operation is operational also in granting scholarships and co-operation with the foreign educational institutions based on the co-operation programs. From the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR the institutions of the Ministry of Education processed for the first time the database of the foreign graduates of the universities in the SR and it was given at disposal to the foreign offices of the SR abroad with the aim to start a closer co-operation with these graduates.

The Slovak institutes

In accordance with the concept adopted by the management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in March 1999 building of the Slovak institutes network (SI) abroad continued during the last year. The Council of SI continued its activity and from its negotiations arose some concrete topics for activities of the SI abroad.

Building a positive image of Slovakia was one of the main tasks of the Slovak institutes abroad. In the year 2000 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs focussed further steps to intensification of our activity in EU and NATO member countries. The aim was to participate in preparation of positive conditions for integration of Slovakia to these structures.

Since February 2000 the activity of the SI in Berlin has been renewed. In April 2000 the SI in Rome started its activity, which by large participated in realization of the events within the year of Christian Culture. In November the Minister of Foreign Affairs ratified the temporal status of the SI in Paris, which started operations in

January 2001. According to the present priorities and possibilities of the sector the activity of the SI in Bucharest and in Sofia decreased. The number of the SI abroad increased totally to 8 (Prague, Budapest, Warsaw, Moscow, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Paris). Although the situation of our SI net is not satisfactory, (new SI are just building their positions and they are still missing e.g. in London, Brussels and Washington), the year 2000 presented in the conditions of financially limited sources an important step forward.

During the year we managed to focus the activity of the SI on a broader sphere as only on typical cultural activities. The economic dimension of their activity in the area of presentation of Slovak regions aimed at tourism was reinforced, as well as the direct presentation of the Slovak entrepreneurial entities. The factor, which limited the activities of the SIs abroad was their insufficient personnel and financial equipment. Co-operation of Slovak Institutes in the EU and NATO member countries with similar institutions of the V-4 countries demonstrates to the population in these countries, that Visegrad is not only an artificial configuration, but also a vital and natural practice (examples: a joint concert in December 2000 in Charlottenburg, Berlin, prepared joint cultural event of V-4 in Rome)

The Slovak Institutes create a proper base for a dialogue concerning sensitive issues and that way they can contribute to the solution and prevention. (examples: meetings and discussions of historians and linguists at the SI Budapest).

Compatriot issue

In the year 2000 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs following the resolution of the Government of the SR No.1146 issued in December 1999 provided by 30th June 2000 delimitation of a greater part of the compatriot issue, including specific resources. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR participated in commenting the proposal of the amendment to the Act No. 70/1997 on foreign Slovaks. It should regulate the relationships of the SR with the compatriots. It participated also in commenting on the proposal of the concept and principles of co-operation of the SR with the compatriots, which the Ministry of Culture of the SR presented to the meeting of the Government. The representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR took part in a conference “SR and Foreign Slovaks” in July 2000. In this conference also representatives of compatriot associations participated. In January 2000 based on the suggestion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Slovak Republic insitu artist from the Yugoslav province Zuzana Chalupová was awarded a state honor the Order of White Double Cross of the Second Class. At the same time the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Kukan on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of establishing the Association of Slovaks in Australia appreciated the activities of this compatriot association and awarded it the Golden plaque of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR. Golden and silver plaquettes were awarded also to the merited activists from the number of American compatriots.

The efficient system of presentation of Slovakia abroad

In the year 2000 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared an information on development, situation and possibilities of creation of an effective system of presentation of Slovakia abroad. The material was in written form offered to all members of the Slovak government with a request for comments and statements. The most specific need of Slovakia in this area is the homogeneous process during the presentation of the country. Slovakia should be presented as a respectable and reliable partner for the membership in Euro-Atlantic structures.

The Main Activities of the Slovak Republic in Foreign Policy

January 13. The Deputy UN Secretary General, the Director General of the United Nations Office in Vienna (UNOV), the Executive Director of the Office for Drug and Criminality Prevention (ODCCP) and the Executive Director of the United Nations Drug Control Program (UNDCP) P. Arlacchi realized on his own initiative a working visit to the Slovak Republic. The goal of his visit was the issue of establishing a Regional Office of the UNDCP in Bratislava. The office should cover the V-4 countries and later the rest of the Central European Initiative countries.

January 13 – 14. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the first official visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Macedonian Republic A. Dimitrov to Slovakia was realized. The Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Dimitrov was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster and the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda. He had a meeting with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic P. Hrušovský and the Minister of Economy of the Slovak Republic L. Harach. During the negotiations both parts confirmed their interest in dynamism of their up to this time not sufficiently intensive relations.

January 14 – 15. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, P. Chevalier, the State Secretary for Foreign Trade and the European Integration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Belgian Kingdom, a member of the Belgian government realized a working visit to the SR. P. Chevalier was received by the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda, he negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration P. Hamžík, the Minister of Economy L. Harach, the State Secretary for Foreign Trade and Travel Industry of the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic P. Brňo, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR Committee for European Integration F. Šebej, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR Committee for Economy, Privatisation and

Entrepreneurship P. Prokopovič and the Chairman of SCCI P. Mihók. The goal of his visit was to continue the negotiations of the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda during his visit to the Belgian Kingdom (29 – 30 November), as well as in development of bilateral co-operation of Slovakia and Belgium.

January 18. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation J. Deiss, the first official working visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan to the Swiss Confederation took place. E. Kukan was received by the President of Switzerland A. Ogi and negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Deiss. They negotiated e.g. over opening of an Embassy of the Swiss Confederation in Bratislava, bilateral relations in political and economic area and exchanged opinions on various multilateral topics.

January 19. At the invitation of the German-Czech-Slovak Society, the German-Hungarian Society and the German-Polish Society, the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster departed for a one-day working visit to Germany. In Berlin he was met by the German President J. Rau.

January 20. The President of the European Commission R. Prodi and the Commissioner of the EU for Enlargement G. Verheugen officially visited the Slovak Republic. During their visit the Chairman of the EC R. Prodi negotiated with the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda. In the National Council of the Slovak Republic he was met by the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and presented a speech in the plenum of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. The Commissioner of the EU for Enlargement G. Verheugen met separately the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan. The aim of his visit was to make the representatives of EC acquainted with the development of Slovakia during the last year and to evaluate the continuation of preparation of the SR for joining the EU.

January 23 – 24. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR the first official visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Albanian Republic P. Milo to Slovakia was realized. The Minister for Foreign Affairs P. Milo met the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR M. Andel and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR P. Brño. During the visit the Protocol on Co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Albanian Republic was signed.

January 25 – 26. At the invitation of the Deputy-Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík a visit of the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic in charge of the EU affairs Ch. Rokofyllos was realized. Ch. Rokofyllos

was received by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš, the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík and he negotiated with the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR P. Hamžík. The Greek part declared their support of the SR in the process of integration into the EU, NATO and OECD.

January 25 – 26. At the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovenian Republic F. Juri there were consultations of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel realized in Ljubljana. In addition to the negotiations with F. Juri, J. Figel was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SloR B. Frlec, the Chairman of the Committee for European issues of the Lower Chamber of the Slovenian Parliament – the State Assembly (SA) – L. Peterle, the Chairman of Committee for International Relations of the SA of the SloR J. Kacin, the Deputy Director of the Department for European Issues at the Prime Minister's Office of the SloR R. Genori and the Director of the Department of International Law of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SloR A. Grasseli. During his stay in the SloR J. Figel met the Czech Ambassador in the SloR J. Hybášková and took part in an informal meeting with the Apostolic Nuncio Edmund Farhat. Both parties agreed on the necessity of intensification of the economic co-operation. It should be supported by the legal documents that are being developed (the Agreement on Prevention of Double Taxation).

January 26 – 27. Under the leadership of the Prime Minister of Sweden G. Persson there was the International Conference on Holocaust held in Stockholm. The President of the SR R. Schuster took part. During his two-days visit to Stockholm R. Schuster met the Swedish Prime Minister G. Persson, as well as the Dutch Prime Minister Wim Kok. He hold bilateral negotiations with the Argentinean President F. De La Rú and the Macedonian Prime Minister L. Georgievsky.

January 28 – 29. Davos in Switzerland became the setting for the meeting of the World Economic Forum. The President of the SR R. Schuster was a head of the Slovak delegation accompanied by the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš.

January 31 – February 4. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and the Minister of Economy L. Harach paid the first high level official visit to the countries of the south Caucasus. In each country the top representatives received the Slovak delegation. The goal of the visit was to enter into direct bilateral contacts on a high political level and the development of foreign political and economic relations in the region of the south Caucasus.

February 4. The visit of the US State Secretary M. Albright in November was followed by a working visit of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USA for political

issues T. R. Pickering. T. R. Pickering was received by the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík, he took part in a working dinner hosted by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel on the occasion of the visit. He took part in a round table with the main representatives of the Slovak NGOs and during the working dinner he negotiated with the representatives of political parties and with the members of the National Council of the SR. T. R. Pickering delivered a lecture “The Future of Europe and the Transatlantic Co-operation”, which was organized by the Slovak Foreign Policy Association and the Embassy of the USA in Bratislava.

February 7. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs J. Figel paid the working visit to the institutions of the EU in Brussels. In the context of open negotiations over integration of the SR into the EU he met the representatives of the European institutions and he held negotiations with the Ambassadors of the V-4 countries. At the General Secretariat of the EU Council he met the Director of the Directorate for Enlargement A. Kousmanen and his colleagues C. Katharios and D. Johnson. In the European Commission he negotiated with the Director of the Directorate General for Enlargement E. Landabur and with his colleague D. Meganck. In the working negotiations the Ambassador of the Czech Republic J. Kreuter, Ambassador of Hungary E. Juhász and the Deputy Ambassador of Poland M. Czyz took part.

February 7 – 10. The President of the SR, accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and the Minister of Soil Management P. Koncoš, paid an official visit to Israel and to the Palestinian Autonomous Territories. During his stay he met the President of Israel E. Weizman, the Prime Minister E. Barak, the Minister for Foreign Affairs D. Levy and the Chairman of the Palestinian Autonomy J. Arafat.

February 9. The State Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany Ch. Zöpel paid a working visit to the SR. He was received by the Chairman of the Committee for European Integration of the National Council of the SR F. Šebej and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR P. Weiss. The main part of negotiations was led in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR. The German State Minister was received by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel. Ch. Zöpel finished his visit by a meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for European Integration P. Hamžík.

February 10 – 11. The Deputy NATO Secretary General for Political Affairs Klaus-Peter Klaiber officially visited the SR. He negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel.

February 15. Following the decision of the Summit in Helsinki on the beginning of negotiations with the Slovak Republic an opening meeting of the Intergovernmental

Conference on accession into the EU was held, where the official positions of the Slovak Republic and the European Union were exchanged. This opened the negotiations of the Slovak Republic of joining the EU. The Slovak Republic was represented by a delegation led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan; the delegation of the EU was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the chairing country J. Gamma.

February 15. The President of the SR R. Schuster visited Rome, where he, within the frames of national pilgrimage of the President of the SR, representatives of churches and political parties took part in the audience to the Pope John Paul II.

February 15 – 16. The Director for European policy of NATO at the Office of the Ministry of Defence of the USA Joseph Garret paid a working visit to the SR. He negotiated with the Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic P. Kanis, the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, the Deputy Prime Minister for EU Integration P. Hamžík and was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster.

February 17 – 18. At the invitation of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic and the Chairman of the Legislative Council of the Czech Republic P. Rychetský the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for Legislation L. Fogaš paid a working visit to the Czech Republic. L. Fogaš delivered his lecture “The present inter-political situation in the SR with emphasis on innovation of law in the process of integration into the EU”. In the Slovak Institute, he met with the members of the legislative Council of the Czech government, with the Chairman of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic L. Benešová, he realized working negotiations with the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic P. Rychetský and the Minister of Justice O. Motejl. During his visit the Agreement between the Slovak and the Czech Governments on Co-operation in the Area of Legislation and on Harmonization of Legal Orders with the Law of the European Communities was technically initialled, which will create a possibility for Slovak and Czech specialists to co-operate on translations of legal texts of the EU.

February 18. The President of the SR R. Schuster took part in the ceremonial inauguration of the President of the Croatian Republic S. Mesič in Zagreb.

February 20 – 21. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Moldavian Republic N. Tabacaru to the Slovak Republic was realized. He was received by the Deputy Prime Minister L. Fogaš, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR P. Weiss.

February 21 – 24. Based on the invitation of his department colleague G. Chicoti, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo visited the

Republic of Angola (February 21 – 22). It was the first official visit of a high representative of the SR in this country. J. Chlebo negotiated with G. Chicoti, the Deputy Minister of Defence D. A. Chilingutil; he was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Mirando, the Minister in the Office of the President for Military Affairs M. Viera Dias and the President of Angola J. E. dos Santos. During his official visit in sub-Saharan Africa J. Chlebo visited the Republic of Zimbabwe (February 23 – 24).

February 28. The Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš visited Slovenia, where he met the Chairman of the Slovenian State Assembly J. Podobnik. The negotiations continued after the President of Slovenia M. Kučan received J. Migaš.

March 6. R. Cook, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the first time in a history visited officially the Slovak Republic. It was reciprocity to the official visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan to the United Kingdom in January 1999. R. Cook was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda and the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš, he negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan. The content of their negotiations were the issues of bilateral co-operation and the integration efforts of the SR into the EU, NATO and OECD.

March 6. At the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo a visit of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic M. Palouš to Bratislava was realized. Consultations on bilateral and multilateral co-operation between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic were the goal of his visit. M. Palouš was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and in the National Council of the SR he was received by the Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Culture and Media L. Ballek, J. Budaj, and the Chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Minorities L. Nagy.

March 6 – 7. The Head of the Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR M. Tancár visited Kuwait. The goals of his visit were inter-ministerial consultations and the preparation of technical conditions for opening a seasonal consulate office of the SR in Kuwait.

March 7 – 8. The President of the Slovak Republic Rudolf Schuster with his wife officially visited the Bulgarian Republic. The visit was realized on the basis of an invitation of the President of the Bulgarian Republic P. Stojanov. The President was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan. The President of the SR met with the President P. Stojanov, the Prime Minister I. Kostov, the Chairman of the National Assembly J. Sokolov and he delivered a speech in the National Assembly of the Bulgarian Parliament.

March 7 – 11. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel and the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík participated in an official visit to the USA. They negotiated with the advisor to the Vice-President of the USA for the National Security L. Fuerth, with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USA for Economy, Trade and Agriculture A. Larson, with the Deputy Chancellor of the Exchequer of the USA S. Eizenstat and with the Vice-President of the World Bank for Central Europe J. Linn. Informal negotiations of J. Figel with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs S. Talbott and with the representative of the personal counselor to the President of the USA for Kosovo and the Dayton Agreement J. Pardew were a part of the programme.

March 10. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR Eduard Kukan paid a working visit to Geneva, where he met the high UN representatives and visited the European Organization for Nuclear Research. E. Kukan negotiated with the Director of the UN Office in Geneva V. Petrovský.

March 12. The Presidents of Germany, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Lithuania, J. Rau, A. Kwaśniewsky, R. Schuster, A. Gonz and V. Adamkus met on the occasion of celebration of the Millennium 2000 in Hneздо.

March 12 – 16. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel visited the Australian Commonwealth. The goal of his visit was to make the Australian representatives and wider professional public acquainted with the foreign political priorities of the SR with emphasis on joining the EU. The visit was realized in connection with a grant of the EC to the Embassy of the SR in Canberra for carrying out a project of presentation the European integration called “The SR on its way to the EU”. Besides the negotiations with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia Ashton Calvert and other high representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade J. Figel was received by the Chairman of the Parliament of New South Wales J. Murray and he met the Chairman of the Australian-Slovak parliament group P. Slipper.

March 13 – 18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan officially visited Malaysia on 13th -14th March. During his visit E. Kukan led bilateral negotiations with the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia L. M. Toyada, who represented the Minister with all his competencies after his unexpected hospitalisation on the eve of the visit. He was also received by the Chairman of the Parliament and he met the Minister of Defence. From 15th -18th March E. Kukan visited Japan. It was the first visit after seven years on the level of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. E. Kukan negotiated with the prominent representatives of the state, parliament and government.

March 18 – 25. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo visited the People’s Republic of China and Mongolia. Negotiations in Hong

Kong were one part of the visit. J. Chlebo consulted with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs L. Guchang, he was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs Tang Jiaxuan. In Mongolia he negotiated with the Minister and the State Secretary of the Ministry of External Relationships and the Minister of Finance.

March 21 – 23. At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Hungary A. Gönz the President of the SR R. Schuster paid an official visit of the Republic. Besides the negotiations of the Presidents there were meetings with the Chairman of the Hungarian Parliament J. Áder, the Prime Minister V. Orbán, the Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Martonyi and the Mayor of Budapest G. Demszky.

March 20 – April 28. In Geneva the 56th meeting of the UN Commission for Human Rights took place. The Slovak Republic was represented by the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Human Rights and Minorities and Regional Development P. Csáky. The Commission reviewed the situation in respecting the human rights.

March 23 – 24. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland B. Geremek visited the Slovak Republic. He was received also by the President of the SR and the Prime Minister of the SR. He met with the representatives of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Committee for European Integration of the NC SR.

March 27. Following the upcoming first round of negotiations on the SR joining the EU a working visit of the first Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and the Chief Negotiator for accession of the Czech Republic into the EU P. Telička to Bratislava was realized within the frames of the Accession Conference on the level of deputies. The focus was on bilateral consultations with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and with the Chief Negotiator for the accession into the EU J. Figel. During the visit P. Telička met the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, in the National Council of the Slovak Republic he went through negotiations with the chairmen of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Committee for European Integration Peter Weiss and F. Šebej.

March 28. Following the decision of the summit in Helsinki on beginning of negotiations with the Slovak Republic the meeting of the Inter-Governmental Conference on accession of the Slovak Republic into the EU was realized on the level of the Minister Deputies in Brussels. The Slovak delegation was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel with the following members: the Ambassador of the Mission of the SR at the EC J. Migaš, the Director General of the Section for European Integration J. Kuderjavý, the Director of the Department of the Chief Negotiator P. Javorčík and the representatives of the Mission of the SR to the EC in Brussels. The Delegation of the EU was led by the

Portuguese Ambassador V. T. Valente and the European Commission was represented by the Director General of the Directorate General for Enlargement E. Landaburu.

March 30. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík visited the Czech Republic. He negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic J. Kavan, with the Chairman of the House of Representatives V. Klaus and the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic for the Legislation P. Rychetský. A joint participation of P. Hamžík with V. Klaus in the International European and Bank Forum 2000 was a part of the program.

March 31 – April 1. The meeting of the State Secretaries for European Integration of the V-4 countries P. Telička (CR), Zs. Németh (H), A. Anannicz (PR), J. Figel (SR) and the United Kingdom took place in London. The aim of the meeting was building new dimension of the relations between the United Kingdom and the V-4 countries.

April 1 – 4. At the invitation of the President of the SR R. Schuster an official visit of the President of Angola J. E. dos Santos to the Slovak Republic was realized. The President of Angola was accompanied by his wife and a numerous delegation. The negotiations of the Presidents were continued by a ceremonial lunch, after which J. E. dos Santos visited the Parliament and hold negotiations with the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic B. Bugár, especially about the possibilities of co-operation on the level of Embassies of both countries.

April 2 – 3. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel paid a working visit to Ireland. During the visit he was received by the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister for Entrepreneurship, Trade and Employment M. Harney and the Chairman of the Parliament Committee for the European Affairs B. Durkan.

April 2 – 5. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo and the State Secretary of the Ministry for Economy of the SR P. Brño visited the Republic of Italy. The goal of their visit was to present the Slovak Republic as a politically stable and economic developed partner. The negotiations took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade of the Republic of Italy in Rome.

April 3. The Minister of Finance of the SR B. Schmögnerová visited the seat of the EU in Brussels. She met the Member of the European Commission for Enlargement G. Verheugen and the Commissioner for Internal Trade, Financial Services, Customs and Taxes F. Bolkenstein. The goal of her working visit was to accelerate the preparation of negotiations on Slovakia joining the EU.

April 3 – 4. At the invitation of the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs P. Roman, the Slovak Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan arrived on an official visit in Romania.

He was received by the President E. Constantinescu, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Senate and the Chairman of the House of Commons.

April 5 – 7. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík visited Portugal. In Lisbon he negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Defence and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal over the process of the European integration and bilateral relations.

April 6. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chief Negotiator of the Slovak accession into the EU J. Figel visited Brussels. J. Figel met the Ambassador and the Head of the Permanent Representation of France at the EU P. Vimont, the Chairman of the European People's Party, the representative of the European Parliament H.-G Poettiring. At the invitation of the first Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the CR and the Chief Negotiator for Accession into the EU P. Telička a working dinner with the Chief Negotiators of the V-4 countries took place.

April 7. The first meeting of the North Atlantic Council with Slovakia took place in Brussels. The meeting evaluated results achieved during the first year of implementation of the Membership Action Plan (MAP). The meeting was led by the NATO Secretary General S. Balanzino. The Slovak delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and the Minister of Defence of the SR P. Kanis.

April 10 – 11. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Spain J. M. Aznar officially visited the Slovak Republic on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. The Prime Minister of the KS was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš. J. M. Aznar presented the support of Spain to Slovak integration ambitions for membership in the EU, NATO and OECD.

April 12 – 13. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland B. Cowen officially visited the SR at the invitation of the Slovak Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan. B. Cowen was received also by the President of the SR R. Schuster.

April 12 – 14. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Legislation L. Fogaš paid a working visit to the Republic of Poland based on the invitation of the Polish Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labour L. Komolowsky. This visit was focused on negotiations with the members of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland on development and harmonization of the legal order of the Republic of Poland, as well as on developing legislation, the method of approximation of the legal orders, structure of the legislative bodies, and some aspects of economic co-operation of both countries.

April 14. Based on the invitation of the United Nations Office in Vienna (UNOV), the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda paid a working visit and within it he took part in the 10th UN Congress for Crime Prevention and Dealing with Delinquents. Within the frames of the so-called high-level segment, the Minister for Interior of the SR L. Pittner and the Minister of Justice of the SR J. Čarnogurský also took part in the Congress.

April 14. The President of the SR R. Schuster visited the Republic of France. The President of the SR negotiated with the President of France J. Chirac, who expressed his support for integration of the SR into the EU, OECD, and NATO.

April 16 – 17. Based on invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia T. Picula a visit to Zagreb was paid by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. E. Kukan was received by the President of the Republic of Croatia S. Mesić, the Prime Minister I. Račan and the Chairman of the House of Commons of Croatian Parliament Z. Tomčić.

April 16 – 17. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík negotiated in Brussels with the Commissioner of the EC for Enlargement of the EU G. Verheugen and with the Director General of the Directorate General for External Economic Relations C. Stekelenburg over the situation in completing the conditions for the integration of the SR into the EU, over questions of regional development and European integration.

April 18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan briefly visited Kosovo. From his post of the special envoy of the UN Secretary General for the Balkans he negotiated with the head of the UN Mission in Kosovo B. Kouchner.

April 19 – 20. The Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia M. Laar, accompanied by his wife, visited the Slovak Republic based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. Besides the negotiations of the Prime Ministers and their delegations, the Estonian Prime Minister was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster and the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš. M. Laar met also the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík. All negotiations were focused especially on experiences and co-operation of both countries in the process of integration into the European Union and preparations for the accession into the North Atlantic Treaty.

April 25 – 28. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan paid a working visit to the USA. In Washington he negotiated with the US State Secretary M. Albright, with the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USA for Political Issues T. Pickering, with the Chairman of the Subcommittee of the Senate of the USA for European Affairs G. Smith and with the member of the Foreign Affairs Committee

of the Senate of the USA Ch. Hagel. The most important points of their negotiations concerned the issues of integration of the SR into the EU, NATO, OECD, the internal stability and economic reforms of the SR.

April 28. At the invitation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland J. Buzek a meeting of the Prime Ministers of the V-4 countries and Germany in Hnezdó was held in the PR. The Slovak delegation was led by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. The meeting included a discussion of the Prime Ministers on the process of enlargement of the EU.

April 28 – 29. The President of the SR R. Schuster took part in the meeting of presidents of the Central European Region in Székesfehérvár in Hungary. The representatives of Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Germany, Poland, Austria, Romania, Slovenia, Italy, Ukraine and Slovakia took part in the meeting.

April 28. The Representative of the federal government of the Republic of Austria for Enlargement of the EU E. Busek realized a visit to Slovakia at the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel. The representative of Austria negotiated with the State Secretary J. Figel and was received also by the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR P. Hamžík. E. Busek expressed the support of Austria for accession of the SR into the EU on the nearest occasion.

May 2 – 6. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo visited the Kingdom of Thailand and the Kingdom of Cambodia, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the Socialistic Republic of Vietnam. The visit was focused on discussion of the present situation of the bilateral relations and to think over real possibilities of the co-operation with these countries.

May 3. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Slovak Republic was visited by the Prime Minister of the Independent State Bavaria E. Stoiber with the delegation of the high officials of the Bavarian State Chancellery. During their stay in Bratislava the Bavarian representatives were received by the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský, they negotiated with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and they met also the Mayor of the capital, Bratislava, J. Moravčík.

May 4. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary V. Orbán, the meeting of the Prime Ministers of the V-4 countries with the Prime Minister of the Republic of France L. Jospin took place in Budapest. The Czech Republic was represented by M. Zeman, Poland by J. Buzek and Slovakia by M. Dzurinda. The meeting confirmed the interest of the V-4 countries, as well as the interest of France

to continue the reciprocal relations, which can ease the accession of the V-4 countries into the EU.

May 8 – 9. Based on the invitation of the President of the Hellenic Republic C. Stephanopoulos the President of the SR R. Schuster with his wife visited the Hellenic Republic. The President was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Minister of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property of the SR M. Machová, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR P. Brño and the representatives of entrepreneurial entities from the selected economic branches. Besides the state representatives he met the Archbishop of Athens and Greece Christodoulos, the Mayor of Athens and representatives of parliamentary political parties. The Greek representatives declared their support for integration of the Slovak Republic into the EU, NATO and OECD.

May 10 – 11. The 106th meeting of the Committee of Ministers of the European Council took place in Strasbourg. The Slovak Republic was represented by the delegation led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel.

May 11. The NATO Secretary General George Robertson officially visited the SR based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. He negotiated with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, with the Ministers – members of the Governmental Committee for Preparation of the SR for NATO Membership; he was received by the President of the SR Rudolf Schuster and the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš. The NATO Secretary General G. Robertson met also the representatives of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR and the Committee for Defence and Security of the National Council of the SR. A short meeting of G. Robertson with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan took place.

May 16. A meeting of the Council of Ministers of the West European Union, within the frames of regular spring and autumn meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Ministers of Defence of the West European Union took place in Porto. The Slovak delegation was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the SR J. Pivarčí.

May 16. The Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs N. Helveg Petersen and the Minister of Finance M. Lykketoft paid a joint working visit to the SR. Both negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and the Minister of Finance B. Schmögnerová, the guests were received also by the President of the SR Rudolf Schuster and the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR P. Hamžík.

May 16 – 17. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, Slovakia was visited by the official delegation of Malta led by the Prime Minister E. Fenech-

Adim. There was also the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malta J. Borg in the delegation. The main point of the program was focused on negotiations between E. Fenech-Adami and M. Dzurinda. The delegation was received by the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš, the President of the SR R. Schuster and the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík.

May 17 – 18. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran K. Charáz the first official visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan to the Republic of Iran was realized. E. Kukan negotiated with his Iranian partner K. Charáz, the Minister of Industry and the Minister of Transport. E. Kukan was received by the top representatives of Iran, the President Mohammad S. Chatámí and the Chairman of the Iranian Parliament A. A. N. Nuri.

May 17 – 18. The Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda officially visited the Republic of Lithuania. He met with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lithuania A. Rinkun, the Prime Minister of Lithuania A. Kubilius, the President V. Adamkus and the Chairman of Lithuanian Parliament V. Landsbergis.

May 17. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Economy I. Mikloš took part in the second Round Table of the government representatives of the SR and the USA, where he negotiated with T. Wain, representative of the US State Department and with A. Larson, the Deputy of the US State Secretary for Economy.

May 20 – 23. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman, the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to the Czech Republic. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Deputy Prime Minister I. Mikloš, the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, the Minister of Economy L. Harach, the Minister for Health Care T. Šagát, the Ambassador of the SR in the CR J. Stank, the governor of the National Slovak Bank M. Jusko and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Finance of the SR V. Podstránecký. The goal of the visit was to hold negotiations of the Prime Ministers, plenary negotiations on division of the property and on the issues of future co-operation, as well as the reception of the Prime Minister of the SR by the President of the Czech Republic V. Havel. The Program of the visit included also discussions with the Chairman of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic L. Benešová and the Chairman of the House of Commons of the Czech Republic V. Klaus. Within the frames of the visit also individual negotiations of the Ministers of Economy and Health Care of the SR and the CR were realized.

May 23 – 24. The 5th meeting of the Council for Implementation of Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place in Brussels. High representatives of the EU and NATO took part in the meeting. The delegation of the SR was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo.

May 24. The President of the SR R. Schuster visited Baden-Württemberg based on the invitation of R. Bosch Fund. In Stuttgart he met the Land Prime Minister E. Teufel.

May 24 – 27. The Slovak Republic was visited by the State Secretary of the Holy See A. Sodano. The goal of his visit was the blessing and the inauguration of the new Apostolic Nunciature in Slovakia and negotiations with the top representatives of the SR. A. Sodano met the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and he was received by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. He took part in the closing press conference. He was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš and the Deputy Chairman P. Hrušovský.

May 25. The regular spring meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of countries of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) took place in Florence. The Slovak delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan.

May 31. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland J. Buzek with his wife paid the historically first visit to the Slovak Republic. In the delegation of the Council of Ministers of the PR there were the Minister of Economy, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Culture. Besides the negotiations with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, J. Buzek was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster and the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský.

May 31 – June 2. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Slovak Republic was officially visited by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina J. Prlić. Besides negotiations with E. Kukan he was received by the President R. Schuster, the Deputy Prime Minister P. Hamžík, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský and the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs signed the Protocol on Co-operation.

June 4. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík visited France. With the Minister of the French Government in charge of European Affairs P. Moscovici he negotiated the processes of the European integration and the situation in preparation of Slovakia for integration into the EU. P. Hamžík presented at the European House in Paris his lecture “Slovakia on its way to the EU”.

June 5 – 6. The Director General of the European Commission Directorate for Enlargement E. Landaburu visited the SR. E. Landaburu negotiated with the Deputy Prime Minister P. Csáky, I. Mikloš, L. Fogaš and P. Hamžík, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, with the Minister of Finance B. Schmögnerová, with the Minister of Construction and Regional Development I. Harna and the State Secretary

of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ. In the National Council of the SR he was met by the Chairman and the representatives of the Committee for European Integration of the National Council of the SR F. Šebej and with the representatives of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR.

June 6. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria B. Ferrero-Waldner paid a working visit to the SR. The Austrian representative negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan. She was received by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda and by the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR P. Hamžík. The Minister presented her interest in an earlier closure of the Jaslovské Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant than is the stated date, and a possibility of compensation the financial losses caused by an earlier closing by the Austrian part.

June 6. Jozef Migaš, Chairman of the National Council of the SR visited The Netherlands and he negotiated with the Deputy Prime Minister of the Dutch government and the Minister of Economy A. Joritsm, who assured the Slovak party that she would support the integration of the SR into OECD.

June 6 – 7. At the invitation of the President of the SR R. Schuster, the President of Romania Emilio E. Constantinescu officially visited the Slovak Republic. The President negotiated with the President of the SR R. Schuster. During a working lunch he met the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda, he was received by the Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský and the Mayor of the capital of the SR Bratislava J. Moravčík.

June 7 – 8. The Deputy Prime Minister of Ireland and the Minister for Entrepreneurship, Trade and Employment M. Harney arrived on a working visit to the Slovak Republic. She negotiated with the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration P. Hamžík, with the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Human Rights and Minorities and Regional Development P. Csáky, the Minister of Economy of the SR L. Harach, the Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the SR P. Magvaši, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan. She was received also by the President of the SR R. Schuster.

June 9. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman, the second official meeting of the Prime Ministers of the CR, H, PR, SR took place in Štířín. The Prime Ministers signed a four page inter-governmental agreement on foundation the International Visegrad Fund with its seat in Bratislava.

June 9. The President of the SR R. Schuster took part in the opening of the 10th Jubilee Farming Days Podhorie in Szerencs, Hungary. The President awarded the retiring Hungarian President with the Order of White Double-Cross Class One.

June 14. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan was the head of the Slovak delegation at the 2nd meeting of the Conference on Accession and the 6th meeting of the SR-EU Association Council. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal J. Gama was the head of the EU delegation. The European Commission was represented by the Commissioner for Enlargement G. Verheugen. Concerning preparation of the SR for the EU membership, the EU delegation appreciated the outstanding progress of Slovakia.

June 14 – 15. Based on the invitation of the Bulgarian Prime Minister I. Kostov, the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda visited the Republic of Bulgaria. Besides the negotiations with his Bulgarian partner, he met also the President P. Stojanov, the Chairman of the National Assembly J. Sokolov and the Mayor of Sofia S. Sofijansky.

June 14 – 15. Based on the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden Anna Lindh, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan officially visited the Kingdom of Sweden. He negotiated with the first Deputy Chairman of the Swedish Parliament A. Björck, the Deputy Prime Minister L. Hjelm-Wallén, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament V. Furubjelk and the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Parliament for the EU Affairs S. Lekberg.

June 15 – 16. Based on the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey I. Cem arrived in Slovakia. He was received by the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda and the Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský.

June 23 – 24. The delegation of the SR led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan took part in the regular meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Central European Initiative (SEI) in Szeged, Hungary. During the meeting bilateral working discussions between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR and his partners from Byelorussia and Slovenia were held.

July 3. The UN Deputy Secretary General, the Director General of the United Nations Office in Vienna, the executive Director of the United Nations Program for Drug Control P. Arlacchi officially visited the SR. This visit was dedicated to the official opening of the activities of UN Regional Contact Office of the Office for Drug Control and Criminality Prevention in Bratislava with the seat in the UN House.

July 4. – 7. Within the frames of the program of Ambassadors and Representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, the meeting of Ambassadors accredited in the countries of NATO and the EU and a regional meeting of Ambassadors of the SR with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan took place in Brussels.

July 7. The Prime Minister M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to the Republic of Croatia. He was accompanied by the Minister of Post Offices and Telecommunications of the SR J. Macejko and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR P. Brño. The Prime Minister negotiated with his Croatian partner I. Račan, he was received by the President of the Republic of Croatia S. Mesić and the Deputy Chairman of the House of Commons of the Croatian Parliament V. Pavletić.

August 14 – 16. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR Eduard Kukan visited the Kingdom of Norway. He negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs T. Jagland, with the State Secretary of the Ministry of justice and police O. Maeland, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway E. B. Eide. The Slovak guest was received also by the Prime Minister J. Stoltenberg.

August 20 – 23. The Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya G. Sailoti arrived on an official visit to the SR. He negotiated with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Minister of Economy of the SR L. Harach and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the SR J. Pivarčí . He was received by the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš. The Slovak party asked for a support of its candidacy to the post of an elected member of the UN Security Council for the period 2006 – 2007 during the elections in 2005.

August 21. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovenian Republic A. Peterle came to an official visit to the SR. During his visit he discussed with the Minister E. Kukan and he was received by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský, as well as by the Mayor of the capital city of the SR J. Moravčík. On request of the Slovenian party, the Minister A. Peterle met the Minister of Justice of the SR J. Čarnogurský and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel.

August 28. Based on the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany J. Fischer officially visited the SR. He was accompanied by the delegation of high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany. The German representative was received by the Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan.

August 28. The first Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation A. Avdejev participated in working consultations in Bratislava, he met the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR P. Weiss and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel.

August 31. – September 1. On the occasion of the National Day of the SR a delegation of the SR visited the World Exhibition EXPO in Hannover. The delegation was led by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. There were also the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the Minister of Finance of the SR B. Schmögnerová and the Minister of Economy L. Harach in the delegation. The German government was represented by the Minister of Finance of the FRG H. Eichel, accompanied by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Parliament.

September 6 – 8. Within the frames of the 55th regular meeting of the General Assembly of the UN, the UN Millennium Summit took place in the seat of the UN in New York. The delegation of the SR was led by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda.

September 8. – 12. The Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan K. Asano was on a working visit in the SR. He negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo and he met the Minister of Transport, Post Offices and Telecommunications of the SR J. Macejko, the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR I. Mikloš, the Minister of Finance of the SR B. Schmögnerová and the Minister of Health Care of the SR R. Kováč. The Japanese guest was also received by the Prime Minister of the SR, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR and the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

September 13 – 14. A meeting of Chief Negotiators of the EU candidate countries, representatives of the European Commission and the Presidency of the EU took place in Vilnius. The Slovak party was represented by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Chief Negotiator J. Figel.

September 14 – 15. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžik negotiated in Brussels with the Commissioner of the EU for Enlargement G. Verheugen, with the Director General of the General Directorate for Regional Policy G. Cransen and the head of the team for the SR D. Meganck over the topical issues of enlargement of the EU and the situation in the accession process of the SR into the EU.

September 25 – 30. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo was on an official visit to Cuba, Panama and Costa Rica. Besides the inter-ministerial consultations discussions with the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Trade and Economy took place.

September 28 – 29. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession of the SR into the EU J. Figel paid a working visit to Brussels and within the frames of the “Enlargement Forum EPC” he delivered a lecture *Slovakia on its way to the European Union*, he met the Ambassador and the head of the Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of Sweden at the EU G. Lund and the

Director General of the Directorate for Enlargement of the European Commission E. Landaburu. The main point of the visit of the State Secretary was focused on discussions on preparation the Regular Report of the EC.

September 28. The Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Economy I. Mikloš departed for Paris as the head of the Slovak delegation, which took part in the ceremonial signing of the Agreement between the SR and OECD on Accession of the SR to the OECD Agreement.

October 2. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden G. Peterson visited the Slovak Republic. It was the historically first visit of a Swedish Prime Minister to Slovakia. During his visit he negotiated with the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš, with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda and with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan.

October 4. – 8. Based on the invitation of the government of the SR, presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan, an official visit of the Japanese Princess Sayako to the SR took place. It was the first visit of a member of the Japanese imperial family to the SR and up to now the most important event between the SR and Japan. During her visit the Princess Sayako met the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš, the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan.

October 6. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland J. Buzek, the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda together with the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Republic J. Mártonyi took part in the joint meeting with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland T. Blair, who was on an official visit to Poland. The meeting took place in Warsaw.

October 9. A meeting of the strengthened Political Committee of NATO with the Slovak Republic within the frames of the Membership Action Plan took place in the NATO Headquarters in Brussels. The Slovak delegation was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs J. Figel and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence J. Pivarčí. The discussions were chaired by the NATO Deputy Secretary General for Political Affairs K. – P. Klaiber.

October 10. The Federal Chancellor of the Austrian Republic W. Schüssel arrived on an official visit of the SR based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda. Besides the discussions with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, W. Schüssel met the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and he was received also by the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš.

October 10 – 14. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo was on a working visit to the Republic of Singapore, the Republic of Indonesia and Hong Kong. He had inter-ministerial discussions and was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of each country.

October 12 – 13. The second informal meeting of the Prime Ministers of the V-4 countries took place in Karlové Vary.

October 16 – 17. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan was on an official visit of the Republic of Macedonia. He held talks with the Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Dimitrov and the Minister of Economy B. Andreev. He was received by the Prime Minister L. Georgievski and the President B. Trajkovski.

October 16. As a part of regular meetings on the level of Chief Negotiators consultations of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs J. Figeľ on issues of the European integration were held in the Czech Republic. Besides the meeting and working lunch with P. Telička, a short meeting with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic J. Kavan took place.

October 23. The Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany G. Schröder arrived on his first official visit to the Slovak Republic. He was invited by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. G. Schröder was accompanied by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the FRG Ch. Zöppel and the State Secretary of the Minister of Economy A. Gerlach. During their stay in Bratislava, G. Schröder was received by the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš and he negotiated also with the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda.

October 23. Based on the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ, working consultations of the Secretary General of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic G. Savvaides took place.

October 23 – 24. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan officially visited the Republic of Albania. He negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs P. Milo.

He was received by the Chairman of the Parliament S. Gjimushi, by the Prime Minister I. Meta and the President R. Meidani. The ministers E. Kukan and P. Milo signed the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Albanian Republic on Trade and Economic Co-operation.

October 24. The meeting of the Inter-Governmental Conference on Accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union on the level of Ministers (Chief Negotiators) took place in Brussels. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

SR J. Figel led the Slovak delegation, the delegation of the European Union was led by the Ambassador of France P. Vimont and the European Commission was represented by the Director General of the Directorate General for Enlargement E. Landaburu.

October 25. Within the frames of regular consultations of the State Secretaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation F. von Däniken visited the Slovak Republic. Within the frames of his stay he was received by the Deputy Prime Minister P. Hamžík, the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and he negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figel.

November 1 – 2. Based on the invitation of the President of the SR R. Schuster an official visit of His Royal Highness Charles was paid to the Slovak Republic. The visit consisted of two parts. A private one, during which Prince Charles visited Central Slovakia, and the official one. After the official welcome with all military honours, a working meeting with the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš as the representative of the President of the SR took place. The Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda hosted a dinner at the Bratislava Castle. On the second day Prince Charles met with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda and with the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík.

November 1 – 2. Based on the invitation of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel N. Massalh, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel was on a working visit to the State of Israel. Within the frames of this visit there were inter-ministerial consultations organized in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel. The Israeli part was represented by the Deputy Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel for Central and East European Countries Shimon Stein, who is, in the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel, the top representative dealing with the Slovak Republic. The inter-ministerial consultations culminated in a working lunch with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel N. Massalh.

November 2. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the SR, the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic officially arrived to the Slovak Republic. The Prime Minister of the Czech Republic was accompanied by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic for Foreign Policy and the Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Kavan, the Deputy Chairman of the Czech Republic for Economic Policy and the Minister of Finance P. Mertlík, the Minister of Agriculture of the Czech Republic J. Fencel, the Minister of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic M. Grégr and the Minister for Regional Development of the Czech Republic P. Lachnit. The visit was focused on plenary discussions of the delegations. The Czech Prime Minister was received also

by the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš. Separate discussions of the department partners took place.

November 3 – 4. The Conference of the European Ministers of Human Rights took place in Rome. The Slovak delegation was led by P. Csáky, the Deputy Prime Minister of the SR for Human Rights, Minorities and Regional Development.

November 5 – 6. Based on the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs I. Berzinš, the Slovak Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan visited the Republic of Latvia. Besides discussions with his partner, E. Kukan met with the President of Latvia V. Vīķe-Freiberg, the Chairman of the Parliament J. Straume and the Prime Minister A. Berzinš.

November 7. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland A. Ananicz was invited by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ to a working visit to the Slovak Republic. He was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and the Chairman of the Committee of the National Council of the SR for European Integration F. Šebej. His visit was focused on the discussion with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ.

November 10. A working trilateral meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Slovak Republic, the Republic of Hungary and Austria took place in Bojnice. Besides the discussions of the Prime Ministers, plenary discussions of the delegations led by the State Secretaries of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Republic of Hungary and the Director of the Section of the Federal Chancellor's Office of the Republic of Austria took place.

November 11. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden A. Lindh was on a working visit of the Slovak Republic. The Swedish Minister met the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration P. Hamžík and the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan. Separate discussions of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Chief Negotiator of the SR with the EU J. Figeľ with the Secretary General of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden F. Belfrage took place.

November 13. The meeting of the Council of Ministers of the West European Union with associated partners took place in Brussels. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan led the delegation of the SR and the Ministry of Defence was represented by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the SR J. Pivarčí.

November 14. The 4th meeting of the Conference on the Accession on the level of Deputy Ministers took place in Brussels. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs and the Chief Negotiator of the SR J. Figel led the Slovak delegation. The delegation of the EU was led by the representative of the French EU Presidency of the EU and the Ambassador of France at the EU P. Vimont.

November 14 – 15. Based on the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary Z. Németh arrived in Slovakia on a working visit. Besides discussions with his partner, he was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, he met the Deputy Prime Minister P. Hamžík, the Minister of Education M. Ftáčnik, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský and the Chairman of the Committee for Integration F. Šebej.

November 16. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan paid a working visit to the Swiss Confederation. During his visit he negotiated with the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Deiiis.

November 16 – 17. The Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium Jan De Bock arrived on a working visit of the Slovak Republic. The Belgian delegation was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the State Secretary J. Chlebo and the State Secretary J. Figel.

November 21. Based on the invitation of the president R. Schuster, the Federal President of the Republic of Austria T. Klestil with his wife visited the Slovak Republic. During his visit the Austrian President held talks with the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš and the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík.

November 23. The European Conference on the level of ministers took place in the French town Sochaux. The Conference dealt with the situation of the negotiations within the frames of the Inter-Governmental Conference on institutional reform of the EU, as well as with a discussion on the future form of the EU. The Chairman of the European Parliament N. Fontaine, the Commissioner of the European Commission for Enlargement G. Verheugen, the Commissioner of the European Council for Institutional Reform M. Barnier took part in the event, the French Presidency was represented by the Minister for European Affairs P. Moscovici. The Slovak delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan.

November 23. The Prime Minister of the SR for European Integration P. Hamžík negotiated in Copenhagen with the highest representatives of the Kingdom of Denmark over integration processes and bilateral co-operation. He met also the Prime Minister of the Danish Kingdom N. Rasmussen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Danish

Kingdom H. Petersen, the Minister of Interior of the Danish Kingdom K. Jespersen and the Minister of Defence H. Haekkerup.

November 24 – 25. The summit of the Prime Ministers of the states of the Central European Initiative with participation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs took place in Budapest. The delegation of the SR was led by the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs J. Chlebo was a member of the delegation.

November 26 – 27. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ was on a working visit of Croatia. He consulted with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Croatia V. Cvjetkovičová-Kurelecová, he was received by the Minister for European Integration I. Jakovčić and the Deputy Chairman of the Croatian Parliament and the Chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee Z. Tomac.

November 27 – 28. The 8th meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe took place in Vienna. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was represented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan.

November 28. Based on the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ, Slovakia was visited by a delegation of the British government, which was led by the State Secretary for European Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom K. Vaz. The State Secretary was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan and he negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Figeľ.

December 5 – 6. The Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine V. Juščenko was on his first official visit to Slovakia. He negotiated with the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, he was received by the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Deputy Chairman of the National Council of the SR P. Hrušovský and he met the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan. During his visit six bilateral agreements were signed.

December 15. The delegation of the SR led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan took part in the regular autumn meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council.

December 18 – 19. Based on the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic an official visit of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands W. Kok was paid. During his visit he negotiated with the President of the SR R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J. Migaš, the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda,

the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the SR P. Weiss and the Chairman of the Committee for European Integration F. Šebelj.

December 18. The President of the SR R. Schuster visited Vatican, where an exchange of the ratification documents to the Basic Treaty between the SR and the Holy See took place. The President and his wife were received by the Holy Father John Paul II.

December 19. The President of the SR R. Schuster met the President of the Republic of Ukraine L. Kučma on the occasion of sanctifying the St. Nicolas' chapel in Čop. *

The List of Treaties and Agreements Concluded between the Slovak Republic and Other Countries in 2000

Presidential Treaties

1. The Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Poland, amending the Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Poland on small frontier traffic, signed in Zakopane on 6 December 1966
(Bratislava 24 January 2000)
2. The Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on health care and its reimbursement provision
(Prague 23 May 2000)
3. The Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the International Visegrad Fund
(Bratislava 23 June 2000)
4. The Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey on protection and promotion of mutual investments
(Ankara 9 October 2000)
5. The agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia for avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income
(Jakarta 12 October 2000)

6. The Agreement between the European Community and the Slovak Republic concerning the participation of the Slovak Republic to the European Environment Agency and the European Environment and Observation network (Brussels 9 October 2000)
7. The Additional Protocol No. 9 to the CEFTA Agreement (Warsaw 15 November 2000)
8. The Basic Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See (Vatican 24 November 2000)
9. The Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Ukraine on social security (Bratislava 5 December 2000)

The Intergovernmental Treaties

1. The Decision No. 1/1999 of the Joint Committee of the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey regarding the amendment of the Protocol 3 referring to the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey (Ankara 13 January 2000, No. 412/2000 Coll.)
2. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on protection and exchange of classified information (Bratislava 21 January 2000)
3. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Poland on co-operation and mutual assistance in case of catastrophes, calamities and other serious accidents (Bratislava 24 January 2000)
4. The Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Council of Europe regarding the statute of the Information Centre of the Council of Europe in Bratislava (Strasbourg 27 January 2000)
5. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Armenia referring to co-operation in trade, economy, science and technology (Yerevan 2 February 2000)

6. The Protocol between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on co-operation in the field of the crude oil transit from the Russian Federation to third countries across the territory of the Slovak Republic
(Moscow 7 February 2000)
7. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Executive power of the Republic of Georgia on co-operation in trade, economy, science and technology
(Tbilisi 4 February 2000)
8. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan on co-operation in trade, economy, science and technology
(Baku 1 February 2000)
9. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on the cancelling visa obligation for diplomatic and service passports
(Bratislava 21 February 2000)
10. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Hungary on mutual recognition of equivalency of diplomas issued in the Slovak Republic and Hungary
(Budapest 21 March 2000)
11. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on crossings on common frontiers
(Prague 28 March 2000)
12. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on co-operation in the legislature and the harmonization of legal codes to the legislation of the European Communities
(Bratislava 18 April 2000)
13. The Implementary Protocol to the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on co-operation in the legislature and the harmonization of legal codes to the legislation of the European Communities and their treatment
(Bratislava 18 April 2000)

14. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Macedonia on admission and readmission of country nationals whose entrance or sojourn on the territory of the partner country is illicit
(Skopje 5 May 2000)
15. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Malta on co-operation in the combating organized crime
(Bratislava 16 May 2000)
16. The Bilateral Air Services Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Islamic Republic of Iran
(Teheran 17 May 2000)
17. The Agreement on Road and Transportation between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Islamic Republic of Iran
(Teheran 17 May 2000)
18. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on co-operation in culture, education and science
(Prague 23 May 2000)
19. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on mutual protection of classified facts
(Prague 23 May 2000, No. 72/2001 Coll.)
20. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Moldova on international Passenger and Freight Transport
(Prague 30 May 2000)
21. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Austria on international transport of persons by irregular bus transport
(Prague 30 May 2000)
22. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Romania on international Road transport
(Bratislava 6 June 2000)
23. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Romania on co-operation in veterinary medicine
(Bratislava 6 June 2000)

24. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria on international combined transport (Sofia 14 June 2000)
25. The Agreement concerning the establishment of the International Visegrad Fund (Štířín 9 June 2000)
26. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium on co-operation of police corps (Brussels 29 June 2000)
27. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic, the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the termination of mutual clearing in convertible Rubles and the settlement of mutual obligations and claims which arose as balance in clearing Rubles on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany (Berlin 29 June 2000)
28. The Decision No. 1/1998 of the Joint Committee of the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey, amending the Protocol 3 concerning the concept of “original products” and the methods of administrative co-operation (Ankara 3 July 2000, No. 411/2000 Coll.)
29. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the United States of America on the co-operation in science and technology (Washington 12 September 2000, No 36/2001 Coll.)
30. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Italy on protection of classified information and documents (Bratislava 14 September 2000)
31. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Estonia on mutual assistance on customs matters (Tallinn 22 September 2000)
32. The Air Transport Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Cuba (Havana 25 September 2000)

33. The Agreement on the invitation of the Slovak Republic to the accession to the OECD
(Paris 28 September 2000)
34. The Agreement on the cancellation of visa obligation between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Chile for tourism purpose
(Bratislava 28 September 2000, by exchange of notes)
35. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium on air transport
(Brussels 28 September 2000)
36. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium on international road transport
(Brussels 28 September 2000)
37. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Seychelles on the cancelling visa obligation
(Bratislava 29 September 2000)
38. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on the provision of supportive services
(by exchange of letters on 4 October 2000 and 11 October 2000)
39. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Special Administrative Region Hong Kong of the People's Republic of China on cancelling visa obligation
(Peking 14 October 2000, No.73/2001 Coll.)
40. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Italy on mutual administrative assistance in issues of prevention, verification and sanctions for contravention of customs provisions
(Bratislava 25 October 2000)
41. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on cross-border co-operation
(Bratislava 2 November 2000)
42. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Finland on mutual assistance in customs matters
(Bratislava 10 November 2000)

43. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic amending some provision of the Protocol referring to the definition of the notion of “original products” and methods of administrative co-operation included in the article 1 of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic from 8 November 1999, amending the article 1 of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic concluded on 7 November 1998, referring to the amendment of the article 1 of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic from 21 December 1996, referring to the amendment of the article 1 of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on rules of the origin of goods and the methods of administrative co-operation from 22 February 1993
(Bratislava 16 November 2000, No.63/2001 Coll.)
44. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Turkey on mutual assistance in customs matters
(Bratislava 17 November 2000)
45. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on co-operation in the fight against organized crime
(Bratislava 30 November 2000)
46. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Japan on the grant award to the State Theatre in Košice – by exchange of notes
(Bratislava 30 November 2000)
47. Cancellation of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on mutual visa-free travels of nationals (signed in Minsk on 20 September 1995) by 31 December 2000
(Bratislava 30 November 2000 – note)
48. Cancellation of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on visa-free travel of nationals (signed in Bratislava on 13 February 1995) by 31 December 2000
(Bratislava 30 November 2000 – note, No.42/2001 Coll.)
49. The Agreement between the Slovak Government and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on co-operation in the field of information
(Bratislava 5 December 2000)

50. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on trans-frontier co-operation
(Bratislava 5 December 2000)
51. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine on military-technical co-operation
(Bratislava 5 December 2000)
52. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on co-operation and mutual assistance in emergency events
(Bratislava 5 December 2000)
53. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on co-operation in the fight against organized crime
(Bratislava 5 December 2000)
54. The Decision No 1/2000 of the Joint Committee of the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Latvia, regarding the amendment of the Protocol 3 referred to the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Latvia
(Riga 18 December 2000)
55. The Decision No.1/2000 of the Joint Committee of the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Estonia on the amendment of the Protocol 2 of the Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Estonia
(Tallinn 28 December 2000)
56. The Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on visa-free travel for diplomatic or service passport holders
(Bratislava 29 December 2000)

Sectoral Protocols and Conventions

1. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania
(Bratislava 24 January 2000)
2. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan
(Baku 1 February 2000)

3. Protocol between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia
(Yerevan 2 February 2000)
4. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia
(Tbilisi 4 February 2000)
5. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova
(Bratislava 21 February 2000)
6. The Convention on co-operation between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia
(Skopje 10 March 2000)
7. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Angola
(Bratislava 1 April 2000)
8. The Memorandum between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Poland on extension of bilateral co-operation in 2000 and on priorities for the future (2001-2003)
(Bratislava 19 April 2000)
9. The Convention between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of National Defence of the People's Republic of China on co-operation in military field
(Peking 25 April 2000)
10. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand
(Bangkok 2 May 2000)
11. The Convention between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic on mutual quality assurance of products
(Trenčín 3 May 2000)
12. The Implementation Agreement between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic on joint command – staff drill training with the participation of batallion of the Army of the Slovak Republic and the 7th Brigade of the Army of the Czech Republic
(Trenčín 4 May 2000)

13. The Convention on co-operation between the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of the Czech Republic (Prague 23 May 2000, No. 321/2000 Coll.)
14. Additional Protocol No.1/2000 of the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of the Czech Republic to the Convention on co-operation between the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of the Czech Republic (Prague 23 May 2000)
15. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bratislava 1 June 2000)
16. The Programme of co-operation between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Education of Hungary in the area of education, science, sport and youth for 2000-003 (Budapest 3 June 2000)
17. The Convention between the Ministry of Agriculture of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Agriculture and Nourishment of Romania on co-operation in the area of agriculture and food industry (Bratislava 6 June 2000)
18. Protocol between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine on co-operation in the area of military education (Bratislava 7 June 2000)
19. The Convention between the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the State Board of the Russian Federation for standardization and metrology on acceptance testing results of imported goods (Tbilisi 19 June 2000, No. 284/2000 Coll.)
20. The Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United States of Mexico on the provision of the instrument of consultations on subjects of common interest (Bratislava 22 June 2000)
21. Protocol between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic on co-operation in provision of air traffic, joint

- transport and exchange of information on flights of military aircrafts in the space of state border between the Slovak and the Czech Republics
(Prague 2 October 2000)
22. The Convention between the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Latvia on co-operation in military field
(Riga 28 November 2000)
 23. Protocol on consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco
(Rabat 18 December 2000)
 24. Memorandum of Partnership between the Slovak Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands
(Bratislava 19 December 2000)
 25. Memorandum of Understanding between the Slovak Republic and the Netherlands on Dutch pre-accession PSO programme, pre-accession project of the MATRA programme and standard project of MATRA programme for 2001-2002
(Bratislava 19 December 2000)

Multilateral Agreements

1. The Agreement of WIPO on copyright
(Geneva 29 December 1997)
Ratification declaration (RD) of the SR deposited on 14 January 2000
2. The Agreement of WIPO on achievements and audio-records
(Geneva 29 December 1997)
RD of the SR deposited on 14 January 2000
3. Further Additional Protocol to the Agreement among the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty and the other states Participating in the Partnership for Peace, regarding to the Status of Their Forces
(Brussels 19 December 1997)
N.B. signature on behalf of the SR on 28 July 1999
RD of the SR deposited with the depository on 14 January 2000

4. Protocol on the Authentic Six-Language Text of the Convention on International Civil Aviation
(Montreal 1 October 1998)
N.B. depository USA
the protocol on accession of the SR deposited on 26 January 2000
5. Protocol No 2 to European Framework Convention on Crossborder Co-operation between the territorial regions or bodies referring to the interterritorial co-operation
(Strasbourg 5 May 1998)
NB. Depository SG Council of Europe
Signature on behalf of the SR on 1 February 2000
6. Additional Protocol to the European Framework Convention on Crossborder Co-operation between territorial regions or bodies
(Strasbourg 9 November 1995)
NB. Depository SG Council of Europe
Signature on behalf of the SR on 7 September 1998)
Ratification Declaration deposited on 1 February 2000
7. European Charter of Local Government
(Strasbourg 15 October 1985)
NB. Depository SG Council of Europe
Signature on behalf of the SR on 23 February 1999
RD of the SR deposited on 1 February 2000
8. European Framework Convention on Crossborder Co-operation between territorial regions or bodies
(Madrid 21 May 1980)
N.B. Dep. SG Council of Europe
Signature of the SR on 7 September 1998
RD deposited on 1 February 2000
9. The Convention of Tampere on provision of telecommunication facilities for alleviation of catastrophe and rescue operations
(Tampere 18 June 1998)
NB. Dep.
Signature of the SR on 16 February 2000
10. Protocol on the amendment of the Convention on international civil aviation
(Montreal 1 October 1998)
NB. Dep. SG ICAO
RD deposited on 9 February 2000

11. European Convention on recognition and implementation of decisions referring the children's care and the renewal of children's care
(Luxemburg 20 May 1980)
NB. Dep. SG Council of Europe
Signature of the SR on 2 March 2000
12. Additional Protocol on the replacement of the Multilateral Agreement of line fees from 12 February 1981 by relevant provision of harmonized text of International Convention EUROCONTROL on co-operation on the sake of security of air traffic as amended in Brussels in 1997 including the Annex IV
(Brussels 27 June 1997)
NB. Dep. The Kingdom of Belgium
RD of the SR deposited on 2 February 2000
13. Additional Protocol No 8 to the Central European Free Trade Agreement
(Budapest 20 October 1999)
NB. Dep. The Republic of Poland
RD of the SR deposited on 30 March 2000
14. Convention on legal status of persons without nationality
(New York 28 September 1954)
NB. Dep. SG UNO
RD of the SR deposited on 3 April 2000
15. Convention on reduction of persons without nationality
(New York 30 August 1961)
NB. Dep. SG UNO
RD of the SR deposited on 3 April 2000
16. Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea
(New York 23 May 1997)
NB. Dep. SG UNO
Signature of the SR on 22 June 1999
RD of the SR deposited on 20 April 2000
17. Convention on protection of individuals at automatized processing of personal data
(Strasbourg 28 January 1981)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Signature of the SR on 14 April 2000
RD of the SR deposited on 13 September 2000, 49/2001 Coll.

18. Protocol on the Privileges and Immunities of the International Seabed Authority
(Kingston 27 March 1998)
NB. Dep. SG UNO
Signature of the SR on 7 June 1999
RD of the SR deposited on 20 April 2000
19. Amendments of the Convention on International Organization of Mobile Satellite Communications and Operational Agreement of the International Organization of Mobile Satellite Communications
(London 20 – 24 April 1998)
NB. Dep. IMO
Declaration on accession of the SR deposited on 7 April 2000
20. International Agreement on the Use of Inmarsat Earth Ship Stations within the territorial sea and ports
(London 16 October 1985)
NB. Dep. IMO
Declaration on accession of the SR deposited on 7 April 2000
21. International Convention on mutual administrative assistance at prevention, official survey and suppression of customs torts
(Nairobi 9 June 1977)
NB. Dep. SG Council for Customs Collaboration
Declaration on accession of the SR deposited on 8 May 2000
22. Cartagena Protocol on biological security
(Nairobi May 2000)
NB. Dep.
Signature of the SR on 23 May 2000
23. European Agreement concerning the international carriage of dangerous goods by inland waterway
(Geneva 26 May 2000)
Signature of the SR on 26 May 2000
24. Optional Protocol to the Convention on Elimination of all forms of discrimination of Women
(New York 6 October 1999)
NB. Dep. SG UNO
Signature of the SR on 5 June 2000
RD of the SR deposited on 17 November 2000
Validity for the SR since 17 February 2001

25. Criminal Law Convention on Corruption
(Strasbourg 6 April 1999)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Signature of the SR on 27 January 1999
RD of the SR deposited on 9 June 2000
26. Civil Law Convention on Corruption
(Strasbourg 4 November 1999)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Signature of the SR on 8 June 2000
27. Protocol on the amendment of the International Convention on Simplification and Harmonization of Customs Regimes
(Brussels 26 June 1999)
NB. Dep.
Signature of the SR on 15 June 2000
28. Convention on illegal sea trade, which implements the article 17 of the UN Convention against Illicit Trade with Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances
(Strasbourg 31 January 1995)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Signature of the SR on 13 September 2000
29. Convention on release of medical, surgical and laboratory equipment to the temporary use treatment for hospital and other medical amenities for diagnostic and treatment purposes with full exemption from import customs, duties and other fees
(Strasbourg 28 April 1960)
NB. Dep. SG of CoE
Signature of the SR on 13 September 2000
30. Convention on release of goods to the temporary use treatment
(Istanbul 26 June 1990)
NB. Dep. SG Council for Customs Collaboration
RD on the accession of the SR deposited on 22 September 2000
31. Convention on the Agreement on Transport of Goods on Intraterrestrial waterways
(Budapest 3 October 2000)
Signature of the SR on 3 October 2000
32. Convention on the protection of the architectonic heritage of Europe (Granada 3 October 1985)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Signature of the SR on 10 October 2000

33. Convention on unification of some regulations for international air transport
(Montreal 28 May 1999)
NB. Dep. ICAO
Signature of the SR on 28 May 1999
RD of the SR deposited on 11 October 2000

34. European Convention on protection of archaeological heritage
(Strasbourg 16 January 1992)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Revised Convention, Paper 143
RD of the SR deposited on 31 October 2000

35. Protocol No. 2 to European Framework Convention on Crossborder co-operation
between territorial regions or bodies which refer to interterritorial co-operation
(Strasbourg 5 May 1998)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Paper 169
Signature of the SR on 1 February 2000
RD of the SR deposited on 31 October 2000

36. European Convention on Transfrontier Television Broadcasting
(Strasbourg October 1998)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Paper 171
Document on the accession of the SR deposited with depository on 31 October 2000

37. Protocol No 12 to Convention on Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental
Freedoms
(Rome 4 November 2000)
NB. Dep. SG CoE
Signature of the SR on 4 November 2000

38. Convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of maritime
navigation
(Rome 10 March 1988)
NB. Dep. SG IMO
Czechoslovakia signed on 9 March 1989
RD of the SR deposited on 8 December 2000, for the SR valid since 8 March 2001

39. Protocol for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of fixed platforms
located on the continental shelf
(Rome 10 March 1988)

Czechoslovakia signed on 9 March 1989

RD of the SR deposited on 8 December 2000, for the SR valid since 8 March 2001

40. Convention on civil law aspect of international kidnapping of children
(Hague 25 October 1980)

NB. Dep. The Kingdom of Netherlands

Signature of the SR on 28 December 1992

RD of the SR deposited on 7 November 2000

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Head: Mária Blahová, tel. 57295503, maria.blahova@government.gov.sk

Department for Institution Establishment and Preparation of Population for the EU Membership

Head: Miriam Šramová, tel. 57295512, miriam.sramova@government.gov.sk

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic

Hlboká cesta 2, 833 36 Bratislava 37

Tel.: 07 59 78 1111

Fax. 07 43 33 7827

www.foreign.gov.sk

Minister

Eduard Kukan, tel. 59783001

Office of the Minister

Head: Miroslav Lajčák, tel. 59783003, miroslav_lajcak@foreign.gov.sk

Diplomatic Protocol

Head: Igor Líška, tel. 59782601, igor_liska@foreign.gov.sk

Press Department

Head: Monika Keimová, tel. 59783621, monika_keimova@foreign.gov.sk

Department for Analyses and Planning

Head: Miroslav Wlachovský tel.59783581, miroslav_wlachovsky@foreign.gov.sk

State Secretary

Jaroslav Chlebo, tel. 59783201

Office of the State Secretary

Head: Štefan Rozkopal, tel. 59783201, stefan_rozkopal@foreign.gov.sk

State Secretary for European Integration

Ján Figeľ, tel. 59783101

Office of the State Secretary

Head: Peter Hattiar, tel. 59783103, peter_hattiar@foreign.gov.sk

Head of the Authority

Milan Tancár, tel. 59783301, milan_tancar@foreign.gov.sk

Office of the Head of the Authority

Head: Vladimír Gráč, tel. 59783304, vladimir_gracz@foreign.gov.sk

Section for European Integration

Director General: Miroslav Admamiš, tel. 59783461, miroslav_admamis@foreign.gov.sk

Chief Negotiator Department

Head: Peter Javorčík, tel. 59783111, peter_javorcik@foreign.gov.sk

Department for Political Relations with the EU

Head: Veronika Lombardini, tel. 59783181, veronika_lombardini@foreign.gov.sk

Department for Economic and Legal Affairs with the EU

Head: Juraj Nociar, tel. 59783161, juraj_nociar@foreign.gov.sk

Section for International Organisations and Security Policy

Director General: Ivan Korčok, tel. 59783601, ivan_korcok@foreign.gov.sk

NATO and WEU Department

Head: Peter Mišík, tel. 59783481, peter_misik@foreign.gov.sk

Department for OSCE, Disarmament and CE

Head: Peter Kormúth, tel. 59783141, peter_kormuth@foreign.gov.sk

Department for UN and UN Subordinated and Specialised Organisations

Head: Roman Bužek, tel. 59783501, roman_buzek@foreign.gov.sk

Department for International Economy-Trade Co-operation

Head: Štefan Morávek, tel. 59783561, stefan_moravek@foreign.gov.sk

Section for Bilateral Co-operation

Director General: Ján Šoth, tel. 59783401, jan_soth@foreign.gov.sk

1st Territorial Department, West, South Europe and North America Countries

Head: Mária Krasnohorská, tel. 59783411, maria_krasnohorska@foreign.gov.sk

2nd Territorial Department, Central and North Europe Countries

Head: Vladimír Halgaš, tel. 59783441, vladimir_halgas@foreign.gov.sk

3rd Territorial Department, Southeast and East Europe Countries

Head: Branislav Hitka, tel. 59783551, branislav_hitka@foreign.gov.sk

4th Territorial Department, Middle East, Asia, Australia,

Africa and Latin America

Head: Ján Bratko, tel. 59783531, jan_bratko@foreign.gov.sk

Culture Relations Department

Head: Pavol Ivan, tel. 59783611, pavol_ivan@foreign.gov.sk

Section for International Law and Consular Affairs

Director General: Ján Varšo, tel. 59783701, jan_varso@foreign.gov.sk

International Law Department

Head: Milan Kollár, tel. 59783711, milan_kollar@foreign.gov.sk

Consular Affairs Department

Head: Jozef Cibula, tel. 52961729, jozef_cibulka@foreign.gov.sk

Human Rights Department

Head: Peter Procháčka, tel. 59783731, peter_prochacka@foreign.gov.sk

Slovak Institute for International Studies*

Drotárska cesta 46, 811 02 Bratislava

Tel. 07 59 35 4118

fax 07 62 80 2517

www.sims.sk

Director: Attila Szép, tel. 59354118, aszep@sims.sk

Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic

Mierová 19, 827 15 Bratislava

tel. 07 48 54 1111

fax 07 43 33 7827

www.economy.gov.sk

State Secretary for European Integration, Trade Co-operation and Tourism

Peter Brño, tel. 43331944, brno@economy.gov.sk

Section for European Integration

Director General: Miroslav Malik, tel. 43426924, malik@economy.gov.sk

Section for Multilateral Trade Co-operation

Director General: Štefan Burda, tel. 43332328, burda@economy.gov.sk

Section for Bilateral Trade Co-operation

Director General: Dagmar Repčková, tel. 43323940, repcekova@economy.gov.sk

Institute of Foreign Trade and Education*

Director: Anna Nemethyová, tel. 44457461, nemethyova@izov.sk

Trade-Economy Department of Slovak Embassies*

Head: Peter Navráčič tel. 43423939, navracic@economy.gov.sk

Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic

Kutuzovova 8, 832 47 Bratislava

tel. 07 44 25 0320

fax 07 44 25 3242

www.mod.gov.sk

Section for Integration and Foreign Affairs

Director General: Igor Slobodník, tel. 44258781, slobodniki@mod.gov.sk

International Cooperation Department

Head: Ján Prochyra, tel. 44250701, prochyraj@mod.gov.sk

Integration and Security Policy Department

Head: Emil Pejko, tel. 44256250

Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic

Pribinova 2, 812 72 Bratislava

tel. 07 50 94 1111

fax 07 50 94 4017

www.minv.sk

Department for European Integration and Foreign Affairs

Head: Lubomír Hanus, tel. 50944452, hanus@minv.sk

Section for Public Administration

Administrative and International Co-operation Department

Head: Eva Chmelová, tel. 43338660, oo.svs@mvsr.vs.sk

Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic

Štefanovičova 5, 817 82 Bratislava

tel. 07 59 58 1111

fax 07 52 49 8042

www.finance.gov.sk

Section for European Integration and International Affairs

Director General: Mária Kompišová, tel. 59582315, mkompisova@mssr.sk

European Integration and European Funds Department

Head: Jaroslav Náhlik, tel. 59582137, jnahlik@mssr.sk

Foreign Aid Department

Head: Marcela Zubrická, tel. 59582334, mzubricka@mssr.sk

International Finance and Economy Organisations Department

Head: Katarína Kováčová, tel. 59582308, kkovacova@mssr.sk

Bilateral Affairs Department

Head: Ujlakyová Andrea, tel. 59582337, aujlakyova@mssr.sk

Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic

Námestie SNP č. 33, 813 31 Bratislava

tel. 07 59 39 1111

fax 07 54 41 9671

www.culture.gov.sk

Section for International Co-operation

Director General: Andrej Zmeček, tel.: 59391431, sms@culture.gov.sk

Section for Minority Cultures

Director General: Gabriela Jarábiková, tel. 59391444, smk@culture.gov.sk

The Centre for Slovaks Living Abroad

Štefánikova 25, 810 00 Bratislava 1

tel. 07 52 49 5088

fax 07 5249 5184

www.dzs.sk

Director (temporarily delegated): Pavol Stračiak, tel. 52495088

Ministry of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property of the Slovak Republic

Drieňová 24, 820 09 Bratislava

tel. 07 43 33 1090

fax 07 62 80 2692

www.privatiz.gov.sk

Foreign Co-operation

Head of the Office of the Minister: Eva Benešová, tel. 43337985, benesova@privatiz.gov.sk

Ministry of Health Care of the Slovak Republic

Limbová 2, 837 52 Bratislava 37

tel. 07 59 37 3111

fax 07 54 77 7983

www.health.gov.sk

Foreign Affairs and European Integration Department

Head (delegated): Michal Ondrejčák, tel. 59373113, michal.ondrejcek@health.gov.sk

Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic

Špitálska 4-6, 816 43 Bratislava

tel. 07 59 75 1111

www.employment.gov.sk

Section for International Affairs

Director General: Daniela Bujnovská, tel. 59752215, bujnovska@employment.gov.sk

Foreign Affairs and Protocol Department

Head: Vladimír Gráf, tel. 59752415, graf@employment.gov.sk

European Integration and Approximation Department

Head: *Lubica Gajdošová*, tel. 59752210, gajdosova@employment.gov.sk

PHARE and other Foreign Assistance Department

Head: Lýdia Zelmanová, tel. 59752216, zelmanova@employment.gov.sk

*International Centre for Family Studies**

Drotárska cesta, 811 04 Bratislava

tel. 07 62 80 2592

fax 07 62 80 2692

Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic

Stromová 1, 813 30 Bratislava

tel. 07 59 37 4111

www.education.gov.sk

Section for International Co-operation and European Integration

Director General: Štefan Cimbák, tel. 69202216, cimbak@education.gov.sk

Department for Bilateral Co-operation and Fellow-Countrymen

Head: Dagmar Hupková, tel. 69202222, dhupkova@education.gov.sk

Department for European Integration and Multilateral Co-operation

Head: Juraj Kálnický, tel. 69202224, kalnicky@education.gov.sk

Section for Science and Technique

International Science-Techniques Co-operation Department

Head: Dušan Valachovič, tel. 69202214, valachov@education.gov.sk

Ministry of Justice of the Slovak Republic

Župné námestie 13, 813 11 Bratislava

tel.: 07 59 35 3111

fax: 07 54 41 59 52

www.justice.gov.sk

Section for International Law and European Integration

Director General: Peter Báňas, tel. 59353248, smp@gratex.sk

Department for International Law and Private Legal Relation with Abroad

Head: Miloš Haťapka, tel. 59353349

Department for Foreign Affairs and Human Rights

Head: Eva Rupcová, tel. 59353187, rupcova@justice.gov.sk

Department for European Integration

Head: Anna Roháčová, tel. 59353186, rohacova@justice.gov.sk

Ministry of Environment of the Slovak Republic

Nám. L. Štúra 1, 812 35 Bratislava

tel.: 07 59 56 1111

fax: 07 59 56 2031

www.lifeenv.gov.sk

Section for European Integration and International Co-operation

Director General: Juraj Gavora, tel. 59562459, kovarikova.alena@lifeenv.gov.sk

Ministry of Soil Management of the Slovak Republic

Dobrovičova 12, 812 66 Bratislava

tel.: 07 59 26 6111

fax: 07 52 96 8510

www.mpsr.sk

Section for Legislation and European Integration

Director General: Jozef Gajzbacher, tel. 52921239, marsov@gov.mpsr.sk

European Integration Department

Head: Ján Husárik, tel. 59266281, husarik@mpsр.sanet.sk

Ministry of Transport, Post Offices and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic

Námestie slobody č.6, 810 05 Bratislava

tel.: 07 59 49 4111

fax: 07 52 49 4794

www.telecom.gov.sk

Section for European Integration and Foreign Affairs

Director General: Dušan Rizek, tel. 52731446, dusan.rizek@telecom.gov.sk

Ministry of Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic

Špitálska 8, 816 44 Bratislava

tel.: 07 59 75 1111

fax: 07 52 93 1203

www.build.gov.sk

Section for European Integration and Foreign Affairs

Director General: László Flórián, tel. 59752820, krasnanska@build.gov.sk (assist.)

Foreign Affairs Department

Head: Zoltán Miklós, tel. 59752823, horvathova@build.gov.sk (assist.)

European Integration Department

Head: Stela Krivdová, tel. 59752818, busovska@build.gov.sk (assist.)

Cross-border Co-operation Department

Head: Peter Udvardi, tel. 59752016, udvardi@build.gov.sk

Supreme Control Office of the Slovak Republic

Priemyselná 2, 824 73 Bratislava

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www.controll.gov.sk

Foreign Affairs Department

Head: Július Molnár, tel. 55424628, molnar@controll.gov.sk

European Integration Department

Igor Ciho, tel. 55424628, cihocontroll.gov.sk

Antimonopoly Office of the Slovak Republic

Drieňová 24, 826 03 Bratislava

tel.: 07 43 33 7305

fax: 07 43 33 3572

www.antimon.gov.sk

Legislation-legal and European Integration Department

Head: Katarína Fodorová, tel. 48297363, fodorova@antimon.gov.sk

Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

Miletičova 3, 824 67 Bratislava

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fax: 07 55 42 4587

www.statistics.sk

Section for Collected Statistical Information and International Co-operation

Director General: Mária Schwarzová, tel. 50236448, maria.schwarzova@statistics.sk

International Co-operation Department

Head: Magdaléna Holubová, tel. 50236330, magdalena.holubova@statistics.sk

Note

* Contributory, budgetary and non-budgetary organisations at Ministry competence

Embassies of the Slovak Republic

Embassy	Country	Head of Mission
Abu Dhabi	The United Arab Emirates	<i>Vladimír Kuštek, CDA</i> 11/1999 – 02/2000 Peter Zsoldos, Ambassador 03/2000 – today
Algiers	The Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria	<i>Ján Dömök, CDA</i> 11/1999 – today
Ankara	The Republic of Turkey	Ján Lišuch, Ambassador 03/1997 – today
Athens	The Hellenic Republic	Milan Dubček, Ambassador 12/1998 – today
Bagdad	The Republic of Iraq	<i>Jozef Marhefka, CDA</i> 12/1997 – today
Bangkok	The Kingdom of Thailand	<i>Oto Straka, CDA</i> 01/1998 – 08/2000 Marián Tomášik, Ambassador 09/2000 – today
Belgrade	The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	Miroslav Mojžita, Ambassador 03/1997 – today
Berlin	The Federal Republic of Germany	Ján Foltín, Ambassador 10/1998 – today
Bern	Switzerland	Juraj Hraško, Ambassador 04/1999 – today
Brasilia	The Federal Republic of Brazil	Jozef Adamec, Ambassador 01/1999 – today
Brussels	The Kingdom of Belgium	František Lipka, Ambassador 03/1999 – today
Budapest	The Republic of Hungary	Štefan Markuš, Ambassador 06/1999 – today
Buenos Aires	The Republic of Argentina	Ján Jurišta, Ambassador 04/1999 – today
Bucharest	Romania	Peter Kopecký, Ambassador 08/1997 – today
Canberra	The Commonwealth of Australia	<i>Anna Tureničová, CDA</i> 08/1998 – 02/2000 Anna Tureničová, Ambassador 03/2000 – today
Damascus	The Syrian Arab Republic	<i>Ján Kuruc, CDA</i> 11/1998 – 08/2000 Ivan Zachar, Ambassador 09/2000 – today
Den Haag	The Kingdom of the Netherlands	Ľubomír Kopaj, Ambassador 05/1997 – 06/2000 Ján Kuderjavý, Ambassador 07/2000 – today
New Dilli	The Republic of India	Ladislav Lysák, Ambassador 11/1998 – 05/1999 <i>Oldřich Hlaváček, CDA</i> 06/1999 – 12/1999 Ladislav Volko, Ambassador 01/2000 – today
Dublin	Ireland	<i>Marcel Peško, CDA</i> 02/1999 – today

Continuation

Hanoi	The Socialist Republic of Vietnam	Ján Fífik, Ambassador 04/1997 – 02/2000 <i>Martin Juhás, CDA</i> 03/2000 – 04/2000 Anton Hajduk, Ambassador 05/2000 – today
Harare	The Republic of Zimbabwe	<i>Martin Podstavek, CDA</i> 09/1997 – 05/2000 Ján Valko, Ambassador 06/2000 – today
Havana	The Republic of Cuba	<i>Ján Gábor, CDA</i> 01/97 (Washington), 03/99 (Havana) – today
Helsinki	The Republic of Finland	Emil Kuchár, Ambassador 03/1999 – today
Jakarta	The Republic of Indonesia	Milan Lajčiak, Ambassador 12/1998 – today
Cairo	The Arab Republic of Egypt	<i>Žigmund Bertók, CDA</i> 06/1998 – today
Copenhagen	The Kingdom of Denmark	<i>Ivan Surkoš, CDA</i> 06/1997 – today
Kyjev	Ukraine	Vasil Grivna, Ambassador 04/1999 – today
Lagos	The Federal Republic of Nigeria	<i>Vasil Hudák, CDA</i> 05/1999 – today
Lima	The Republic of Peru	<i>Július Grančák, CDA</i> 05/1996 – 02/2000 Marián Masarik, Ambassador 03/2000 – today
Lisbon	The Republic of Portugal	Pavel Hrmo, Ambassador 04/1997 – 08/2000 Peter Rusiňák, Ambassador 09/2000 – today
London	The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Igor Slobodník, Ambassador 05/1997 – 07/2000 František Dlhopolček, Ambassador 08/2000 – today
Ljubljana	The Republic of Slovenia	Milan Tokár, Ambassador 10/1998 – today
Madrid	The Kingdom of Spain	Stanislav I. Šimončič, Ambassador 05/1997 – 07/2000 <i>Dušan Chrenek, CDA</i> 08/2000 – 08/2000 Ján Voderadský, Ambassador 09/2000 – today
Mexico	United States of Mexico	Miroslav Jenča, Ambassador 03/1999 – today
Minsk	The Republic of Belarus	Jozef Božek, Ambassador 11/2000 – today
Moscow	The Russian Federation	Igor Furdík, Ambassador 06/1999 – today
Nairobi	The Republic of Kenya	Radomír Boháč, Ambassador 12/1998 – today
Nicosia	The Republic of Cyprus	Dušan Rozbora, Ambassador 01/1999 – today

Continuation

Oslo	The Kingdom of Norway	Andrej Sokolík, Ambassador 12/1999 – today
Ottawa	Canada	Miroslav Mikolášik, Ambassador 05/1999 – today
Paris	The French Republic	Vladimír Valach, Ambassador 08/1997 – today
Beijing	The People's Republic of China	Peter Paulen, Ambassador 10/1998 – today
Prague	The Czech Republic	Jozef Stank, Ambassador 12/1998 – today
Pretoria	The Republic of South Africa	František Hudák, Ambassador 12/1998 – today
Riga	The Republic of Latvia	Jozef Dravecký, Ambassador 07/2000 – today
Roma	The Republic of Italy	Rudolf Zelenay, Ambassador 03/1997 – 10/2000 Jozef Mikloško, Ambassador 11/2000 – today
Santiago de Chile	The Republic of Chile	Jaroslav Blaško, CDA 12/1999 – 02/2000 Pavol Šípka, Ambassador 03/2000 – today
Sofia	The Republic of Bulgaria	Ján Kováč, Ambassador 01/1999 – today
Seoul	The Republic of Korea	Peter Sopko, Ambassador 01/1999 – today
Stockholm	The Kingdom of Sweden	Teodora Chmelová, veľvyslankyňa 06/1999 – today
Tashkent	The Republic of Uzbekistan	Peter Spišiak, CDA 11/1999 – today
Tehran	The Islamic Republic of Iran	Vladimír Lomen, CDA 07/1999 – 02/2000 Vladimír Lomen, Ambassador 03/2000 – today
Tel Aviv	The State of Israel	Maroš Šefčovič, Ambassador 03/1999 – today
Tokyo	Japan	Mikuláš Sedlák, Ambassador 02/1999 – today
Tripolis	The Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	Pavol Hrivík, CDA 02/1999 – today
Warsaw	The Republic of Poland	Ondrej Nemčok, Ambassador 09/1998 – 04/2000 Viliam Roth, CDA 05/2000 – 05/2000 Magdaléna Vášáryová, Ambassador 06/2000 – today
Vatican	The Holy See	Marián Servátka, Ambassador 10/1998 – today
Vienna	The Republic of Austria	Ľubor Bystrický, Ambassador 12/1998 – today
Washington	The United States of America	Martin Bútora, Ambassador 03/1999 – today
Zagreb	The Republic of Croatia	Ján Petrik, Ambassador 04/1999 – today

Permanent Missions

Permanent Mission	Organisation	Head of Mission
M Brussels	European Communities	Juraj Migaš 03/1999 – today
M Brussels	NATO	Peter Burian 03/1999 – today
PM New York	UN	Peter Tomka 03/1999 – today
PM Geneva	UN	Kálmán Petöcz 03/1999 – today
PM Strasbourg	Council of Europe	Eva Garajová 10/1998 – today
PM Vienna	OSCE	Anton Pinter 03/1999 – today
PM Vienna	UN	Alojz Némethy 02/1999 – today

Consulates General

Country	Address of the Consulate General	Head of Mission
The Republic of Turkey	Aci Su Sokak, Arzu Ap. No. 15/3,7 806 80 Macka, Istanbul	Ivan Šveda 1998 – today
The Czech Republic	Vodová Street 10 612 00 Brno	Katarína Smékalová 2000 – today
The Federal Republic of Germany	Vollmannstrasse 25 d. 819 25 München	František Zemanovič 1999 – today
Ukraine	Lokoty 4 880 17 Užhorod	Igor Bartho 2000 – today
The Russian Federation	ul. Orbeli No. 21/2 194 223 Sankt Peterburg	Augustín Čisár 1999 – today

Slovak Institutes abroad

Slovak Institutes	Date of establishment	Country	Director
Berlin	1 February 1997	The Federal Republic of Germany	Jaroslav Auxt 1/01/2000 – 09/2000 Peter Krupár 10/2000 – today
Budapest	1 January 1993	The Republic of Hungary	Karol Wlachovský 28/07/1999 – today
Bucharest	1 January 1995	Romania	Anna Novotná 25/09/1997 – 31/12/1999
Moscow	31 March 1998	The Russian Federation	Ján Kocián 30/09/1998 – today
Prague	1 January 1994	The Czech Republic	Gabriela Leinerovičová 26/05/1998 – today
Roma	1 March 2000	The Republic of Italy	Jana Trnovcová 03/2000 – today
Sofia	20 October 1993	Bulgaria	Tibor Chovan 20/08/1995 – 31/08/1999
Warsaw	13 October 1993	The Republic of Poland	Peter Krupár 24/01/2000 – 08/2000 Helena Jacošová 10/2000 – today
Vienna	1 July 1994	The Republic of Austria	Juraj Žáry 27/07/1998 – today

The list of Embassies of the EÚ, NATO countries and countries with place of residence in Bratislava

February 2001

Country	Initiating of diplomatic relations	Embassy	Head of mission
The Republic of Angola	30/09/1993	Mudroňova 47 811 03 Bratislava 1	Manuel Quarta "Punza" Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 18 June 1987
The Kingdom of Belgium	1/01/1993	Fraňa Kráľa 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	François del Marmol Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 30 September 1999
The Republic of Bulgaria	1/01/1993	Kuzmányho 1 811 06 Bratislava 1	Jani Milčakov Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 16 September 1998
The Czech Republic	1/01/1993	Street 29. Augusta 5 P.O.Box 208 810 00 Bratislava 1	Rudolf Slánsky Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 15 January 1997

Continuation

The People's Republic of China	1/01/1993	Údolná 7 811 02 Bratislava 1	Yuan Guisen Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 9 December 1999
The Kingdom of Denmark	1/01/1993	Maltézske náměstí 5 P.O.Box 25 118 01 Praha 1	Ulrik Helweg-Larsen Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 30 September 1999
The Republic of Finland	1/01/1993	Gonzagagasse 16 A-1010 Viedeň	Tom Carl Ernst Grönberg Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Agr.: 26 January 2001
The French Republic	1/01/1993	Hlavné námestie 7 P.O.Box 152, 810 00 Bratislava 1 812 83 Bratislava 1	Georges Vaugier Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 14 October 1999
The Hellenic Republic	1/01/1993	Hlavné námestie 4 811 01 Bratislava 1	Vassilios N. Ikossipentarchos Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 3 July 1997
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	1/01/1993	Fraňa Kráľa 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	Henk Jacob Willem Soeters Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 16 September 1998
The Republic of Croatia	1/01/1993	Mišíkova 21 811 06 Bratislava 1	Davor Vidiš Chargé d'Affaires a. i.
The Republic of India	1/01/1993	Radlinského 2 811 02 Bratislava 1	Upendra Chandra Baro Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 1 February 2001
The Republic of Indonesia	1/01/1993	Mudroňova 51 811 03 Bratislava 1	Malikus Suamin Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 27 April 1999
Ireland	1/01/1993	Hilton Centre, 16th Floor, Landstrasse Hauptstrasse 2 A-1030 Viedeň	Thelma Maria Doran Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 1 February 1996
Canada	1/01/1993	Mickiewiczova 6 125 33 Praha 6	Margaret Huber Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 7 December 2000
The Republic of Cuba	1/01/1993	Somolického 1/A 811 05 Bratislava 1	Adelaida Serviat Peña Chargé d'Affaires a. i.
The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	1/01/1993	Sternwartestrasse 81 A-1180 Viedeň	Jacques Reuter Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 22 July 1999
The Republic of Hungary	1/01/1993	Sedlárska 3 814 25 Bratislava 1	Miklós Boros Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 16 March 1999

Continuation

The Kingdom of Norway	1/01/1993	Reisnerstrasse 55/57 A-1030 Viedeň	Helga Hernes Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 17 December 1998
The Republic of Poland	1/01/1993	Hummelova 4 811 03 Bratislava 1	Jan Komornicki Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 17 April 1997
The Republic of Portugal	1/01/1993	Opernring 3/1/1 A-1010 Viedeň	Carlos Neves Ferreira Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Agr.: 23 January 2001
The Republic of Austria	1/01/1993	Ventúrska 10 811 01 Bratislava 1	Gabriele Matzner-Holzer Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 9 January 1997
Romania	1/01/1993	Fraňa Kráľa 11 811 05 Bratislava 1	Gheorghe Dinică Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 28 August 1997
The Russian Federation	1/01/1993	Godrova 4 811 06 Bratislava 1	Alexander Georgijevič Akseionok Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 17 December 1998
The Republic of Slovenia	1/01/1993	Moyzesova 4 813 15 Bratislava 1	Ada Filip Slivnik Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 7 September 2000
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	1/01/1993	Panská 16 811 01 Bratislava 1	David Edward Lyscom Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 22 October 1998
The United States of America	1/01/1993	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 5 811 02 Bratislava 1	Carl Spielvogel Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 7 September 2000
The Federal Republic Of Germany	1/01/1993	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 10 811 02 Bratislava 1	Frank Lambach Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 20 January 2000
The Holy See	1/01/1993	Nekrasovova 17 811 04 Bratislava 1	Luigi Dossena <i>Apostolic nuncio</i> Cred.: 15 July 1994
The Kingdom of Spain	1/01/1993	Prepoštská 10 811 01 Bratislava 1	Estanislao de Grandes Pascual Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 16 April 1998
Switzerland	1/01/1993	Tolstého 9 811 06 Bratislava 1	Thomas Wernly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 9 December 1999

Continuation

The Kingdom of Sweden	1/01/1993	Úvoz 13 P.O.Box 35 160 12 Praha 612	Ingmar Karlsson Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 7 November 1996
The Republic of Italy	1/01/1993	Červeňova 19 811 03 Bratislava 1	Luca Del Balzo di Prezenzano Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Agr.: 7 December 2000
The Republic of Turkey	1/01/1993	Holubyho 11 811 03 Bratislava 1	Inci Tümay Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 26 September 2000
Ukraine	1/01/1993	Radvanská 35 811 01 Bratislava 1	Jurij Olexandrovyč Rylač Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 9 February 1999
The People's Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	1/01/1993	Révová 45 811 02 Bratislava 1	Ibrahim B. Dredi Chargé d'Affaires a. i.
The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	1/01/1993	Búdkova 38 811 04 Bratislava 1	Sonja Banda Chargé d'Affaires a. i.
The Sovereign Military Order of Malta	1/01/1993	Na Vřšku 8 811 01 Bratislava 1	Helmut Liedermann Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Cred.: 22 July 1993

Notice: Based on the materials of the MFA SR compiled by Martin Pangráč

Editorial commentary

Background materials for annexes (Principal foreign policy activities of the Slovak Republic in 1999, List of conventions adopted by the Slovak Republic in 1999, representation offices of the Slovak Republic, Slovak Institutes abroad, Permanent Missions, Consulates General and representation offices in the Slovak Republic) have been provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. In the text of annexes abbreviated names of countries, international organizations and other institutions are used and instead of full names there are only initials of first names and last names because of the extent of annexes.

Main choosing criteria of the entries in chronology of foreign policy activities of the SR have been above all the importance of the particular event for the foreign policy of Slovakia. The fact that information sources of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic do not include complete data on foreign policy activities of relevant constitutional representatives, we tried to eliminate by addressing the Chancellery of the President, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, members of the Government of the Slovak Republic, in order to be provided by necessary information.

Despite our effort we did not manage to complete data in the summary of heads of representation offices in the Slovak Republic since its establishing (as the summary concerning representation offices of the Slovak Republic abroad has been published), that's why only current information is being presented. We believe, that in the coming issue of the *Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic* we'll succeed in arranging the annexes more completely.

Alena Kotvanová

YEARBOOK

**of Foreign Policy
of the Slovak Republic**

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