

YEARBOOK

OF FOREIGN POLICY

OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

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Preface

Presented the third volume of the *Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic 2001* offers the reader a presentation and summary of foreign policy of the Slovak Republic of 2001 from the point of view of its prime actors, expert and analytical view of the issue complemented by topical data of practical character as chronology of the most important foreign policy activities of the SR in 2001, structure of the State Administration bodies acting in a sphere of international relations and European integration, and others are. This structure of the publication known from previous volumes is based on needs to strengthen a tradition of regular assessment of the whole complex of Slovak foreign policy in all its levels with regard to a wide basis of its actors. It is confirmed also by an interest rendered to publication of the *Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic 1999* and the Slovak and English versions of the *Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic 2000* as well as to holding two annual evaluation conferences where representatives of central bodies of the State Administration, political parties, scientific research and academic centres and non-governmental organisations took part.

The Evaluation Conference of the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic for 2001 held under a title *Slovakia and its Integrational Prospects* was an important contribution to more effective use of intellectual and social potential of the Slovak Republic focused on the foreign policy and international relations field. Its specifics lay in the fact that it was held in a year of parliamentary elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. This reflected not only in its content but in participation in the Conference as well. In an attempt to give a wide space to a political discussion besides governmental representatives and representatives of relevant committees of the National Council of the SR delegates of opposition parliamentary subjects presented their view of Slovak foreign policy of the last year.

Presence of research and academic circles and think tanks representatives and foreign policy students was not less important if we concern building of institutional background and human capacities and widening and strengthening foreign policy community in the SR. Interest and entry of young people, students into active participation in similar events is one of bases of a sound development of foreign policy community in Slovakia.

The facts assure us about meaningfulness of our endeavour and the need to continue in organizing similar conferences and publishing Yearbooks of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic.

The Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung financially supported the Conference, as in previous years. We most of all thank to Frank Spengler, the director of its office for Slovakia and his deputy Agáta Pešková. It would not be able to hold the event without a restless and self-sacrificing work of the SIIS employees. Our thanks for assistance in organisation of the Conference belong also to Ľudmila Lipková, the dean of the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economy and to students of the Faculty.

Publishing of the Yearbook of the Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic 2001 was financial supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. It would not be possible to publish the Yearbook without mature work of Katarína Žáková, David Oršula and Marek Kalma. Special thanks belong to consultant of this publication Štefan Šebesta.

Editors

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

In the beginning of the governmental period we set three goals for the Slovak foreign policy: the membership in the OECD, integration into NATO and the EU. We became a full-fledged OECD member in the end of 2000. According to the European Commission Regular Report we in 1998 as the only candidate country did not fulfil political criteria. In 1999 Slovakia complied with the political criteria and got an invitation to accession negotiations. The European Commission in its report for 2000 called Slovakia for the first time a market economy.

We managed to remove all democracy deficits; we have an unequivocal foreign policy orientation. By fastening together implementation legislative, economic and technical measures in 2001 we eliminated our falling behind some Central and East European countries in integrational processes.

European Union

Slovak foreign policy recorded concerning the EU several important events in 2001. During the Swedish Presidency we opened all remaining negotiation chapters and managed to preliminary close nine of them. Thus Slovakia reached the level of the so-called Luxemburg group. During the Belgian Presidency Slovakia closed 22 chapters.

Having in mind the enlargement Göteborg and Laeken Summits were for us of a great importance. The European Union confirmed in its Laeken conclusions irreversibility of the enlargement process and put Slovakia among the 10 countries with which it wants to close accession negotiations by the end of 2002. I believe Slovakia will take part in the European Parliament elections in 2004 already as a EU member.

I fully identify with the Swedish Prime Minister G. Persson's standpoint that: Discussion about a future of the EU should be of wide spectrum with involvement of the European Parliament, national parliaments, public, civil society, social partners and academic circle. Also candidate countries shall fully participate in the discussion.

Slovakia took part in the discussion about a future of Europe through the National Convent, the third meeting of which was held on 4 March 2002. Ideas about future and direction of Europe differ. But they match in a concept that Europe of tomorrow must accept values of individual nations including Christianity values. We shall see the EU enlargement basis in mutual complementation, subsidiarity and solidarity of nations that make it. All European institutions must be subordinated and adjusted. Europe must live in a spirit of co-operation and peace.

Legislation, European Union and National Council of the Slovak Republic

One of the decisive conditions of our EU accession is a law approximation process. An important role is here played by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Today we preferentially discuss legal norms connected to the Slovak integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures. In Slovakia legislation is not a problem, but its implementation and functioning of offices responsible for law application into practice. In February 2001 the National Council of the SR adopted the Slovak Republic's Constitution Amendment, which is by the EU perceived as an important step in democratic institutions consolidation and strengthening the rule of law. The SR's Constitution Amendment represents a fundamental legal background for a successful closure of the integrational process and following actions of Slovakia in the integrational groupings.

Amendment of the SR's Constitution reinforced judiciary, widened control rights of the Supreme Control Office of the SR and formed a legal basis for creation of individual territorial entities. Its adoption allowed a possibility to establish a function of an Ombudsman, a public protector of human rights.

North Atlantic Alliance

In 1999 Slovakia got again among serious aspirants for the Alliance membership. Today we fulfil criteria for the NATO accession and belong to major candidates for gaining an invitation to the Alliance during the Prague Summit. In the end of the last year the Movement for Independent Slovakia (HZDS) in their conference presented support for the Slovak accession into the Alliance. Words about another possible alternative for Slovakia than the NATO membership of the chairman of this political party are thus now even more surprising. Despite similar statements I believe Slovakia will reach the goal we set as a governmental coalition in 1998 and it will get where it belongs to – to Europe.

Presentation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Mikuláš Dzurinda

I am glad that today for the third time based on an initiative of the Slovak Institute for International Studies the Evaluation Conference focused on foreign policy of the Slovak Republic is being held. I appreciate that a space for opinion presentation is given alongside the Government and the Parliament representatives to the parliamentary opposition, representatives of non-governmental organisations and think tanks. I believe the field of foreign policy based on national interests gives room for building wider political and social consensus. Today's Evaluation Conference is the last one during the election period of this cabinet so it gives us a possibility not only to look back to the past year but also to wider recapitulation of what the Slovak Republic has reached in an international domain since the parliamentary elections in 1998.

The basic premise of successful foreign policy is that it is an inseparable part of the overall policy, reflects internal character of a state and in the same time its ability to find trustworthy partners in an international scene. I have been tired by an argument: *They may be successful in foreign policy, but they do not flourish in the internal one.* It is particularly the home policy that creates milieu for successful foreign policy, especially in time of integration and globalisation. Progress and credit Slovakia reached in international scene and in its integration efforts is based on internal reforms of political, economic and defence fields. The basic question of our partners, members of elite international organisations OECD, NATO and EU, is: *Are they like us?* There is no automatic right for membership in these organisations resulting from a situation, geopolitical parameters of the country or its economic results. The basic requirement, which is a basis for all others, is mutually shared values and ability to communicate among each other. Countries of today's European Union and NATO

The presentation was in the conference read instead of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic who was busy for his office obligations by Miroslav Wlachovský, foreign policy advisor to the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic.

paid hard by experience of two world wars in a first half of the last century. These values were protected from expansion of communism in the second half of the last century. Today it is necessary to protect this knowledge from new threats. Someone may say: *Why is he repeating the alphabet? We know all of this.* I bring your attention to this because the time of the answer to the above mentioned question is coming. The question that must be, as in 1998, read properly. To win a positive answer to the question *Are they like us?* Europe paid hard its experiences it does not want to repeat. Modern Slovakia has them as well. Our experience is connected to 1997 and our failure in summits in Madrid and Luxemburg. It was caused by differences between foreign policy declarations and internal practise. This shall not repeat.

Pressure of growing globalisation causes a need of joint approach and continuation in integrational processes. Slovakia concerning its current development and future cannot afford to stay aside of the processes though a short period of time. Events of the last year increased pressure on continuation in integration. The date 11 September 2001, the day of terrorist attacks on New York and Washington without exaggeration can be called a breaking point of international relations. We might be witnesses of appearance of a new paradigm in international relations, of something that requires a change of approach from all of us. In any case a global terrorist threat against which even the United States – today the only world superpower - cannot feel absolutely secure unites us in defence of mutual values on which our civilisation is built. The incident forces us to ask repeatedly basic questions: *Who are we? Where are we coming from? What are we building on?* We are constrained to understand the concept of security differently, more complex in all its levels – international, state and individual one. Naturally this finds its reflection in European integration and Trans Atlantic co-operation. From 1998 to 2002 Slovakia faced twice a requirement to present its essential standpoint towards international situation. For the first time it was in 1999 during the Kosovo crisis and for the second time last year after 11 September. In both cases we stood strong on the side of our partners in the North Atlantic Alliance. It is a proof that Slovakia is sincerely consistent with its integration ambitions. Not only when the sun shines, but also under a cloudy sky.

The Programme of the Government of the SR from 1998 declares among the SR's foreign policy priorities an endeavour to gain membership in three important international organisations – OECD, NATO and the European Union, to have good relations with neighbours and to develop regional co-operation. Fulfilment of these ambitious commitments will indubitably reflect in a quality of Slovak citizens' life in a medium- and long-term horizon. If we sometime say simplistically that there are preconditions we have to fulfil for our NATO or EU accession we have to keep in mind that this is an investment into ourselves and into future of our children. Let me remind you of an important priority we managed to reach in a recent time – a membership in the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*. The membership means for Slovakia modernisation, foreign investments inflow, stabilisation of clear rules of the game, and continuation of necessary economic reforms.

For our successful development we need to secure an outer security of our country. We see this security in a membership in the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO is a basis of the Trans Atlantic security, a backbone that cannot be replaced. The Alliance is a living and developing organism able to react to new challenges and threats. One of the issues is division of responsibility and capacity ability among European and American members. Building *Common European Defence and Security Policy* is a way in a right direction, which in future will enable European countries to take action where the crisis management requires. It is not and will not be a replacement for the Alliance.

Slovakia wants to take its part of responsibility in the Alliance also in keeping European security. We accepted obligations based in the *Membership Action Plan (MAP)*, we fulfil political, economic, military and legislative tasks in our preparation for the membership. Slovakia thanks to its own endeavour and active assistance of our partners in the Alliance worked towards a position of leading candidates for admission. There is effort of several departments, representatives of the Government, Parliament and also non-governmental organisations and media. Last year we proved we are able to articulate clearly not only our interests but also interests of Central Europe and other aspiring countries. In May in a conference *New European Democracies: Leadership and Responsibility* held Bratislava we welcomed Prime Ministers of nine aspiring countries, who together with us declared will and ability of active participation in compact and free new Europe. Appealing speech of the President of the Czech Republic Václav Havel read in Reduta de facto started a political discussion inside the Alliance about the further enlargement.

We carry on active negotiations with all member countries of the Alliance. Relations with the United States have achieved the best level in history. I had the honour to be the last European politician who met President George W. Bush in the White House before his travel to the Old Continent. His speech in Warsaw meant a breakthrough in the enlargement discussion; zero variant of enlargement in the Prague Summit put out-of-date. Today the Alliance discusses a possibility of a robust enlargement. We continue in a successful political and military co-operation with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, three newest members, etc. During my recent negotiations in Berlin the Federal Chancellor G. Schroeder named Slovakia a strong aspirant for gaining an invitation during the November Summit in Prague.

We equally intensively progress in European integration. All are clear specific steps. It is enough to look back. In 1998 we discussed how to return Slovakia to its integration trajectory. In 1999 in the historical Helsinki Summit we won an invitation to start negotiations. In 2000 we started negotiations with the European Union about our accession. In 2001 during the Swedish Presidency Slovakia opened all remaining negotiation chapters and concerning the number of preliminary closed chapters it got to the level of countries of the so-called Luxemburg Group, which started negotiations in 1998. Slovakia was one of the countries that can be called by the EU repre-

sentatives an example of reality of the catch-up principle. Closure of the Swedish Presidency brought further positive messages for the candidate countries, Slovakia among them. The Göteborg Summit set two key dates – 2002 as a time horizon for the best prepared countries to close their accession negotiations, and 2004 as a year in which citizens of these countries can for the first time participate in the European elections as the Union members.

During the second half of the last year during the Presidency of the Kingdom of Belgium we closed further three chapters and by the end of 2001 22 chapters were already closed. In November a further *European Commission Regular Report* was published which states that Slovakia continues in consolidation and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, respect of human rights and protection of minorities. For the first time Slovakia was named a functioning market economy able to face the EU competition pressures and market powers in a short-time horizon. Despite very positive sound of the report having in mind the 2002 Copenhagen Summit we focused more on the critical moments. In its extraordinary meeting the Government adopted a timetable of tasks and necessary measures for their removal. The Laeken Summit moved the enlargement issue to a qualitatively new level, when in conclusions of the Belgian Presidency there were ten candidate countries (including the SR) named as countries with which the EU wants to keep the timetable set in the Göteborg Summit. The Laeken Summit created also conditions for establishment and activity of the Convent about future of the European Union. Slovakia has through its three representatives in this assembly a practical chance to participate in a new European history.

One of the basic priorities connected to Slovak integration ambitions is co-operation with neighbours and within it a renewal of the Visegrad co-operation. We keep our relations with the Czech Republic much over standard and together we managed to reach former federation property settlement. Poland for us represents a strategic partner in our NATO accession. Polish representatives explicitly helped us also in gaining our OECD membership; development of joint infrastructure projects and cross-border co-operation continues. Relations with Hungary are in 2001 characterized by opening the Consulate General in Békecs Csaba (following opening the Hungarian Consulate General in Košice), renewal of the Maria Valeria Bridge between Štúrovo and Estergom and establishment of a new Euro Region Kras on the Slovak–Hungarian border. The bridge reconstruction financed from joint budget of the two countries and the European Union and its ceremonial opening by the Prime Ministers of both countries includes strong political symbolism and in the same time it means a specific step for people of both countries. In recent time our relations has been marked by nationalisation of pre-election rhetoric namely concerning the so-called Foreign Hungarians Law and opening some issues of history, as the afterwar retribution bills of the Czechoslovak Republic are. Nevertheless I believe it is only a temporary phenomenon and we will be able to continue our developing bilateral relations and importance of the Visegrad co-operation will grow further.

Slovakia, metaphorically speaking, keeps in its left hand a doorknob of the NATO and in its right hand a doorknob of the European Union. We managed to return our country healthy self-consciousness in international scene and we are standing in front of a historical possibility to fulfil our integration ambitions. Central Europe in which we live had turbulent history with less chances than historical tragedies and fatal setbacks. It is useful from time to time to remind also experiences of our predecessors to realize seriousness of the time we live and chances appearing in front of us. Let me thus in the end quote prophetic words of Dr. Milan Hodža, the first Slovak in a Prime Minister's chair. He wrote them in a margin of need of regional co-operation in Central Europe and further integration:

It is not a rewarding task to speak about big problems here because our young democracy is ill-mannered, it thinks it has no time for big issues and exhausts itself by noisy but little cantankerousness. This is a right of a young democracy. But there is also a right and obligation of a young democracy sometime to realize from what the nation can be alive and healthy also in a distanced future. That are bigger problems: they evoke our attention if we do not pay our attention to them voluntarily. Let's not be afraid of big problems. Let people of narrow horizons and little faith be afraid of them.

Presentation of the Vice Prime Minister of the Government of the Slovak Republic for European Integration Mária Kadlečíková

From the European integration goals point of view we may see the year 2001 as a continuation of permanent effort to sustain political stability, legislation or economics reform, or reform of relations with foreign partners. Without an analysis of the last year, without a look back we would lose an overview of larger or smaller successes, of errors and mistakes of uncovering our potential and reserves. Slovakia of 2002 is not only a piece of art of the year 2001 but also of previous years. It is a work of the purposeful integration policy of the President of the SR, members of the National Council of the SR, members of the Government of the SR, and administration in individual departments, which took part in realizing specific tasks connected to preparation of the Slovak Republic for the European Union membership. Hope from four years ago has changed into a common goal of the governmental coalition and the opposition; it is supported by more than 80 per cent of the Slovak public. Successful progress in accession negotiations with the European Union is an important progress; all 29 chapters covering the EU legislation have been opened and 22 of them are already preliminary closed; then there is the SR Constitution Amendment; start of the Public Administration reform; working market economy. But this is still just a part of a big building successful finish of which stays in continuity.

During the evaluated period we continued in an intensive dialogue with the European Commission, the EU member countries and we focused also on activities within bodies based by the *European Accession Agreement*: Association Council, Association Committee, Association Sub-Committees, Joint Parliamentary Committee of the European Parliament and the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and Joint Consultation Committee EU/SR. During the past year Slovakia reached the set goal

for the accession process – to open all remaining chapters during the Swedish Presidency – and thus caught up the other Visegrad Four countries state of play. This creates possibility to enter the European Union approximately in the same time. The Slovak Republic has closed all chapters of the internal market and some chapters where we require transition periods. Thanks to the effort Slovakia became one of the real candidates for the European Union admission together with other the best-prepared candidate countries. An expressive progress of the Slovak Republic together with recommendations which areas shall we focus on in the final stage of our EU accession preparation resonated in the latest *European Commission Regular Report*. Fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria led to further strengthening and deepening stability of institutions securing democracy, rule of law, human rights, respect and protection of minorities. Despite the progress in the anticorruption fight we must more strictly apply adopted anticorruption laws and in the minority policy we shall focus on improvement of the Romany community situation in our society. In the field of economy besides marking Slovakia a functioning market economy able to face market environment and market forces in the EU in a short time, there were privatisation and restructuralisation of the bank sector and public services state enterprises highly appreciated. The positive evaluation commits us to continue in the process of political and economic stabilisation and focus on solving the problem of high unemployment and big differences between regions and to reach progress in areas of agriculture and regional policy.

In 2001 the Government of the SR adopted *The National Programme for Adoption of Acquis Communautaire*; its final revision based on remaining short-term and medium-term tasks is going to be held in this year. The *Report on SR's Preparation for the EU Accession for the period September 2000 – June 2001* and the Amendment of the Report on SR's Preparation were completed as a one of data for the *Regular Report on Slovakia's Progress towards Accession*.

Deep analysis of Slovakia's preparation for the EU membership presented in the Regular Report of the European Commission was a basis in defining steps and measures needed in 2002. On 12 December 2001 the Government of the SR approved a material *Priority Tasks of the Government of the SR resulting from the Regular Report of the European Commission on Slovakia's Progress towards the EU Accession from 13 November 2001*, identifying problems in individual spheres of the accession process and on their basis set short-term priority tasks for 2002. The Document contains 236 legislative and non-legislative tasks fulfilling of which creates conditions for finishing the EU accession negotiation in 2002. In 2001 the Government of the SR approved 64 laws what makes 88.8 % of the total number of priority laws. Concerning the adopted laws in 2001 the Slovak Republic reached the most visible progress since the beginning of negotiations and regular monitoring of fulfilling the set tasks became a tool for the integration process intensification.

In the last year there was a breakthrough in solving the tasks of administrative capacity and its link to the state budget sources. The Government of the SR decided

to allocate 833 new workplaces for building administrative capacities and new institutions connected to the EU law implementation. Besides this there are specially allocated financial sources in the Budgetary Chapter *General Treasury Management* allowing enrolling further 263 employees. This means that in 2002 the Slovak Republic strengthens its administrative capacities needed for the EU law implementation in total by 1096 employees. In identifying the priority tasks for which 833 workplaces were allocated adopted legislative norms bringing new duties were a basis. Their fulfilling inevitably requires strengthening administrative capacities, for instance implementation of the new waste law, mineral oils consumer taxes law, financial control and internal audit law. A special attention was paid to strengthening administrative structures responsible for control of our pre-accession tools Phare, ISPA and SAPARD and after our EU accession securing deriving financial means from structural funds. The issue of administrative capacities needed for effective implementation of the EU law becomes a key issue for all candidate countries in the coming future. This problem is a subject of the *Strategy Paper* published by the European Commission together with the Regular Reports of the candidate countries. In 2002 a special monitoring of this sphere will be held and it is sure that fulfilling this criterion will play an important role in deciding of which candidate country shall become a new European Union member country among the first.

The coming European Union enlargement is a milestone in a new era of European history. The final stage of the enlargement process gets new specific features. The European Council and the European Parliament clearly expressed a wish to allow the best-prepared candidates to take part in the 2004 European Parliament elections already as members. It seems there is no obstruction of the European Union enlargement. Thinking about the final stage of the enlargement process we cannot forget an important moment of accession documents ratification by parliaments of individual candidate countries and parliaments of the EU member countries. The European Parliament must approve the accession documents, as well. As polls say the European public does not perceive enlargement unequivocally, contrary to positive proclamations of politicians. Statistic data says that enlargement is supported by 43 per cent of the European Union citizens. This evokes further information and communication activities in the EU member countries not only from the European Commission side but also by an initiative of the candidate countries. Support of the Slovak public has an increasing tendency. According to the latest polls 81 per cent of inhabitants support Slovakia's EU accession. Increased information about the European Union and keeping and increasing of public support for the EU accession is a subject of communication strategies realized by governments of all candidate countries. A concept *Communication Strategy* approved by the Government of the SR is divided into several time sequences and years 2002 and 2003 are defined as the so-called second, persuading phase, considered being the most important. This is why it is paid an increased attention. From our up-to-date experiences one can see that in the Slovak reality it is important to appeal systematically mainly in individual regions of Slovakia. We thus

prepared a manual with a detailed scenario of visits to Slovak regions. The communication campaign is besides wide public focused mainly on opinion making groups as journalists, local administration, representatives of local professional and social organizations, non-governmental organizations, academic society, and university students. It is possible to reach through the mentioned groups better addressability and information effect. We use different forms of activities starting at co-operation with electronic and press media through youths information centres establishment, which will be gradually transformed into European information centres, through a free telephone info-line in the Office of the Government of the SR, where people can get answers to different questions concerning the European Union and our accession, finishing with the Internet. Direct appeal is done in seminars and conferences, which we prepare on a basis of identified needs of the focus groups. Education of employees of the central bodies of the State Administration, local administration and regional courses about preaccession assistance are a subject of the realized *State Administration Employees Education Concept in a Frame of the Integration Process*. According to the *Report on Fulfilling the Educational Process* in 2001 a total of 5003 Central Administration employees participated in courses.

2001 was also a year of an approval of home preparation for the EU membership. There was a suspicion of the EU preaccession means abuse in Slovakia. The issue was dealt by the Supreme Control Office of the Slovak Republic on the Slovak side and by representatives of the *European Anti-Fraud Office* (OLAF) on the European one. The latest results of investigation did not prove a financial means abuse but recalled a requirement of securance of more transparent organisational structure of the EU funds means draw and use and of adoption of legislation dealing with control systems which in the future shall minimize risks of preaccession funds means abuse. Adoption of the financial control law, passed by the National Council of the SR on 18 October 2001, is an important step. Issues of improving control and coordination of programming and implementation processes were a subject of the *High Level Working Group (HLWG)* and results assisted administrative structures improvement and projects preparation and their financial control legislative aim persuasion. The HLWG results were positively met by the European Commission as well as by members of the Budget Committee and Committee for Budget Control of the European Parliament. On 19 February 2002 in Brussels the European Commission in a preaccession foreign assistance coordinators meeting highly appreciated the Slovak Republic's case as a demonstration of system measures. The SR's approach to solving this serious problem was declared a model for other countries.

Since 2000 financial assistance of the European Union to the candidate countries has been realized through three preaccession tools – the PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD Programmes. Sum of a total PHARE annual allocation for all candidate countries represents EUR 1.5 bil., the ISPA Programme gives EUR 1 bil., and the SAPARD Programme EUR 0.5 bil.

The European Commission based on criteria (as area, number of inhabitants, gross national product per citizen) within individual preaccession programmes assigned for the Slovak Republic following national allocations: the PHARE Programme – National Programme and Programme of the Cross-Border Co-operation EUR 49 mil. for years 2000 – 2002; the ISPA Programme EUR 37 – 56 mil. evenly divided between the transport and environment sectors; and the SAPARD Programme EUR 18.4 mil. for agriculture and rural areas development. Besides this Slovakia gains means also within programmes for more addressees and the *Special Programme for Support of Nuclear Power Station V1 Decommission*.

To reach optimal economic effect of activities supported by the EU tools requires coordination and complementation of individual preaccession programmes. According to the European Commission Regulation (No .1266/1999 par. 7 item 1 and 10) coordination among three preaccession programmes will be realized in the national level in a way to eliminate duplicity and to secure cohesion and interconnection. For instance measures financed within the SAPARD Programme cannot be and will not be financed by the PHARE Programme and vice versa. To secure coordination of all preaccession programmes and preparation for structural funds a *Preparatory Committee for the EU Structural Funds* was established, where predominantly ministries participating in drawing means preparation from the structural funds are represented. The Committee is important from the point of view seeking complementarity, transparency and overall co-operation and inter-departmental coordination of financing from the EU and thus lowering duplicity risk. In the same time it is a platform for the ministries for mutual information exchange about plans concerning future financing by preaccession programmes.

PHARE programming is for 2002 divided into three phases. Fastened programming started in summer 2001 and is focused only on the *acquis* field, or field of institution building. Regular programming started in autumn 2001. Subject of supplementary programming for institution enhancement that is to be financed from a special budget of EUR 20.1 mil. set for the Slovak Republic over the frame of an annual amount for the SR of EUR 49 mil. will be discussed within regular programming.

The year 2001 was a year of progress, tests and strengthening the Slovakia's candidate position for the European Union membership. Years 2002 – 2003 will be decisive for Slovakia concerning not only finalisation of negotiation with the European Union but sustaining continuity of our preparation for the Union accession as well. The Union that is real and permanent method of progress.

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

I really appreciate the opportunity to make a speech at this already traditional annual conference organised with great care by the Slovak Institute for International Studies in co-operation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. I would like to express my respect to the experts present as well as the actors directly involved in foreign policy of our country. I realise that the topic of the conference has been somehow narrowed compared with last year. But the prospects of Slovakia's integration are still the highest priority of the Slovak foreign policy this year, which is without doubt going to be the crucial year for them to come true. A more detailed analysis of current situation and of the integration prospects themselves is of course expected from various presenters, the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic who are responsible for the integration of our country, similarly as from others, who are so-to-say our play mates in the process of integration. From my position of the person responsible for the practical implementation of our country's foreign policy and diplomacy, I would rather like to talk about the outer circumstances of implementation the integration priorities of the Slovak foreign policy than its characteristics or evaluation.

Having framed my topic and picking up threads of what the three preceding presenters said, I consider particularly important to call attention to a tendency which can be observed in the current happening in the sphere of international affairs: besides traditional diplomatic structures, new subjects are coming to the foreground, unconventional actors such as non-governmental organisations, cultural and academic institutions, self-administrations of different kinds and different scopes of cognisance etc. Under the influence of these actors and also thanks to the rapid development of information technologies classical bilateral and multilateral structures of diplomacy are changing their image. Foreign policy is becoming more dynamic. These trends reflect the endeavour to modernise diplomacy, not only from outside, but also inside

this demanding and exceptional profession or competence. In our country there has also been a vital discussion for several years, related to the search for a new, more effective alternative of organising the foreign policy sector and its main institution – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. New challenges arise not only in connection with implementation the public administration reform in terms of its central bodies but also in connection with spreading the foreign policy community wide. We are attempting to create a modern Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which would be able to react effectively to the inner and outer challenges, to find its way under each given conditions. Our key task is seen in widening the community and deepening co-operation with institutions of civil society, not only in reflection of current international issues, but also in preparation concepts and decisions making in the sphere of international relations and national security of the Slovak Republic. There is an obvious direct link between integration option of the current Slovak government and its foreign policy.

An important role from this point of view pertains to the Slovak Institute for International Studies, which has served since its reinstatement in 1999 as a platform for co-operation with organisations of the third sector and with academic circles. The publications of the Institute – the quarterly “International Issues“ and the “Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic“ – contribute markedly to creation and formation of the space and background for the Ministry. The activities of the Institute represent important communication channels with the public and play an important role in forming the image of Foreign Service in its eyes. I only want to repeat that the Ministry considers the Slovak Institute for International Studies to be an important and effective element in an institutional background of foreign policy of the Slovak Republic. Particularly valuable are its activities aimed to participation of various segments of the Slovak society in a cultivated (well-spoken) discussion about future of Slovakia. Despite the fact that the Institute after having mastered previous administrative-organisational problems has to face a difficult transformation period, I consider important to clearly declare its necessity. It has a place among Slovak think tanks. If there were no institution like this besides the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovak think tanks would miss it. I would like to express my thanks and recognition to the Slovak Institute for International Studies for its results achieved under conditions, which were more a boundary than an incentive in its meritorious activity.

These days I have been submitting the evaluation of fulfilling the tasks of foreign policy of the Slovak Republic in 2001 and its aim in the current year 2002 at the meeting of the Government of the Slovak Republic. I will confine myself to a concise statement that we tried to make an objective evaluation, without any trimmings, having in mind the finalisation of our integration ambitions as they were projected in the programme of the coalition government, whose governing period is going to expire this year. I will soon be presenting the traditional „bill“ of fulfilling tasks of foreign policy of the Government in front of our parliament. No extraordinary expressive arbitration of the balancing document of our department can be expected there. But at today’s conference of the Slovak Institute for International Studies I would expect

something more than a strictly academic debate. We have six hours to contemplate intensively about our common agenda. This is a kind of a brain-storming, the aim of which should be to direct everybody to the pragmatic solution of problems, which might arise in connection with the above mentioned integration finish. It is going to take place under relatively favourable external conditions (which has also been proved by our honourable guests – the previous speakers), but mainly under less favourable inner conditions due to the traditionally explosive or perhaps volatile pre-election atmosphere in Slovakia. If we state by right that Slovak foreign policy has achieved successes, we also have to state, that this was the case thanks to the fact that Slovakia freed itself definitively from international isolation, which was the most unfavourable condition by the time when the current coalition government acceded to the office. If we state that the maximal endeavour was directed at the admission to the transatlantic integration groupings, we also have to remark that this endeavour has been supported by a growing socio-political consensus concerning integration ambitions of the Slovak Republic as well as by a friendly, helping environment in the Trans Atlantic integration groupings, which welcomed the consequent elimination of the deficits of democracy in Slovakia. We have already managed to give Slovakia back its lost international credibility by means of realising integration priorities in its foreign policy. And exactly for this reason only the real fulfilment of these integration ambitions can prevent a repeated jeopardy of its credibility.

I don't want to disparage the problems, we have to face in the process of integration, but I have to warn, that their inconsequent or missing solution would provide a hunting ground for the Slovak political populism, which would be a beginning of a destructive trend towards loss of the credibility. This is the message behind the concerns of our supporters from the environment of integration groupings sharing the same values; Slovakia is trying to key in. It is necessary to underline, that the enforcement of integration priorities is not only the endeavour and destiny of diplomats, negotiators or department reformers, but also a reflection of the respectable attitudes and work of the citizens of the Slovak Republic. Our citizens are subsistently interested in transformation and modernisation of their country, in improving their standard of living and civic comfort and by means of integration in improving Slovakia's international prestige. All this is going to be reflected in their election preferences. The election year, the way we understand it in our department, cannot be a reason to slack off in endeavour to finalise integration successfully. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR under continuity of foreign policy is understood not only that the new government, whatever it looks like, should obligatorily take on responsibility to meet obligations of foreign policy arising from treaties, which is traditionally expected. This time the new government will also have to join the current achievements in the process of integration. It is going to be the matter of continuous fulfilment of pre-admission criteria of the EU in the field of economy and legislation and in case Slovakia is invited to enter NATO at this year's Summit in Prague, it will also be the matter of executing the long-term programme of modernising the Slovak Armed Forces.

The current government as well as the department of foreign policy and diplomacy are at the very end of their governing period determined exactly by integration criteria. If fulfilment of these criteria should be threatened for one reason or another, it would mean a single thing: from the point of view of citizens an unforgivable and concerning the country an irreversible step back.

One year ago I mentioned at a similar conference that the change in perception of Slovakia abroad after the 1998 elections was not a coincidence and that the change of political culture in Slovakia was not a question of a short-time period. I still insist on this judgement today, even though facing an enduring and extremely damaging vulgarisation of the Slovak political scene, because, unfortunately, this is not derived from the electors. The electorate by right expects from politicians responsible behaviour in corresponding with the country's future. As the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR I can assure the Slovak public, that when creating and presenting foreign policy we do not allow the smallest violation of standards or norms of European behaviour, we would not prefer confrontation, since the lesson from the period of Slovakia's isolation is a sufficient warning even today. And that is why we would like to calculate on political culture, overview and maturity of Slovakia's citizens during the integration finish. This was also the basis of our communication strategy, which without doubt resulted in a clear rise in integration preferences of our citizens. The right to decide about Slovakia's future inside, not outside the above-mentioned integration groupings, is in hands of the people, of the electorate. That is what they could hear clearly enough from the prominents from abroad as well, who would like to see Slovakia having its place inside these groupings.

I myself have also been receiving a lot of persuasive signals, that our integration endeavour towards NATO and EU has been successful - let me refer e.g. to the spontaneous recognition expressed by a zealous propagator of the NATO enlargement J. Finley, or to the verbally brief report of the NATO team after the visit to Slovakia. I could also quote the favourable assurance of the EU Enlargement Commissioner G. Verheugen and many other statements. These are not only words of recognition to the meritory fulfilment of our pre-accession integration criteria. I can always see real respect for Slovakia's position achieved on the international scene, in democratic society. We appreciate the fact that these statements usually include well-meant advice or direct help with managing the final, most difficult pre-accession or negotiatory criteria. We know ourselves how these problems accumulate with growing complexity of the criteria. If these statements included fears about the future development in Slovakia, this was only for sake of preserving this position, staying in this community. In another words: Slovakia should not be gambling with its chance to be and remain a legible and trustworthy partner, which does not automatically mean to be uninteresting. Slovakia should not risk the return to the group of "problem" subjects in international life; this would be a high price for an increased interest of political commentaries or observation missions. There is no such country among the transition post-totalitarian countries, which would have made this negative experience and that

is why we should be able to prevent its disastrous repetition. After all, thanks to Slovakia's current credibility we can as the on-coming presiding country of the regional Visegrad co-operation manage the responsible task of organising in Bratislava in May the first summit of the Prime Ministers of the countries of two similar regional groupings – V4 and Benelux, which is going to deal above all with the topic of integration. This year's on-going Presidency in CEFTA also has to be taken responsibly and constructively in relation with the higher European integration. In context of these two tasks Slovakia could even emphasize its integration potential. At the end of my speech I would like to note that it is the concrete facts on integration, what I expect from the speeches of other representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since I did not deal with these in particular. But I would like to add that I have completely no doubt, that as far as my department is considered, this decisive year of integration will be managed professionally. I would like to exploit the opportunity of this competent forum and call upon all participants in the integration process to show the same amount of responsibility and professionalism. A lot of optimism could also be extracted from the yesterday's meeting of the National Convent (it was already the third one), which reflects the future of integrated Europe from the Slovak point of view.

Presentation of the Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic Jozef Stank

I welcome this unique opportunity to take the floor in front of this both qualified and representative audience and to give a brief insight into some of interactivities of the Defence Department, which had an influence on formation of the Slovak Republic's position abroad last year. The Defence Department, as one of the decisive elements carrying out tasks of the Slovak security, political and integration efforts, was at the beginning of 2001 in a complicated personal, financial and legislative situation.

A principal qualitative change of both style and dynamism of the work of the whole department became necessary. We can say the same about the necessity to intensify our integration efforts to win a qualitative turnover in decisive areas of preparation of both the Slovak Republic and its Armed Forces to join the Alliance. To translate the above-mentioned priorities into the Defence Department internal practice it was necessary to accelerate the creation and processing of strategic documents, to advance in the new defence legislature and mainly to prepare the basic reform of the Armed Forces.

The documents – *Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic*, *Defence Strategy of the Slovak Republic*, and *Military Strategy of the Slovak Republic* – represent a strategic concept of the security and defence policy making. Their consensual adoption by the National Council of the Slovak Republic has enriched the Slovak political culture by a new dimension and it has given a guarantee of continuity of the Slovak security and defence policy for the future as well. It is, at the same time, a clear signal of achieving the basic political consensus in terms of the State basic security orientation.

An approval of the above-mentioned documents was logically followed by the intensification of work in legislative area, with stress on legislative adaptation to the standards of the both NATO and the EU member countries. Thus the *Amendment to*

the Constitution of the Slovak Republic has eliminated limitations concerning codification of mutual collective security conditions. It detailed legal regulation of both deployment of the Armed Forces outside the Slovak territory and presence of the foreign Armed Forces on our soil. During the last year the additional acts of state security and defence were finalized: the *Constitutional Act on Security of the State in Time of War, State of War, Crisis and Emergency*, the *Act on the Defence of the Slovak Republic*, the *Act on the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic*, the *Act on the Compulsory Service* and other generally binding legal regulations which the National Council of the Slovak Republic is dealing with at the present time.

Preparation of the principal reform of the Armed Forces has represented a practical application of both the goals and priorities defined by basic strategic documents. The document named the *Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic - Model 2010* was approved. Experts from the NATO member countries were actively involved in its elaboration. The document means a basic turn of the direction of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in comparison with previous attempts of their reform. The document is both a balanced and coherent one; it defines modern Armed Forces ensuring defence of the Slovak Republic in accordance with the laws and missions assigned to the Armed Forces in the Military Strategy. The Armed Forces achieve the interoperability with the Armed Forces of NATO member countries in terms of combat readiness, quality of training, equipment, and armament as well. They are going to be professional, effective, financially acceptable, highly organised and equipped, and well trained. This document strictly states the schedule and demanded steps to professionalization, reconstruction, restructuralisation and modernization of the Slovak Armed Forces in order to be able to co-operate with NATO Armed Forces.

The Military Strategy was followed by the document called the *Long-term Structure and Development Plan of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic* and approved by both the Government and the State Defence Council. Input of individual planning process has been integrated into a coherent, balanced plan. Thus it creates a basis of the defence planning system with a real dimension.

An extensive reorganisation of both the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic carried out by the 1st October 2001 was one of the first steps of the implementation of the reform. The set number of employees at the strategic level of management and command decreased by one third down to 480 persons. The ratio of the civilian staff has been increased from 45 to 61 per cent. The proportion of alternative functions was changed providing conditions for an even higher rate of civilians. New structures of the Ministry and the General Staff create a basis for consistent allocations of competencies among individual organizational units, an increase in the quality of civil control over the Armed Forces, and approximation of rank structure to the similar ones of the Alliance.

In 2001 the *Concept of Reform of the Defence System of the Slovak Republic* was finalized which created the basic systemic preconditions for changes in terms of quality in the whole State defence system, in the framework of the comprehensive secu-

rity concept. The audit of the State crisis management on the Slovak Government current session agenda is playing a significant role in this process.

The above-mentioned documents represent the Slovak contribution to the fight against international terrorism, which the Slovak Republic has intensively joined after the terrorist, attacks.

After this short analysis of the main changes, which occurred in the Defence Department in 2001, and which were closely linked to foreign affairs, now let me move on to a review of individual international activities.

In the framework of the PRENAME National Programme we have achieved a balance between set objectives and available resources. Last year all of the relevant tasks resulting from the initial 64 Partnership Objectives were met. A sum of approximately SK 2,4 billion was allocated for them. It is triple the sum in comparison with the last year. Partnership Objectives have not become an isolated part with its special regime but on the contrary an integral component of the Defence Department management.

Thereby the Defence Department has supported its own involvement in the Individual Partnerships Programme activities aimed primarily at the approximation of the following: the national legislature, policy and structures according to the requirements of the future NATO membership. They are also aimed at meeting the requests of the interoperability in the logistic and infrastructure areas, language education and training, defence planning and resources management in the area of both the equipment and armament modernization. The Slovak Republic is behaving as if it already were a member of the Alliance. We have proved this most markedly in the difficult test of ally solidarity - in the Balkans operations and in the war against terrorism in Afghanistan. In both cases we have not only declared our values, which we are sharing but in fact we have also decided to defend them. We gave an approval for both the over-flights and transfer of allied forces through our territory, and we offered cooperation in diplomacy and information service areas. We are prepared to offer further support and help as well.

Participation in the international military exercises is a part and a parcel of the preparation process of our Armed Forces. The servicemen of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic took part in the twenty above-mentioned exercises last year. An extensive international staff exercise with limited field activities, called *the Blue Line*, was carried out in Slovakia.

Manifestation of our capability both to communicate and co-operate effectively with the Central European countries has been a factor by which the credit of the Slovak Republic abroad has been increased. This fact was confirmed by the Slovak Republic's Presidency in *the Central European Nations Co-operation in the Peace Support Project* (CENCOOP). A sound progress in the *TISA Project* was achieved. A joint multinational engineer battalion, involving such countries as Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and Slovakia, was established. It is destined for assistance in the case of natural disasters, mainly floods on the Tisa River.

The Defence Department plays also an irreplaceable role in Slovakia's efforts to join the European Union. Therefore in 2001 we paid a great attention to preparation of the forces declared for activities in the framework of the *Common European Security and Defence Policy of the EU*. The Slovak Republic re-declared readiness of our capabilities at the *Capability Improvement Conference of the European Union* in November 2001 in Brussels.

In 2001 participation of the Army of the Slovak Republic servicemen in peacekeeping missions under the mandate of the UN, OSCE, EU and NATO doubled in comparison with 2000. At the end of 2001 the Army of the Slovak Republic was involved in twelve peacekeeping missions with 665 persons. At the present time the number has increased to the level of 766 persons.

As a response to the terrorist attacks and in the framework of strengthening the Slovak integration ambitions, a decision was approved: our involvement in the NATO-led operations and missions has to be intensified. The decision to build a joint multinational brigade together with the Czech Republic and Poland for both NATO and EU-led operations reflects the above-mentioned policy in practice. The Headquarters and Staff will be established in the town of Topoľčany on 30th May 2002. The first commander of this brigade consisting of representatives of two NATO member countries and Slovakia will be a Slovak general. Our further contribution to this area is a joint Czech-Slovak battalion for the KFOR operation in Kosovo; it has met its operational readiness on 1st March 2002. The Slovak Republic has contributed one mechanised company to this battalion.

Both bilateral and multilateral co-operation with foreign partners play a significant role in implementation of the Slovak security policy. Plans of bilateral co-operation were accomplished with both seventeen NATO member countries (with the exemption of Iceland and Luxembourg) and seven partnership countries within the framework of the enhanced program Partnership for Peace.

In the framework of international treaties and agreements the Defence Department participated in fulfilment of Slovak commitments resulting from the *Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe* (CFE Treaty), the *Vienna Document 1999* and regional confidence and security building measures. Fulfilment of these commitments has made a significant contribution to the strengthening of both the Slovak Republic's international status and increase of its credit in the international arena. I believe nobody has any doubt about the Slovak Republic's direction in security area or about the share of the Ministry of Defence in compliance this part of the Government Programme Declaration. There is a strict accord between our words and actions concerning this Declaration. Our approach to the reform of the Armed Forces has met an international appreciation; furthermore it is becoming a methodological example.

Comparing results achieved in both our work and our soldiers' activities in peacekeeping missions, we are full of optimism in the face of the oncoming NATO Summit in Prague.

In 2002 we are paying close attention to the topic of maintenance of changes continuity in terms of quality and implementation of the reform in all areas of our activity. The Government approved additional acts that are to enhance both attractiveness and credibility of the Armed Forces for some of the new potential members. The Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic should become one of the really prestigious forces. This is connected with the professionalization process in our Armed Forces. For your information I can mention, in spite of the sceptical voices, there is an interest to serve in the Army service. Last year 1158 soldiers were enlisted in the lowest ranks aimed to replace soldiers in compulsory military service. In the first two months of this year, 375 soldiers joined the Armed Forces. This means that the process is going ahead without restraint. The above-mentioned acts, coming in force as of the 1st July 2002, help to promote and accelerate this process. Through both the unceasing communication with the public and our transparent policy we would like to reach the stage that the Defence Department would be considered, by our citizens and foreign partners as well, as a trustworthy partner with clearly defined aims, missions and tasks.

Presentation of the Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Juraj Švec

The 10-year-long endeavour of the Central European countries focused on reconstruction of their political and economic system found its reflection in strengthening and consolidation of democracy and thus in achieving a considerable level of integration capacities, necessary for a successful finish of the integration process. On the other hand the integration configuration of the EU states as a recipient of new democracies needed a whole decade to reach an appropriate absorption capacity that would enable the EU to enlarge by 5 up to 10 new member states. The EU Summit in Nice in December 2001 became despite many doubts and disbeliefs the crucial breaking moment of the EU enlargement process. It defined the necessity of institutional changes in the structure of the EU because of the enlargement process and called upon the representatives of the national parliaments and political, economic and university circles to open a wide discussion about the political and economic organization of our continent. The Nice Summit co-invited the candidate countries to participate in a preparation of the reform in following four directions:

- division of organization between the EU institutions and institutions of the member states;
- implementation of the EU Charter of Human Rights;
- issue of simplifying resolutions of the EU Summits to make them more understandable for a wider European public;
- role of national parliaments in creating the architecture of future Europe.

Slovakia is one of the candidate countries, which are intensively preparing for the accession to the EU. We fully understand the interest of the citizens in who and how is going to control the future of our continent and it is our prior aim to take part in

organization of the future inner structure of the EU. Slovakia accepted the requirement to fulfil prerequisites of the pre-accession process, which is supported by all parliamentary parties and a vast majority of the citizens. That's why there is certain reservedness of the National Council to new limits of the integration process, such as the seven-year transit period for a free movement of labour, shortening the subsidies for new members, or attempts to damp the integration movement by proposed plebiscites on the accession process. From this point of view a result of the public opinion analysis published in Eurobarometer Nr. 55/2001 is an unfavourable surprise. According to this analysis the biggest support of the enlargement process was recorded in Greece (70 %), in the Republic of Ireland (59 %) and in Spain (55 %). In other countries support of the enlargement is close to 50 % - Portugal (52 %), Italy (51 %), Sweden and Denmark (50 %). Unfortunately, support of the enlargement in the economic most prosperous countries is very low: France and Germany (35 %), Austria and the United Kingdom (33 %), and this despite the fact that these countries are the biggest business partners of the countries of Central Europe. The vision of the political architecture of future united Europe varies within two extremes: on one hand there is the well-known *conception of inter-governmental co-operation*, which is characteristic for a confederation of states, and on the other hand there is the German *communitarian conception* of supra-national management, characteristic for a federative organization of the EU states. In another words, Europe should become a state in the future, but not a unified state that would result in the elimination of national member states or their national identities.

Concerning different attitudes of European political leaders we cannot predict which of these two conceptions is going to be realized in the future. The German Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Fischer presented the vision of strong federative Europe. In his speeches at the Humboldt University in May 2000 and in front of the Constitutional Committee of the European Parliament a month later he suggested a two-chamber system of the European Parliament with the aim of building up links of the decision-making process on federal and national level and strengthening the executive competence of the European Parliament at the expense of the European Commission. J. Fischer's proposal found support in Italy and the Benelux countries; mainly L. Jospin and G. Schröder, who are in favour of the conception of applying the organization on a national level, expressed objections against this conception. However, both statesmen support transformation of the European Commission to a European government and of the European Council to the second chamber of the European Parliament – a kind of a European Chamber of Nations. The French Prime Minister L. Jospin proposed to build the structure of future Europe bottom-up, which is connected with the vertical distribution of competences. Schröder supports re-nationalisation of the agricultural and structural policy of the EU, L. Jospin insists on national competences in the sphere of culture and education. L. Jospin sees the future architectonic and political organization of the EU in strengthening the competences of the European Council as an inter-governmental institution and gives the Council of Mi-

nisters a role of a coordination body of the national governments of the member states. According to L. Jospin the main role of the Council is going to be to judge the legislative programs of the European Parliament and the European Commission.

From the point of view of our interests the attitude of the British and the French governments is worth attention. These states supported at the Summit in Laeken an idea of strengthening the role of national councils in building up the architecture of the enlarging EU. The French party proposes even the co-participation of national parliaments of the EU member states in a form of a permanent conference with the task of controlling the implementation of the subsidiarity principle, i.e. the democratic division of competences between the EU structures. The German, the British and the French parts talk about federation of national states, but all of them put different emphasis on the categories of *federation* and *national state*.

The quasi-state organization of the united EU is also supported by Belgium. The Prime Minister G. Verhofstadt was the first one to propose the EU should adopt its own Constitution. The issue of the Constitution of the EU or of the Constitutional Resolution of the EU was revived at the first meeting of the Convent of the EU in the speech of its Chairman V. G. D'Estaigne. He stressed the fact that building of future Europe should stand on pillars of human rights and liberties, of democracy and law entreatment, guaranteed by the Constitution of the EU, the aim of which has to be a clear-cut definition of the division of the organization on European and national level, the definition of principles of implementation of these organization by the organs of the EU and the terms of judging the conditions of subsidiarity and proportionality in implementing the decisions of relevant bodies.

The EU Summit in Laeken opened a new phase of integration procedures in the process of enlargement. A new phase was opened for national parliaments of the member states and of the candidate states, including Slovakia, a phase of activities aimed at their participation in realizing structural reforms of the EU. The National Council of the Slovak Republic has the opportunity, besides its legislative activities with the aim of approximation the law of the Slovak Republic to the law of the EU, to participate for the first time in our history in a decision-making process about a future form (about the image) of united Europe and this via parliament diplomacy aimed at gaining the support of the EU member states in relation to the accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU as soon as in 2004. The participation of the citizens of the Slovak Republic is even more important, because the Slovak Republic is finishing the demanding negotiation process by closing the final chapters. The membership in the EU is the principal public interest from the point of view of the national and cultural integrity of the Slovak nation. The National Convent about the European future of Slovakia, whose third summit took place recently, plays an important role here. A few days earlier the first meeting of the newly established Convent of the EU took place, in which the Slovak Republic has its representation on a governmental and parliament level. The National Council will via its representatives participate in organizing internal structures and national links in the EU with the aim of acceleration of the

enlargement process and strengthening the principles of democratic management of the a family of united European nations.

All activities of the National Council, especially the activities of its Foreign Affairs Committee, focused at the NATO Summit in Prague are a part of the integration endeavour of the Slovak Republic. From the Summit in Prague the key decision about the accession of the Slovak Republic to this security organization is expected. The main task was the decision about acceptance of the strategic documents, defining basic security, defence and military preparations of the Slovak Republic for the membership in NATO, but also diplomatic mission and negotiations on the level of the parliaments of the member states of the NATO, as well as active co-operation and consultations in order to solve current tasks of the accession process of the Slovak Republic to NATO.

I believe, that today's conference is going to contribute to a wider view on the tasks, the Slovak Republic and its constitutional organs will have to fulfil in the process of constructing a new, democratic and prosperous united Europe, Europe, we are building together for our children.

Presentation of the Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Vladimír Palko

Allow me to express my thanks to the organizers of today's meeting for the opportunity to present my speech. Most of the previous presentations were held in the lines of listing the successes of the Government and the National Council in the field of integration in NATO and the EU. I don't want to carry on in this direction; it wouldn't make much sense. Slovakia is now standing at the threshold of these two configurations. I would like to express my congratulations to all those, who contributed to this development, and concentrate on another point of view.

I allowed myself a high level of freedom and didn't let my parliament function determine the topic of my presentation. I chose the *State and National Interest and Integration*. The integration itself is, of course, our state and national interest, but we cannot reduce this interest only to the accession to these configurations. Unfortunately, this reduction is quite common. Integration brings with itself many new situations, in which it will be necessary to decide what exactly our interest is. Let me remind you of the so-called *Garrett's Report*, which suggested us not to invest in our air units in the coming decade. We had to decide whether to except it or not. A few months ago we had to decide about the requirement of the EU to put the nuclear power station Jaslovské Bohunice out of operation.

So we see that the states in the EU and in NATO also make their specific policies. Thus the co-operation of France and Germany is the driving engine of the integration within the frames of the EU, while Great Britain stays rather reserved. In NATO, on the other hand, the guarantee of the co-operation between Europe and the USA is provided by the United Kingdom, while France stays rather reserved.

I would like to concentrate on the EU now and please forgive me, if I won't strictly follow the positions of the party I represent.

Slovakia doesn't really speak its mind about the future organization of the EU. In the EU there is a turbulent development trend from a confederation to a federation that is to one unified state. Do we agree with this trend? What do common people think about it? I'm afraid that common people don't know what it's all about. They do not see the great difference between NATO, which is only an obligation to common defence, and the EU, which could mean the end of our existence as an independent state. A part of this trend is the speed with which the changes are made. The EU we are going to enter is going to differ completely from the EU we applied for. Shouldn't we try to formulate our own idea of the EU, our idea, where the integration should end?

I would like to formulate or, better said, to sketch some spheres of competences, which should be preserved by the national states and respected by the EU:

1. *Decision-making about cultural and ethnic issues.* KDH (Christian Democratic Movement) defined these issues as issues dealing with protection of human life, family and human dignity. Among these there are problems such as abortions, homosexual relationships, euthanasia, legalisation of drugs, protection of the institution of marriage etc. Some might object that these topics are not the most important ones. So I ask why discussions about these topics are the most vehement ones? The Christian Democratic Movement proposed a *Declaration about the Sovereignty of the Member States and the Candidate States of the EU Concerning Cultural and Ethnic Issues* in the National Council of the Slovak Republic and it was passed. The sovereignty in these issues can be given another name as well. It is the sovereignty in formulating the concept of human and citizen rights and this is only one attribute of a sovereign state. We see this when studying the Constitutions of European countries. Of course, everybody in Europe should accept the *General Declaration of Human Rights*. But the member states should have the right to formulate concepts enlarging the *General Declaration of Human Rights*. That's why I don't consider important to have a *Charter of Rights* on the level of the EU.
2. *Decision-making about the issues of the national culture protection in the context of European culture.* I do not mean culture in its narrow sense as e.g. arts or literature, but culture in the widest sense of this word as a certain lifestyle, certain style of civilization. In politics we are more and more confronted with the phenomenon called multiculturalism. It is a philosophical and politic trend considering all cultures new, equal and worth to be protected. This is acceptable. The problem arises, when these cultures are considered to be worth to be protected also within the frames of individual European, traditionally monocultural countries. Millions of immigrants in West European countries are a consequence of this trend, not respecting European lifestyle and denying integration into the European environ-

ment. It was really interesting to follow the discussion few years ago whether Moslem girls in France should have the right to go to school with their veil. And it was strange to watch after September 11th 2001 on TV shots of a Moslem representative in the centre of London approving the terrorist attack on the WTC. Ethnic collisions between the locals and the immigrants in British towns also call certain questions. They are reflected in the activities of new politic parties such as Haider's Party of the Free in Austria or Le Pen's National Front in France. These can't be the only parties to deal with these topics. As an influential German politician, the chairman of the fraction CDU-CSU in Bundestag Friedrich Merz, said two years ago, there should be one leading culture in Germany, namely the German one. In Slovakia a statement like this would sound banal, but Merz had to face the critic of the media. The situation in Slovakia is considerably different than in Germany. But a few decades ago the situation in Germany looked different than today. A country can decide to follow the route of multiculturalism, but it can also choose to prefer its original culture. Each country should have the right to decide on its own. It wouldn't be good to discuss this decision-making at the EU level.

3. *Decision-making in economy, mainly in the sphere of imposing taxes.* By means of tax policy, whether in the sphere of natural or of corporate bodies, many factors such as the flow of capital or the brain drain can be regulated. Analyses of experts, monitoring possibilities of the GDP development, say clearly that the future new member states of the EU won't for decades be able to catch up with the old members in the sphere of their living standard. New and old member states do not have the same interests in tax policy. New countries will be interested in their tax policy to become the means of alluring foreign capital and keeping "brains at home". With the old countries equalising the tax tariffs at the EU level will mean preserving the comparative advantage.

I apologize for a brief and rather sketchy presentation of the topic, but I believe you understand that its handling would require more time and exceeds possibilities and capacity of one politician.

Presentation of the Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Peter Súlovský, Vice-Chairman of the Slovak National Party

One of the basic foreign policy priorities of the current Government of the Slovak Republic declared in its Programme is accession into economic, political and security structures of Europe, NATO and OECD. The SR became an OECD member and thus one of the strategic goals was fulfilled. For objectivity it is necessary to say that the previous government holds also its share in it.

A report about foreign policy tasks performing is annually prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR in a satisfyingly detailed structure based on the Governmental Programme major aims concretion. Having in mind the legitimate right and I believe a mission of the constructive opposition to present different views I will focus on fields in which according to the Slovak National Party (SNS) deficiencies appeared. Due to the shortage of time I would like to concentrate on EU integration, neighbourhood relations and diplomacy.

Accession Process

From an opposition party point of view the all issue or its presentation of fulfilling the Governmental Programme tasks specification is narrowed into a public statement of score of opened and closed chapters. But the negotiation process is so complicated and technically demanding that this approach seems to be contra productive so it is gratifying that also in coalition partners rhetoric an effort to depoliticise it begins to appear. Appeals from both sides of the political spectrum to refrain from using this important field in the pre-election political struggle attest to the fact. Let us hope that

who and how much merits has in fulfilling the fundamental foreign policy goal will not remain only in verbal declarations. It is generally known that the Agenda 2000 is an essential material about accession of current associated countries from the EU-EC side. The material appeared to be unacceptable for several mainly the poorer EU states in spheres as agriculture and regional policy. It would mean radical structural funds subsidies decrease for these states. Another group of countries mainly from South Europe objects subsidies in agriculture policy.

Germany as a major EU contributor asks for lowering its input and Britain led by the Prime Minister T. Blair (Labour Party) requests to retain payments what is really a social approach. It has to be mentioned that the Agenda 2000 does not contain declared claim of associated countries for subsidies from the ERDF and EAGGF funds. These basic standpoints were partly modified during the Berlin Summit led by Germany and a financial plan for years 2000 – 2006 was adopted. But it counted with accession of 6 candidate countries. From the financial budget one can read that for Slovakia and other candidate countries there was allocated no financial amount from structural funds, but only from the pre-accession ones. This fact was not and is not known publicly and preparedness or accession of a group of ten candidates in 2002 was argued maliciously.

Today the date of accession is moved to 2004 in the best case and the process of approval can last 18 month. Starting European Convent about the EU future is just a forum for presentation of ideas, it has no rights and participants can express their views only in a form of recommendations. Another thing we see as a crucial obstacle is a EU internal reorganisation issue. Even the core members have not cleared and set exact rules yet. The conference in Biarritz did not solve any basic problem. The following Nice conference has according to information given by the European Commission clear priorities, the enlargement and its conditions will be topical only after internal reforms are solved.

Major problems of the EU:

- rules for decision and number of votes for new members;
- re-division of functions – composition and number of members/commissioners in the European Commission;
- competences within the EC;
- structure and character of the EU (weight of votes, form – federation, confederation, intergovernmental form, etc.);
- number of votes in the Council of Ministers (request mainly of Germany which after unification asks for higher number of votes);
- right of veto for big states (decision conditions and applying).

In a Biarritz conference the French President and the Prime Minister openly declared the mentioned themes and agreements as the most difficult ones in EU development up to now.

Problematic and presently unsolved remain the following issues:

- number of members – EC commissioners;
- decision rights;

- composition and number of EC members/commissioners.

In conference's conclusions the Fundamental Rights Charter was emphasized. But the Declaration is not a law-binding document and it is not a part of the Nice Agreement. After problematic negotiations in the international conference an agreement about abolishment decisions adoption was achieved and a qualified majority principle in 29 individual spheres – politics adopted.

We may state that there are several negatives based in conclusion of opened or preliminary closed negotiations that endure.

- A free market of labour principle for new members is breached. The Government did not managed to pursue interests of the SR and the transitional period of 7 years (2+3+2) is a disappointment for citizens. We de facto have appeared in the second or even third-rate position.
- The newest offer of direct subsidies into the agriculture sector for the associated countries where the EU is offering 25 % of the subsidy with the transition period of 10 years, what means full subsidies in 2013, puts the candidate countries into a more than an unequal position. We face a categorization of future members and a breach of a basic principle of equality. Moreover the quota negotiations are based on an average of a five-year period, a period when the agriculture was already falling apart and in stupefaction. It was necessary to pursue at least a ten-year average. It concerns many agriculture commodities.
- In a close future the accession negotiations about the most important and in the same time the most sensitive chapters – the agriculture and regional policy - will start. Results of the negotiations will have vital and long-term effects on the whole Slovak society.
- As the most important weakness we see the fact that the Slovak Republic as a country with open economy has not prepared analysis and studies for full opening of the market, that is an ability to fully compete in the EU environment. Mainly the subsidizing policy of the current EU member states and the SR is a problematic one (see for instance agriculture field). The fact is evident mainly in a discussion about pluses and minuses of our EU accession, when for instance in reading the EC reports about preparedness of the candidate countries statements about the market economy in the SR and its preparedness to face the EU competition environment are interpreted incorrectly. A record passive foreign trade balance last year is a warning signal. We unequivocally agree with accession of the Slovak Republic into the EU and we will fully support it. But it is in a mutual interest of the Slovak Republic and the European Union that the both parts are fully and maturely prepared for this step and that completion of the basic foreign policy goal is an advantage for everybody.

The given situation is according to our opinion an effect predominantly of:

- National interests are not defined;
- Economic policy is not developed;
- Development priorities are not defined.

Relations with neighbouring states

We may find causes of the existing tensions in relations among the V4 countries, specifically between the SR and Hungary in the Bill of the Republic of Hungary on Hungarians Living in Neighbouring Countries adopted in June last year. The law was taken on board in contradiction with international law principles and it was refused by the Venice Commission and negatively assessed also in the expert opinion of the European Commission. Any comparison with the Law about Foreign Slovaks is out of question, because the Slovak one concerns Slovaks living all around the world and offers advantages only on the territory of the Slovak Republic. All critics of the Hungarian legal norm unite in this now. One issue remains why the Slovak Government did not react just after adoption of the law. Politicians from the governmental Party of Hungarian Coalition (SMK) took part in preparation of the law. In the middle of the last year the SMK threatened it would leave the governmental coalition in connection with the territorial division of Slovakia and regional government elections. The government should have reacted immediately after receiving information about preparation of such a law and should have reacted similarly to Romania or Austria. If it did not act because the information did not reach the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one must ask a question what the Slovak diplomats in Budapest did, especially the Ambassador. Slovak diplomacy fall asleep and it is appropriate to ask why.

Diplomacy

After the current government got into power changes and introduction of a term foreign policy professionalization were mentioned also in the foreign policy department. In assessment of this field one shall critically see acts of the responsible ones, which was largely in filling leading positions and appointing ambassadors tinged with political coalition key and preferring political criteria from expert ones. The Hungarian case is only one of many. The SNS several times suggested to use principles concerning political nominations usually used in abroad (there are many examples – see for instance changes after a new US Administration gets into power). Introduction of a new President of the Slovak Republic was a stabilising phenomenon to a certain level. The Constitution guarantees him rights in recalling and appointment highest diplomatic representatives of the state. To secure continuation of the foreign policy also after a change of a government besides declarative attempts a political culture shall be introduced also in this field. To achieve an agreement about a change of political nominees always after parliamentary elections and introduction of a new government can be one of the possible solutions. It would allow consistently but not maliciously keep principles of rotation of cadres usually applied in conformity with needs or interests of individual political parties.

Presentation of the Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Vojtech Tkáč, Representative of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia

1. Year 2001 was a pre-election year; coalition and opposition value its integration aspects, of course, differently. The basic standpoint is a statement that important pro-integrational reform steps were not realized, unsolved problems were deepened – cronyism, corruption, inadequate law enforcement, its realization and application, insufficient legislative aspects of pro-integrational changes, economic and social losses were created, unsatisfactory administrative ability to prepare integration conditions within competences of individual departments appeared – proved for instance by regular monitoring of fulfilling integration tasks, implemental ability of decisive integrational subjects did not increase, etc.
2. Global evaluation of the Slovak political reality concerning also integration prospects is not positive. We realize that extend of guilt does not have coalition-opposition characteristics; a cause is a universal value of Slovak political subjects. Polarisation of a political scene can be characterised by a battle of inadequate attacks and inadequate defence since the change of a political system in 1989. There is a space for self-reflection in thus named “attacks” and “defences”. But the space is empty.
3. Platonic approach to the European and Trans Atlantic integration was in an expert discussion in the National Council of the Slovak Republic violated by presented

controversial declaration of sovereignty in cultural-ethical sphere. Besides thoughts in connection with preparation of the European Convent about future of Europe and partially a progressive idea of the National Convent (13 December 2000) there is a lack of complex and conceptual discussion and preparation of Slovak politics for difficult phases of negotiation (in areas of free movement of persons, agriculture, historical traumas from the afterwar retribution bills of the Czechoslovak Republic, rational approach to jurisdiction of neighbouring countries, securing equal chances of citizens and other subjects of the Slovak Republic after accession into integrational groupings, etc.)

In the pre-election period and in a shadow of financial scandals there is a lack of unification of processes of positive influence on those subjects of the NATO and European Union member states (or their governments, parliaments, etc.), which will decide the accession. Absence of non-emotional expert and non-politicised discussion under Slovak conditions is evident also in issues of our approach towards the future of united Europe. Thoughts differentiation concerning inclusion of Slovak political subjects in European ideas and party political spectrum is a part of thus understood absence (for instance seen from the side of liberal, Christian-democratic, conservative, socialistic and other aspects).

4. Approach towards future Europe requires assuming an opinion to issues of national and state interests, international law future and legal subjectivity of European structures. The HZDS as a political party orients its attention to accession into the European Democratic Union. There is a grouping of deputies – members of political parties united in the European Democratic Union – under a name European Democratic Group (EDG) in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The EDG political group in its programme has an answer to the issues in given circumstances. The EDG besides others takes into consideration that Europe shall remain a continent of national states and national parliaments shall remain a major forum. The EDG does not support the United States of Europe but Europe of united states. The EDG recognises priority of the national state as a source of a legitimate government and acknowledges that parliaments are a prior source of national legislation including ratifications of international obligations taken over by governments. The European Democratic Union (EDU) was established on 24 April 1978 by the so-called Klesheim Declaration. The EDU has in the mentioned declaration paragraphs about a right of all nations of Europe for fundamental personal freedoms and human rights, about resolution to work for profit of really democratic and still closer and closer co-operation of all nations of Europe, which is build on power and experiences of all groupings of European states working for profit of this goals and respecting right of every nation to protect its identity and protect its vital interests. A consistent analysis of international documents and legal norms in force records validity of position of national states in international political and legal space.

5. In 2001 the Constitution of the Slovak Republic was amended also with an aim to adopt constitutional law to needs and goals of integration. We believe a status that appeared after amendment of the fundamental law of the Slovak Republic does not conform to needs of pre-accession and after-accession phases of integration. We see the basic contradiction in penetration of international documents including norm of the European Union. The current state of approximation directives of the government denies the mission and status of the parliamentary power as a control power of the legislative power. A relevant committee for European integration shall be created, bases for establishment of an institute of members of the European Parliament are not created, etc.
6. Legislative experiences and monitoring of fulfilling tasks of European integration in the election year of 2002 recall questions concerning quality and quantity of fulfilling the pre-accession criteria because negotiations finish in the second half of 2002.
7. Slovak policy development concerning post-election considerations proves need of a move from polarized political scene to creating conditions for tolerant society. In the next election in 2006, that means seventeen years after change of the political system, it is not possible to built integrated Slovakia on confrontation, black books, revenge, politics of criminalization and discredit. The peripeteias of Slovak democracy can be eliminated by integration, but they must be solved in home conditions.

Grigorij Mesežnikov

Main Trends of Home Political Developments as a Factor of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic

The year 2001 was a period of stabilizing the international status of Slovakia, concerning mainly practical implementation of integration ambitions having absolute priority in the country's foreign policy. Successful proceeding in the EU accession process (Slovakia concluded 22 chapters by the end of 2001), accomplishment of Membership Action Plan, an active approach to the Visegrad co-operation that became regenerated after 1998, stabile development of relationships with the member states of both integration structures and with neighbouring countries – all this is proving for a positive foreign policy balance of the country in the previous year.

Home political developments in the Slovak Republic in 2001: fundamental vector and integration context

One of the provisions of positive foreign policy, except for active diplomacy, was also the fundamental vector of home development of the country determined by overall political stability of the country, by the character of adopted legal rules, by forming the system of institutions, by the accord of executive and administration measures being carried out and need for systemic transformation changes. The European Commission stated in its report in November 2001, that *Slovakia is continuing in concluding the Copenhagen political criteria. The country has made progress in en-*

forcement stability of democratic institutions, adherence to the rule of law, human rights and respecting and protecting minorities.

Accession process has created a framework for the overall trend of the political development in Slovakia. The framework was significant for a strong motivation effect concerning both formation of institutional system and ways of solving the rising social problems. Preparation for the EU membership has enforced elements of political stability in the country's developments, emphasis on negotiation among political actors and putting forward systemic changes in decisive sectors of the society.

The political development of the Slovak Republic in 2001 was significant on one hand for continued trends of general democratisation processes launched during 1999-2000, including:

- sufficient stability of operation of the constitutional institutions;
- co-operative relationships, by large, among the top state institutions (with exception of strained relations between the President and the government and to some extent also between the President and the parliament during the first half of the year);
- following the principles of a legal state;
- carrying out important legislation measures enforcing the democratic character of the state;
- positive influence from the EU accession process on forming the institutional basis of a consolidating democratic regime.

On the other hand, in 2001 the potential of reform-orientated forces to act towards deepening of positive changes reached after 1998, was weakened. Due to different and often very diverse approaches resulting from agendas of the ruling entities and in-fighting within the ruling coalition (or within its individual entities), some of the important reform and democratisation measures have not been carried out to the expected extent and in an appropriate form.

Disagreements between the parties of the ruling coalition culminated in internal coalition crisis in 2001, some of them included factual risks of changes in its structure. These risks and dwindling public support for some of the coalition parties (with exception of the SMK - Hungarian Coalition Party) and the ruling coalition as a whole continued narrowing the space for putting forward reform moves and complicated the prospects not only for maximum accomplishment of the social changes introduced by democratic forces at the end of 1998, but also for creating favourable conditions for reproducing the positive trends after parliament elections 2002.

In 2001 opposition failed to retard completely the development of society, despite its attempts to do so in 1999-2000 but without success. Nevertheless, thanks to a purposeful alliance, that segments of the ruling coalition concluded with the opposition parties when passing some acts in the parliament, the opposition was able to affect developments in the country in a more plausible direction for itself.

As in 1999 and 2000 the main political forces did not try to concentrate their power using purposeful legal regulations or targeted administration measures. The ruling coalition did not clamp down on of the opposition parties. Conflict and almost

confrontation relations between ruling and opposition parties, resulting from a different understating of power enforcement, did not transcend the constitutional and legal framework.

Passing the amendment to the Constitution, adopting a series of acts related to the reform of public administration and elections to the self-governing regions were the key events in 2001.

Activities of the top constitutional authorities

The Slovak Parliament

The Slovak parliament played an important role in the overall political developments of the country. The following was significant for its activities:

- continued process of adoption of key laws to strengthen democratic character of the country and improving administration of human and minorities' rights;
- approving strategic documents determining security, defence and military orientation of the country;
- changing composition of parliamentary caucuses, a rift in the parliamentary caucus of one of the opposition parties, dissolution of one existing and creation of a new opposition caucus;
- preservation of a formal balance of power between the ruling coalition and opposition at a level comparable with the previous year;
- creation of *ad hoc* purposeful coalitions, consisting of opposition MPs and certain MPs from the ruling coalition. These coalitions, formed with a view to vote on some vital pieces of legislation, in fact weakened the ruling coalition.

In February 2001 the Slovak parliament passed the amendment to the Slovak Constitution. The amendment was drafted by a group of coalition MPs. Reaching intra-coalition consensus while supporting the amendment was preceded by overcoming differences in ideas among coalition partners, above all in issues considered by one of the coalition partners, SMK, of key importance from putting forward their own priorities point of view, including the European Charter of Regional and/or Minority Languages, the creation of a university faculty for Hungarian teachers and transfer of the land of unknown owners. Solving these issues was a SMK precondition for support of the amendment in the Parliament and SMK made a link between their demands and the commitments the government had given in its Programme Declaration.

Debate on the amendment to the Constitution in the parliament was remarkable for an a priori resistance of the opposition parties against the passage. In order to make the process of passing the amendment difficult, the opposition MPs used all the possibilities provided by the parliamentary law. Despite an extraordinary active participation in the debate opposition MPs did not submit any amending motions to the wording of the Constitution. The central theme in the presentation of the majority of

the opposition MPs was an argument saying that passing the amendment to the Constitution might create conditions for territorial disintegration of the country and that Slovakia would be put in a position subordinate to the international structures it aspires to join.

The passed amendment has been the third one since 1992 and the most extensive so far (all in all a half of the provisions of the constitutional wording has been changed). The amendment deepened the democratic character of the state, it provided for more favourable conditions for Slovakia to be integrated in the European Union and NATO, administering the principles of a legal state, administration of justice and implementation of human rights. It created legislative provision of enforcement the systemic basis of public administration and continuation of decentralization of power. It expanded the framework of applicability of the standards of international law within the country. Thanks to this fact, the new regulation is comparable with regulation existing in modern democratic countries. The amendment provided for a legal framework of transferring a part of the sovereignty to the European Union, that Slovakia is aiming to join, so that legal binding acts of the EU got priority over national laws. The amendment provided also for a legal framework of Slovakia's membership in an organization of mutual collective security. According to the amended Constitution the international conventions on human rights have priority over Slovak acts and judges are bound in their decisions except for the Slovak Constitution and the Slovak acts also by respective international conventions. The amendment significantly strengthened competencies of the Supreme Control Office as an independent body supervising the economy of state administration and self-governing authorities. It has created a legislative framework for decentralization of the public administration and generating the second stage of self-governing regions (regional assemblies). The amendment specified responsibility of the MPs for performance not related to administration of the mandate and this provided for narrowing the space of possible misuses of legislative immunity. It specified precisely the procedure of abdicating the mandate of a deputy on voluntary basis. The amendment provided for a balance of the system of President's competencies. On one hand, it cancelled President's competency to amnesty before a judgement, on the other hand it conceded the right to the President to address the Constitutional Court with a suggestion on constitutionality of an issue raised by a referendum and increased quorum on a repeated passing act, which the President returns to the parliament (currently for passing such an act it is necessary to have an agreement of an absolute majority of all parliament deputies, 76 out of 150, before that, an absolute majority of deputies present at the parliament session was sufficient, minimum quorum was 39 out of 76). The amendment of the Constitution strengthened independence of jurisdiction by passing a new legal regime of appointing judges. Election of the judges by the parliament with a 4-year probation was abolished and replaced by appointing judges by the President without *temporis exceptio* based on a proposal from Judicial Council (newly established body of the judicial self-government, which became a factual representative of judicial power

on staff). The amendment enlarged competencies of the Constitutional Court of the SR, mainly in the complex constitutional control of decision-making activities of general courts. It created adequate conditions for enforceability of its decisions. From the administration of human and minorities' rights perspective, introduction of the public protection of human rights – an Institute of Ombudsman was important.

It was extraordinary important for the social life in the country that the acts and amendments linked to the public administration reform (act on Higher Territorial Units – self-governing regions, act on elections to bodies of self-governing regions, the so-called jurisdictional act, amendments to acts concerning property and financing of the self-governing regions) were passed in the Slovak Parliament.

In 2001 the parliament passed the *Security Strategy*, *Defence Strategy* and *Military Strategy of the Slovak Republic*.

President

President Rudolf Schuster was an eminent player of the political development in the country in 2001. The following was significant for his performance:

- unambiguous declaration of support for Slovakia's accession to NATO and the EU;
- considerable hardening of his critical stance towards the government and the ruling coalition;
- repeated manifestation of dissatisfaction with the scope of powers granted to the President under the Constitution, and attempts to strengthen those powers through constitutional amendments;
- continued advocacy of reconciliation between the government and the opposition;
- critical view of the consequences of possible comeback by Vladimír Mečiar after the 2002 elections;
- enthusiasm for drawing up and adopting a state doctrine;
- direct and indirect espousal for propositions put forward by the Smer party;
- occasional attempts to influence relations among political actors.

In several of his public speeches and appearances, President Schuster made critical remarks about the government and the ruling coalition. The President often voiced deep dissatisfaction with the situation in society, above all in socio-economics, pointing to the high rate of unemployment and to the threat of an exodus of young people abroad; he claimed: "the patience of the citizens has been stretched to the limit". He tried to explain his own assessment of the situation in the country and that of the government by claiming, that while the government tended to emphasize positive elements in the socio-economic developments and to ignore the existing problems, he had his eyes open to those problems.

In May 2001, President Schuster delivered a speech in the parliament and offered an interpretation of the relationships between him and the Prime Minister Dzurinda,

depicting the conflict background. Despite the difficulties in relations of the President and the Prime Minister, stability and functionality of the constitutional system of Slovakia has not been threatened.

Government

The work of the Cabinet in 2001, especially regarding the nature of its steps and effectiveness of its decisions, reflected the overall situation in the ruling coalition. The strength of the Cabinet as manifested by its support in the parliament, was eroded due to the departure of several MPs from the parliamentary caucuses of individual coalition parties. In the aftermath of the *de facto* loss of constitutional majority following the passage of the amendment to the Constitution in February 2001, the ruling coalition entered a time of fragmentation provoked by differences in the positions of coalition partners on important measures in socio-economic field and in the public administration. Internal strife within the ruling coalition weakened the Cabinet's ability to take effective reform orientated decisions. The positions of individual parties and their mutual relations were influenced by different factors, such as program priorities, internal situation in the parties, electoral support, assessment of present coalition co-operation and its practical achievements, and the attitudes of the interest groups that in one way or another influenced representatives of individual parties.

As in previous years, the ruling coalition was more effective and more operational at the cabinet level than at the general-political level, or the level of parliamentary representation.

The intra-coalition mechanism of reaching mutually acceptable solutions, through the Coalition Council as its chief element, proved effective when it was necessary to find a consensus in supporting the amendment to the Constitution and some other important measures. However, it showed its limitations when it came to finding agreement on two key laws linked to the public administration reform.

Gradual decrease of cohesion in the ruling coalition and unbending the coalition commitments became obvious when putting forward those acts and where ruling coalition did not reach internal consensus. Passage of those laws (partial issues of taxation system, social provision system, education, etc.) has not threatened the ruling coalition cohesion. The passage of the laws on public administration reform, in a version that went counter the government-proposed draft, caused impairing of intra-coalition links and a real threat of one coalition partner to quit the ruling coalition.

Party System in the Slovak Republic

The development of the political party system in Slovakia in 2001 continued in the trend of the preceding year. Internal conflicts in some of the parties influenced

their overall position within the system of the parties, their voter support and their relations with other parties. The trend towards weakened positions of the “programme” parties continued. The ruling coalition parties in 2001 did not succeed in reversing their decline in support, that had started during the second half of 1999; and some parties fell to the “risky zone” when their voter preferences hovered around the threshold of eligibility for the parliamentary seats. Voter support for the parliamentary opposition parties remained relatively stable. The strongest opposition party, Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), made an effort to increase its coalition potential, but it was limited to a change in rhetoric concerning predominantly foreign policy issues, without a corresponding change in the internal character of the party, its program orientation and/or leadership positions. A fierce struggle inside the opposition Slovak National Party (SNS) resulted in a split of the party and a dissolution of its parliamentary caucus and led to the creation of a new party with the same political platform and profile.

No significant changes were recorded in 2001 in the attitudes of individual parties to the pre-election co-operation (e.g. through pre-election coalitions) and no practical steps were taken in this direction.

Elections to the Assemblies of Self-governing Regions

Elections to the bodies of self-governing regions provided for a new element in the development of the system of political parties. In different regions a variety of pre-election coalitions were created differing in composition from one region to another, as well as in the structure of the ruling coalition. In no region did the composition of the coalition mirror that of the current ruling coalition on the national level.

Despite the fact, that the structure of regional coalition was different in individual regions, some inclinations were noticeable.

Co-operation between the ruling parties SĎĽ and SOP and the Fico’s *alternative* non-parliamentary party Smer with the main opposition party – HZDS became a significant step in creating regional pre-election coalitions.

In some regions right-centrist coalitions were formed, which were joined by traditional non-leftist formations (SDKÚ, KDĽ, DS, SMK) followed by the newly created party ANO. Although the structure of regional coalitions provided for an element in the development of the political parties system, its significance should be assessed in the context with other indicators, which are important for development of relations among parties on the regional level and over-looking them might lead to improper and premature conclusions. The behaviour of political parties in the run-up to regional elections were influenced by the following factors:

1. Coalitions, created for the purpose of elections to the regional assemblies, do not have a spirit of ruling (executive) coalitions. The purpose of regional coalitions was to obtain the highest number of seats for the representatives of participating

- parties. It is difficult to estimate, to what extent would the coalition fractions be sustainable in the regional assemblies from a long-term point of view.
2. Program issues, which are important prerequisites for co-operation at the national level, when it comes to formation of the government and its programme, were shifted to the back in regional and local elections. On the contrary, issues related to the solution of the local problems received much greater attention.
 3. Many of the factors, that predetermine co-operation among the parties at the national level, were not relevant at the regional and local level, or were given a much lower weight. For instance, foreign-policy priorities of the parties or their international acceptance do not play the same role in the decision on entering a coalition that they would play at the national level.
 4. Decisions on entering a coalition were influenced by the electoral formula. Because of the majority model applied in regional elections, parties with a weaker voter support were compelled to join coalitions, so to say *at any costs*. And if a party was turned down by one of the coalitions (as was the case of SDL, whose low voter support in some regions made it an unattractive partner for emerging non-leftist coalitions) it looked for another possibility to join forces with a different entity that would enable it to gain seats in the regional assembly.
 5. Decisions on whether to enter a regional coalition or not were taken by representatives of regional party structures, whose perceptions of coalition co-operation differed, and also personal likes and dislikes might have shuffled the cards.

On 1st December 2001 the first round of regional elections took place. Elected in the first round were members of regional assemblies and one regional chairman. On 15th December 2001 the second round of elections took place and seven chairs of self-governing regions were elected. Election turnout was extremely low and this was the most remarkable moment of the regional elections. Only 26.02 % of registered voters took part in the first round and 22.61 % voters in the run-off.

The reasons for the low participation in the regional elections included:

- overall lethargy of the citizens due to unfulfilled expectations of positive changes after the 1998 parliamentary elections, people's discontent with internal development of the country. Changes, that took place in Slovakia after 1998, are not considered to be sufficient by a large group of citizens;
- *electoral fatigue* of the population. Since 1998 nation-wide electoral events have been held in Slovakia every year: September 1998 – parliamentary elections, in December 1998 – municipal elections, in May 1999 – presidential elections (two rounds), November 2000 – referendum on early parliamentary elections and finally in December 2001 – regional elections, a total of 6 voting acts within three years. Due to the high frequency of voting acts mobilizations of voters became more difficult
- total lack of public experiences with elected regional self-government bodies;
- lack of awareness of the purpose of the second tier of self-governing bodies and the importance of regional governments in people's daily lives;

- lack of information on some aspects of the elections (profiles of candidates for regional assemblies and regional chairs, the powers of regional elected bodies) caused by inadequate provisions in the law on regional elections which banned the use of electronic media in the election campaign;
- extremely short period of time between separating the adoption of the laws on public administration and the date of elections;
- the discouraging effect of conflicts between political parties, largely due to number of higher territorial regions, on people's perception of public administration reform;
- unconvincing performance of political parties in mobilizing their electorates. Political parties directed most of their energy to creating regional coalitions, and less effort was devoted to presenting their views on election issues.

The election results confirmed the strong position of the opposition HZDS in certain regions and the solid positions of SMK in regions with a strong ethnic Hungarian population. Elections also showed, that by forming alliances, democratic non-leftist forces have a realistic chance to compete the strongest opposition party. Right-centrist democratic parties obtained better election results in regions where they formed coalition alliances.

In two regions triumph results of rival political blocks were recorded – in Bratislava region the non-leftist coalition SDKÚ-KDH-ANO-SMK-DS took an overwhelming majority of seats (40 out of 46), while in Trenčín region all 45 seats were taken by the HZDS. In other regions the situation was much less cohesive. In four regional assemblies - Žilina, Trnava, Banská Bystrica and Prešov – majority blocks (of various strength and cohesion) with participation of the HZDS were formed, while government parties dominated in two regions (Nitra and Košice).

Overall, elections to the regional assemblies brought the following results: HZDS obtained 146 seats (36.4 %), SMK 84 seats (20.9 %), KDH 36 seats (9.0 %), Smer 29 seats (7.2 %), SDKÚ 28 seats (7.0 %), SĎĽ 25 seats (6.2 %), ANO 13 seats (3.2 %), DS 11 seats (2.7 %), SOP 8 seats (2.0 %), other parties (SNS, PSNS, SDS, KSS, SDSS) 8 seats (2.0 %) and independent candidates 13 seats (3.2 %).

If the balance of forces between party groupings were viewed according to their agendas, right-centrist democratic (SMK, KDH, SDKÚ, ANO, DS) took a total of 42.2 % of seats, nationalist-authoritarian parties (HZDS, SNS, PSNS) a total of 37.6 % seats and leftist or left-leaning parties (Smer, SĎĽ, SOP, SDSS, KSS) a total of 15.8 % seats. Regional elections ended up in a devastating defeat for the two rivals SNS and PSNS, which did not become part of pre-election coalitions and took 5 seats as altogether. The result of the SĎĽ may be considered as an electoral defeat; the new parties (Smer, SDKÚ, ANO) were unimpressive and SOP took a beating.

Due to a good results in the elections of the chairs of regional assemblies (6 chairs out of 8) HZDS succeeded in consolidating solid positions, gained in the elections to regional assemblies. But the results of regional elections do not mean in any case an overwhelming victory of HZDS, or the opposition, which might even now be a prognostication of parliamentary elections results in September 2002.

Home political developments in the Slovak Republic through optics of integration structures

Evaluations presented by the European Union authorities and representatives of the EU member states were an important indicator of the accord of main trends of home political development in Slovakia and the needs for practical implementation of integration ambitions. The EU representatives encouraged political actors in Slovakia to carry out reform steps and to sustain internal political stability, which is imperative for implementation of these steps.

European Union observed carefully the preparation process for adopting the amendment to the Constitution. In February 2001, several days before approving, when dubiousness on passage was visible among government parties due to deficient number of MPs supporting the amendment, the EU Commissionaire for Enlargement G. Verheugen pronounced, that a potential not passing the amendment to the Constitution would have negative consequences to the perspectives of Slovakia's integration to the EU. At the same time, the commissionaire draw attention to the fact, that the delay in implementing the reform of public administration and passage the act on civil service evoked concerns in the EU. At the end of February 2001 G. Verheugen visited Slovakia. He said after the visit, that Slovakia has a very good chance to catch up with countries of the so-called Luxemburg group. He declared political stability and a wide consensus in EU integration, the most important factor of social development in Slovakia, from the integration ambitions point of view. The EU welcomed passing the amendment to the Constitution. The European Commission President R. Prodi drew attention to the remarkable progress of Slovakia when the Prime Minister Dzurinda paid a visit to Brussels. He said: "I have been watching Slovakia's destiny since its proclamation of independence. But in the past I was worried more than I am now." The Prime Minister of Belgium G. Verhofstadt, who visited Bratislava in mid March 2001, said that Slovakia made an immense effort and went through dramatic changes. „Slovakia has already recovered a lot of missing time and this is also the opinion of the European Commission, which stated a tremendous improvement in the country, in its last year's report." He said that Slovakia has good chances to be among the first ones to join the EU.

EU representatives presented several times the great importance of public administration reform for the accession process and they expressed worries resulting from the delay or not passing the key laws related to the reform. The EU Ambassador in SR W. Rochel, in the second half of May 2001 on a Europe-Slovak conference on territorial self-government in Bratislava stressed the urgent need of passing the act on establishing self-governing regions. He pointed out that the country cannot join the EU unless it does not have an efficient public administration and a sufficient capacity for applying the European legislation. At the end of May 2001 the chief negotiator of the European Commission for Slovakia D. Meganck expressed his worries caused by the delay of public administration reform in Slovakia. According to him, the delay of

implementation of the reform might complicate preparation of the country for obtaining financial resources from the EU structural funds. The European Union welcomed passing the act on higher territorial units as a necessary step, inter alia, towards specifying responsibilities in dealing with structural funds on central, regional and local level.

The issue of maintaining political stability and continuing domination of democratically oriented forces in Slovakia was present also in statements of European Commission representatives. At the end of May 2001, when there was a discussion on possible reconstruction of the government taking place in the government coalition, the EU Ambassador in the SR W. Rochel expressed an EU wish, that the political situation in Slovakia remains stabile and that the government coalition will look for solutions which would not weaken its position. At the end of June 2001 during the meeting of the EU - Slovakia Association Council the EC Commissionaire G. Verheugen stated: „Old forces are being present here and they have support, this fact causes our worries ... We are telling people in Slovakia, that there is no alternative to the developments which came into being after political changes several years ago.” Stress on the need to maintain the EU representatives expressed political stability in August 2001 during the inter-coalition crisis. Several days before the session of Republican Council SMK's, which was to make a decision on SMK quitting or staying in the government coalition, the EC Commissionaire G. Verheugen expressed his worries of the political situation in Slovakia. He pointed out the importance of a stabile government including representatives of the Hungarian minority and he invited all the parties involved to solve controversial issues in a positive way.

Home developments of Slovakia in the context of integration ambitions to the NATO were reflected positively in the NATO countries. In January 2001, during the Prime Minister Dzurinda's visit to the USA, some of the U.S senators (J. Helms, R. Lugar, C. Nagel, P. Domenici) expressed their consolation on the progress of Slovakia in the preparation for integrating to NATO. The senators supported aspirations of Slovakia to become a member of this defence structure. In March 2001 the NATO Secretary General G. Robertson stated in an interview for a daily *Národná obroda*: „We are watching very carefully developments in Slovakia, which is no doubt a democratic country, where the population is supporting politics of the government, which is intending to lead the country to the Euro-Atlantic structures... Slovakia is a very serious candidate for the NATO membership, we are welcoming these ambitions and we believe, that the responsibilities and commitments resulting from the membership in the Alliance will be prepared by the Prague Summit at the best ... We appreciate the huge progress Slovakia has made in preparations to NATO integration.“ In April 2001 the North-Atlantic Council in Brussels appreciated the progress that Slovakia concluded in completing the Membership Action Plan objectives. NATO welcomed passing the amendment to the Constitution and the security strategy. G. Robertson found passage both documents decisive steps, without which the country could not be integrated into the Alliance. NATO member countries emphasized importance of con-

tinuation of trends in consolidation of democratic changes. The US Ambassador to NATO, A. Vershbow in an interview for the daily *Sme mentioned*: „NATO member states want to have a guarantee, that the democratic changes in the country, which will get an invitation, are irreversible... I hope, that the elections, which are going to take place two months before the Prague Summit, will submit enough evidence of the fact, that Slovakia is firmly following the right track.“

Further development prospects

Forming configuration of political forces is not leaving open the issue of possible government coalition after the elections 2002. Despite the effort of the chief opposition party in 2001 to change its image via changes in rhetoric in foreign policy, there have not been any substantial changes in the internal character of HZDS, which could increase its coalition potential and thereby also the prospects to create a ruling coalition with HZDS participation and democratically oriented parties after the elections 2002. In this situation it seems to be more likely to form a coalition consisting of the parties of present ruling coalition, which will achieve an electoral result vital for entering the Slovak Parliament and *alternative parties*, which are nowadays taking shape as opposition forces, but they are deriving their electoral support from the area of former electorate of the current ruling coalition parties. The character of such a coalition, in case it would come to existence, will significantly be influenced by coalition pre-election strategies of current ruling parties, which may play a decisive role in their electoral result.

Pavol Lukáč

Regional Co-operation in Central Europe at the Beginning of the 21st Century – New Forms and New Challenges

In the modern history the area of Central Europe has been traditionally not only the area of clashes and conflicts resulting from its multiethnic and multicultural character, but also the place that gave origin to many plans of supra-national co-operation of the nations living in this sub-region of the European continent. Not all of them were predetermined to succeed and many projects of Central-European federations and con-federations made by prominent political thinkers of the individual Central-European nations ended up only on paper. Despite this, they had their importance at least as inspiration for their descendents creating new political projects of co-operation of the Central European nations. Typical of this region seems to be as well the fact that in its hectic history it has been, so to say, oscillating between short seasons, in which the nations living in this area tried to co-operate with one another with the aim of reaching major goals, and those seasons of rivalry and animosity, automatically preventing them from reaching these major goals.

After the fall of communism at the beginning of the nineties there were more theories of how and why the nations of Central Europe should co-operate. When the era of political euphoria was replaced by the era of political realism, many of them fell into oblivion and only a few of them were able to vindicate their vitality. Until recently the Visegrad Co-operation seemed to be one of these. This co-operation star-

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ted showing many positive effects and was slowly becoming a successful model of sub-regional non-institutional co-operation. However, this positive image was damaged by recent political developments.

In the meantime new initiatives of regional co-operation in Central Europe re-appeared, such as the Austrian plan of *Strategic Partnership*, later renamed to *Regional Partnership*. I would like to devote this article to the new forms of revitalized Visegrad Co-operation, its latest complications and the possibilities of further development, the above mentioned Austrian project of Regional Partnership, as well as the new challenges for the whole Central European region vis-à-vis the Pan-European integration and the place of this region in the future enlarged EU. The term Central Europe might be for some people confusing and ambiguous. For the author Central Europe represents countries that constitute, so to say, the core of the area of Central Europe: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary and Slovenia.

The Beginnings of Regional Co-operation in the Nineties

Some initiatives in the sphere of sub-regional co-operation were formed even before the fall of the Iron Curtain. Alpine-Adriatic initiative embraced e.g. four politically and systemically completely different countries: Italy, which was a member state of the EC and NATO, neutral Austria, yet not a EU-member, inter-block Yugoslavia and Hungary, which at that time started slowly its economic and political emancipation from the Pan-Soviet orbit. After the fall of communism this Alpine-Adriatic *Quadrangular* became a *Pentagonal* after the affiliation of Czechoslovakia, later on, after the affiliation of Poland, it became a *Hexagonal*. This constituted an advantageous organization of the European corridor from the Baltic to the Adriatic, which could have played an important role in the constellation of whole Europe, but its southern wing was soon attacked by the virus of disintegration and nationalism and the Balkan Wars brought an end of the short history of this formation. But its original ideas were transformed into the Central European Initiative (CEI), a formation still searching for its political and institutional identity with the prospect, that its main task could be its activity in the countries of former Yugoslavia, aimed at the postwar reconstruction of their damaged economies. The era after the fall of communism is also characterized by gradual development of the mechanism of co-operation of three countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, known under the title the *Visegrad Three (V-3)* according to the north-Hungarian town Visegrad, where on February 15th 1991 official foundations of this co-operation were laid. One year before this Summit of Presidents, in April 1990, there was a Summit in Bratislava in the old Bratislava Castle. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Italy, Yugoslavia and Austria were also present as observers. Since the representatives of the countries were not able to agree on common goals and articulate a common strategy of their achieving yet, the Bratislava summit ended up more or less as diplomatic fiasco. As late as in

1991 in Visegrad the President of Czechoslovakia V. Havel, the President of Poland L. Walesa and the Prime Minister of Hungary J. Antall were able to sign a *Declaration of Common Action in Integration to the European Communities* and even much later the representatives agreed on a clear pro-Atlantic orientation and on the aim to enter NATO as the only effective and functioning security institution after the end of the Cold War. One of the first tangible successes of the Visegrad Co-operation was the common and coordinated action in dissolving Comecom, as well as the coordinated diplomatic negotiation about the removal of the Soviet Army from the territory of Central Europe and the dissolving of Warsaw Pact. But very soon many opposers and enemies of any form of regional co-operation and coordination of the policies of these countries appeared. Their motivations were almost always excited nationalism, state provincialism, fear from the otherness of the neighbours, haughtiness, the inability to learn one's lesson from the history and narrow-minded optic, the inability to see behind the corner, into the near future. First signs of misunderstandings and conflicts between the member countries of the V-3 appeared. The Slovak-Hungarian tension in connection with finishing the works on the water construction on the Danube *Gabčíkovo-Nagyymaros* and also in connection with the situation of Hungarian minority in Slovakia, Czech-Slovak tensions leading to the split of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, the quiet rivalry in Czech-Polish relations in the fictitious skirmish to achieve the role of a successful leader in economic and political transition.

Despite the formal transformation of the V-3 to the V-4 after the split of Czechoslovakia in 1993, the regional co-operation died out or lived only wretchedly in certain spheres of common communication, e.g. there was some co-operation of the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary related to their accession to NATO, which reached its top in 1999, when these counties entered NATO.

After gradual atrophy of the Visegrad Co-operation in the sphere of economics a platform for regional co-operation with exclusively economic intentions was created, which very soon widened its membership to other countries. This was the CEF-TA – Central European Free Trade Area.

Among the numerous activities of the Central European informal regional co-operation in the nineties it is necessary to mention also the regular Summits of the Presidents of the Central European countries, starting with the Summit of the Presidents in the Czech town Litomyšl in April 1994, organized at the initiative of the Czech President V. Havel and, so to say, in the honor of the German President R. von Weizsacker. The aim of the Summit was to win Germany for a more active participation in the Central European dialogue, because Germany has been ever-present in this area. But at the same time Central Europeans feared, according to their historic experience, that the German Gulliver could have a negative impact. The host, the Czech President V. Havel, wrote after this Summit: "The fact of the meeting of the Presidents itself, ... provides a clear evidence, that the phenomenon of Central Europe is still living in the minds of Central Europeans and that the participating countries

proclaim their *Central Europeanism*.” Regular summits under the presence of the Presidents of Germany, Austria, Italy, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and Slovenia took place in various historical towns in the territories of the participating Central European countries, such as the Polish Lancut, Slovak Levoča, Slovenian Piran, Hungarian Szekesfehervár or Ukrainian Lvov. The number of the representatives was gradually enlarged by democratically elected heads of other states such as the Croatian President S. Mesic or the President of the Federative Republic of Yugoslavia V. Kostunica. The last Summit, which took place last year in north Italian Lago di Maggiore, was the very last one from the point of view of the meetings of this political *discussion club*.

Revitalization of Visegrad and Its New Image

After the atrophy of the Visegrad Co-operation in the middle of the nineties each of the countries started its individual way in the sphere of integration to European and Euro-Atlantic structures. The most problematic was the position of the Slovak Republic in the years 1994-1998, under the rule of the coalition government chaired by Vladimír Mečiar, formed by the extremist movement HZDS (Movement for Democratic Slovakia) and other two non-standard parties, the nationalist SNS (Slovak National Party) and the populist ZRS (Slovak Association of Workers). The outlasting fears that Slovakia could become an island of political instability in Central Europe, led the EU and the USA in those years to many political actions and open criticism of the undemocratic conditions in Slovakia. The neighbour states also shared fears of democratic West that in Slovakia a half-democratic regime could be established, *an illiberal democracy*, using the term invented by the American political scientist and a the co-editor of the Foreign Affairs F. Zakaria. That was why the Prime Ministers J. Buzek, M. Zeman and V. Orbán at their meeting on the Summit in Budapest before the parliament elections in Slovakia in autumn 1998 agreed on the importance of re-establishing the Visegrad Co-operation and called upon Slovakia to re-take its position in the V-4 and its *reserved seat*, after getting rid of its undemocratic government in democratic elections. After the victory of the broad anti-Mečiar coalition the government chaired by M. Dzurinda was established and a period of revitalizing and re-starting the Visegrad Co-operation began. On May 14th 1999 the first big Summit of the four Prime Ministers was held in Bratislava. The Prime Ministers agreed on the principles of further existence of the V-4. They accepted the principles according to which the Prime Ministers are supposed to meet regularly twice a year, one of the Summits being unofficial – the so-called *Summit without neckties*, taking place outside the capital. This was a striking advance if compared to the first stage of Visegrad Co-operation. While at the beginning of the nineties the Visegrad Co-operation was initiated and controlled by the Presidents – such figures as V. Havel, L. Walesa and A. Göncz, the second stage is marked by its control on the level of the Prime Ministers.

The principles approved in Bratislava (the so called *Content of the Visegrad Co-operation*) include also the remark that any co-operation of the individual ministries would be welcomed. Thus the Ministers of Defence, the Ministers of Environment, the Ministers of Culture or the Ministers of Justice organized without any obligatory instructions their own Summits in the V-4 format and specified their own agendas of problems which could be solved within the frames of regional co-operation. Besides the regular meetings on the level of ministers advisory expert groups were created, dealing with current problems registered in all member countries (within the frames of the co-operation of the Ministries of Inner groups aimed at combating smuggling of stolen cars were created, in the department of defence groups dealing with the defence industry in V-4 or in the department of education a group preparing common documentation for the *5th Framework Programme of the EU* aimed at the projects in the sphere of science).

A highly evaluated concrete contribution was formation of the Visegrad brigade, composed of soldiers from the Czech and the Polish Republics, both NATO members, and soldiers from the Slovak Republic. The brigade is going to have its seat in Topoľčany (Slovakia) and a Slovak general is going to be its commander. The Danish-German-Polish battalion from the beginning of the nineties with the seat of its headquarters in Szczecin (Poland) provided the model for it.

Another promising project is the common endeavour of the V-4 to co-operate in the field of defence industry: the modernization of Russian helicopters MI-24. The Visegrad countries would like to modernize circa 140 helicopters at their costs. These helicopters could then be used for quick transports in emergency cases. These helicopters are owned by circa 50 countries, including the United Kingdom and the USA, and thus this project could after its successful start in the V-4 address other countries, as well. These are only two concrete projects of the V-4 co-operation.

The new image of the revitalized Visegrad Co-operation differs from the previous one from the beginning of the nineties in greater pragmativity, because it was shifted from the position of high politics to more diversified *policies of concrete "small" tasks*.

There is more attention paid to the citizen and to what is in diplomatic language called *the citizen comfort*. As soon as at the Bratislava Summit the Prime Ministers agreed on the necessity to create a fund that would support various activities in the field of education, culture, sports, co-operation of citizen organizations and help to create a kind of a *Central European Citizen Community*. At the following Summit in Prague such a fund was established under the official name *International Visegrad Fund – IVF*. Bratislava was chosen as the seat of this single actually existent institution of the Visegrad Co-operation. Each member country contributed 250 000 EURO to the common basis and thus the Fund started its existence with the basic capital of one million EURO. Already in the first round of project assignment more than 250 projects were registered and IVF became a magnet for many citizen organizations assigning their own projects. Their orientation was different – beginning with the

meetings of youth groups (Visegrad summer universities), trough creation of think-tanks in the V-4 countries, organizing various film and theatre festivals, trough the support of meetings of diverse interest and profession groups, to issuing of specialized and artistic publications. The high attractivity of the *International Visegrad Fund* required negotiation about increasing the amount of financial means in the basic capital to be able to satisfy more applicants. These negotiations resulted in doubling of each country's deposit. The fund has nowadays an annual budget of 2 millions EURO at its disposal. The fact that this fund is an interesting institution for other countries as well is underlined by Slovenia's concern about participation on its budget and on the projects financed by its means.

The fact that the Visegrad Co-operation started shifting from the level of an elite project, is reflected in its perception in the individual V-4 countries. *The Institute for Public Affairs* in co-operation with its partner organizations in the neighbour countries made a survey of public opinion about the V-4. To the question, whether they know the Visegrad Co-operation, in the Czech Republic 32.0 % of the respondents gave a positive answer, in Hungary 35.0 %, in Poland 27.1 %, in Slovakia 52.4 %. 36.4 % of the respondents in the Czech Republic, 26.4 % in Hungary, 25.0 % in Poland and 35.1 % in Slovakia said they had already heard about the V-4 but do not exactly know what it is. The results of the question about the importance and support of the V-4 were interesting as well. 10.2 % of the respondents in the Czech Republic, 16.4 % in Hungary and 35.0 % in Slovakia (in Poland this question was not asked) were definitely in favour of the existence and meaningful sense of the V-4. Rather in favour of its existence and meaningful sense were 35.4 % of the respondents in the Czech Republic, 37.4 % in Hungary and 40.9 % in Slovakia.

The Visegrad Four intensified not only its co-operation within the group, but also tried to homogenize its common interests towards the outside, in relation to other countries. Many political observers, analysts and politicians, let's mention at least the Polish ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Geremek, expressed once their hope that the *Visegrad Four* and the *Weimar Triangle* could become two closely co-operating informal formations, enhancing on a common consultative basis further European integration, not only in its political and institutional form, but also in the sphere of intellectual and cultural integration. Mainly thanks to the Polish diplomacy the memorable Summit of the V-4 Prime Ministers and the German Chancellor G. Schröder took place in Polish Gniezno. Originally it was supposed to be a Summit of the representatives of the Weimar Triangle and the Visegrad Group. This intention wasn't realized, which was a pity from the point of view of the date of the Summit in Gniezno, which took place on April 28th 2000, only a few days before the meeting of the Prime Ministers of the V-4 with the French Prime Minister L. Jospin in Budapest on May 4th 2000. Moreover, this was only shortly before France took over the Presidency in the EU. The platform of bilateral meetings and consultations of the V-4 and the Weimar Triangle didn't come true and stayed only in the level of plans and verbal statements.

The political reality of the power potentials of the countries eventually showed that France and Germany, the countries constituting the axis and the engine of the integration, and those countries, in which a part of the political elite thinks about establishing the core or avant-garde of the EU, will be enforcing politically different interests than the small countries of the Central Europe. That's why one of the challenges for the Central European countries will be the endeavour not to become in the future united Europe countries geographically close to the center of Europe, but politically remote, finding themselves on the European structural periphery.

After this awakening Visegrad circles started to think more and more about the orientation on small European countries, taking into account the fact that there is a verbally proclaimed interest to keep Visegrad Co-operation alive even after the accession of its countries to the EU, finding a new sense of its existence. That's why after the long Summit in Nice, in the morning of December 11th 2000, there was a brief meeting of the V-4 Prime Ministers (the Polish Prime Minister was absent) and the Prime Minister of Slovenia J. Drnovšek in Bratislava. Slovenia, as a small successful country, has repeatedly been spoken about as about the next perspective V-4 member. (At present the issue of enlarging the V-4 is more or less taboo, since the opinions of the member countries about who should become a member of it quite differ from each other.) All of the participants welcomed the results of the Summit and expressed their satisfaction with the arithmetic, taking into account the interests of the small countries of the future enlarged EU in its decisive structures. The repetition of the political arithmetic after the results of the Nice Summit by individual representatives of the V-4 deals merely with the fact that the joint potential of the V-4 votes in the Committee of Ministers of the EU could even outweigh the potential of the votes of the European super-powers such as Germany or France. This repetition is natural not only from the point of view of the complex of the small countries and their future influence in united Europe, but also from the point of view of historic experience and fears from the influence of the super-powers on the destiny of the small countries. That's why small V-4 countries (Poland is an exception from these frames) started concentrating on the co-operation with other small countries within the EU. Even at the beginning of the Visegrad Co-operation in the first half of the nineties there were efforts to apply the Benelux model. On September 27th 1991 the representatives of two "trios" (V-3 and Benelux) met in New York to negotiate about the possibilities of know-how exchange in relation to establishing of sub-regional formations. This co-operation was revived by the V-4 several years ago. In December 2000 there was a meeting of the V-4 Prime Ministers with the Prime Minister of the Netherlands W. Kok in Bratislava. The necessity of co-operation of small countries in the future enlarged EU was repeatedly articulated on this Summit.

The Slovak Prime Minister M. Dzurinda said a bit exaggeratedly and with a certain amount of humour that "the V-4 and Benelux would rule the EU". The negotiations of both formations went on during the meeting with the Belgian Prime Minister G. Verhofstadt and culminated in the meeting of the Prime Ministers of the V-4 and

Benelux in Luxemburg at the end of 2001. Next Summit of the V-4 and Benelux should be held in May in Slovakia.

The Austrian Project of Regional Partnership

In Austria even during the existence of the Iron Curtain there was a group of politicians and intellectuals who thought about the *Project Mitteleuropa* (named after the title of the book by E. Busek and E. Brix). It dealt with the political and intellectual recovery of the region that thanks to its multiethnic and multicultural image gave rise to many interesting products in the sphere of culture, arts and literature. These thoughts were thematically and chronologically situated into the era of the eighties when many intellectuals, not only the Central European ones, concentrated their attention on the phenomenon of Central Europe. These thoughts didn't eventually find their political realization after the fall of the Iron Curtain, but they functioned as the ideological inspiration for political projects, such as e.g. the Visegrad Co-operation. As far as Austria is concerned political elites and the authors of these ideas were not able to find culture medium for establishing any form of Central European political platform. The Austrian attitude towards other Central European countries was marked mainly by reservedness, in many cases even by disrespect. It was often hidden behind verbal clichés of the necessity of good neighbour relationships, common destiny, intellectual environment with common traditions and history. After all Austria chose an individual but surely a faster and more effective way to the European Community than by means of establishing some regional co-operation frames with unequal poor post-communist countries.

It were the events that happened after the Parliamentary Elections in 1999, the critical and even ostracizing reactions of the vast majority of the EU countries, that opened eyes of the Austrians, that all at once they are alone, without any close allies in the EU. A Hungarian politician called this effect "*manorial loneliness*". This was one of the factors that launched the thoughts about the strategic partnership in Central-European area.

The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs B. Ferrero-Waldner had a crucial lecture with the topic *Strategic Partnership and Political Challenges in Europe* in the *Austrian Foreign Policy and Foreign Relations Association* in Vienna on February 12th 2001. She sketched the basic points of the Austrian project, which has been prepared already for a longer time by the think-tank of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria. It dealt mainly with the intensification of mutual co-operation and neighbour relationship, finding common agenda and above all with the preparation for the accession to the EU, where Austria could help the candidate countries with its experiences of a recent member. The counties that should participate in this co-operation are Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Hungary and Slovenia. At the beginning there were doubts about the invitation of Poland as a country

not neighbouring with Austria and a relatively big country. Croatia was not addressed, mainly because its membership in the EU is at present quite unrealistic. Austria has since the launch of this plan tried to eliminate two possible negative resentments. One of the constantly repeated refrains is the denial of any innovation of the Habsburg idea. This constant repetition became comic, since no realistically thinking politician from the Central European countries could suspect Austrian diplomacy of this kind of intentions. The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs B. Ferrero-Waldner told one Czech left-oriented daily about the Regional Partnership: "this idea has much common with geography, but pretty little with history". The second often repeated refrain is concerned with the problem of hegemony or lead nation in this informal formation. The Austrian diplomacy repeatedly refused the proclamations that this project should lead to any form of Austrian dominancy in the Danube area, that it is a form of co-operation on the peer-to-peer principle. Despite this the fear from such dominancy still exists in some Central European countries. Only for illustration let's mention the well-known utterance made by the Slovenian Minister for Foreign Affairs D. Rupel. At the very beginning he said that Austria is trying to create some kind of a "hegemony umbrella" in Central Europe. On June 6th 2001 the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia met in Vienna to negotiate in direct dialogue particularities of the *Strategic Partnership*, which was renamed to the *Regional Partnership*. We cannot overlook the fact, that the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs didn't take part at the first Summit of the *Strategic Partnership* (even though he was on another business visit at that time). It is even more surprising, because we are talking here about W. Bartoszewsky, an excellent diplomat and historian, who acted in the first half of the nineties as the Polish Ambassador in Vienna and is an expert on Austrian policy and mentality. Various observers assign this fact that the Polish see a competing activity in this new Austrian initiative, that could endanger their status of the decisive country in the area of Central Europe or the regional super-power. Observing the reactions of other countries, we can see that they were rather reserved. This is the case mainly with the two countries having bilaterally tense relationships with Austria at the moment, namely the Czech Republic and Slovenia. More optimistically tempered were Hungary and Slovakia, which became the host of the next Summit of the Regional Partnership planned for the end of the last year, short before the Laeken Summit. One of the basic ideas of the Austrian project of the *Regional Partnership* should be also the thesis that Austria as a relatively new member of the EU could help the candidate countries with its experiences from the negotiation process.

From the today's point of view we can say that the Austrian project will only hardly find a greater support of its neighbours for several reasons. First of these are the tense relationships between Austria and two Central European countries, Slovenia and the Czech Republic. It is again a matter of historic resentments. In case of the Czech Republic it is the re-opened issue of the afterwar retribution bills of the Czechoslovak Republic and in case of Slovenia similar decrees – AVNOJ. Moreover

Czech-Austrian relationships have been in long term disrupted by the issue of the nuclear power station in Temelín, recently showing no marks of progress towards its solution. Instead of solving it in the circle of experts and subsequently in the circle of politicians, the issue has been moved to the people, complicating the situation by blocking frontier crossings or by emotional demonstrations.

The second basic cause of the stagnation of the whole *Regional Partnership* is the fact that the Austrian part prepared only a good-looking project and didn't bother with preparing a series of small, concrete sequential steps that would persuade Central European politicians in the every-day agenda about a sincere intention to create a co-operative platform. On the contrary, even during the negotiations of the candidate countries with the European Commission Austria in many concrete chapters didn't act as a supporter or intermediary between the EU and the candidate countries, but was relatively egoistically defending exclusively its own interests.

It is also necessary to add, that the V-4 in the past was repeatedly inviting Austria to concrete projects in the 4+1 format. This kind of co-operation existed e.g. in the issue of stealing and exporting cars or among scientific institutions, academies of sciences etc.

And there is one more problematic point in the relationship between the V-4 and Austria – the security identity of the whole Central European region. At the end of the desired approximation between the V-4 formation and the *Regional Partnership* there should be the creation of a homogenous and compatible Central European region that would be an important support and pillar of the European security and political architecture. To make this aim real Austria will firstly have to overwhelm its Cold War complex and emancipate itself from the provincial reservedness (this applies mainly to the population, but also to a growing part of the elite) and secondly it will have to get rid of the virtually non-existing neutrality, which is only a verbally proclaimed part of the Austrian national identity, but no longer a valid pillar of the Austrian security. Central Europe, thanks to its 40-year history under the communist rule, wants to profile itself as a clearly pro-Atlantic security area. After the expected NATO enlargement on the autumn Summit in Prague Central Europe, but also a wider area of this region, should become new real allies in the transformed NATO.

Opening Pandora's Box and Complications in Regional Co-operation

The year 2002 is not only in Central European region but also in whole Europe the election year. In Poland there was a change in government last year, this year post-election changes in the V-4 are expected in Hungary, the Czech Republic and in Slovakia. Pre-election moods resulted in certain political tensions in the region, due to which some historical problems were opened, opinions on the solution of which differ in the individual Central European countries.

Already for a longer time there have been some verbal interchanges between the Czech Republic and Austria, not supporting a co-operative atmosphere in Central Europe, but on the contrary, creating a conflict environment. The verbal “table tennis” between the Czech Prime Minister M. Zeman and the land leader of Kärnten J. Haider, that has been presented by the media of both countries and worsened the Czech-Austrian relationship, was only the beginning. The topics were not only the problems with the Czech nuclear power station Temelín and the possible veto on the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU by Austria, but the politicians started using the history for mutual, nonsense accusations. The Czech Prime Minister said: “Austria was not the first victim of the Hitler Germany but its first ally”. Haider, on the other hand, answered with statements about the great number of Czechs that helped Russian communism to penetrate into Central Europe and claimed that the support of this criminal regime was nowhere else than here. An Austrian daily *Die Presse* made an eloquent comment on this, when it wrote that the Prime Ministers Zeman and Haider provided “literally a textbook example of how conflicts develop between nations, that in past would have led to wars”. With the up-coming elections in Hungary the then Prime Minister V. Orban and his colleagues from the party FIDESZ, that transformed itself from a formerly liberally oriented party into a national conservative one, frequently using the verbal arsenal of an extremely right party, started applying a more aggressive approach. It were these politicians that started discussing openly about the reintegration of “Hungarianship” which was disrupted by the unjust Treaty of Trianon after the WWI. Further complications into the bilateral Slovak-Hungarian and Hungarian-Romanian relations were brought by *The Bill of the Republic of Hungary on Hungarians Living in Neighbouring Countries*, adopted by the Hungarian Parliament in summer 2001 that entered into force on January 1st, 2002. It goes back to the initiative of FIDESZ and its aim is the support of Hungarian minorities living abroad (with the exception of Austria, where the law of the EU doesn’t allow its application). Since some of its parts enter into the intern issues of the neighbour countries, it started irritating not only the nationalist part of the political scene in Slovakia and in Romania, but it was also criticized by standard democratic political parties. Another problem was produced by the attendant statements made by the Prime Minister Orban and the top representatives of FIDESZ who presented the Act as reparation for the historic injustice of Trianon, which is still traumatizing a great part of the Hungarian society, and as a concrete demonstration of re-unification of “Hungarianship” in whole Europe. This naturally provoked the nationalists in neighbour countries and the Central European area started to nationalize politically. And when V. Orban opened in the European Parliament the issue of the afterwar retribution bills of the Czechoslovak Republic, known as the Decrees of President E. Beneš and expressed critics not only of the principle of collective guilt but also of the very validity of these Decrees and connected this issue with the process of the EU enlargement, the Slovak Prime Minister M. Dzurinda and the Czech Prime Minister M. Zeman reacted by cancelling their participation on the prepared Summit of the V-4

Prime Ministers in the Hungarian Kesthel at Balaton. The Polish Prime Minister L. Miller joined their standpoint and the planned and already longer re-laid Summit eventually didn't take place. Later on the Slovak Minister for Culture M. Kňažko cancelled his participation on the Visegrad meeting of the Ministers of Culture. These all gave many politicians and journalists the reason to speak about the *clinical death of Visegrad* or even about *the end of Central Europe*. A Czech politician and the shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs from the party ODS, whose leader V. Klaus openly expressed his disrespect for the model of the Visegrad Co-operation, Ján Zradil remarked that the Visegrad formation ceased to exist after Orbán's statements.

In this part of Europe, in the country of birth of F. Kafka, everything seems to be taken too seriously and fatally. It is more than clear that different national views on history, not rarely simplified or even politically idealized, differ considerably in their interpretation and they often become the source of political skirmish instead of regional co-operation. A prominent Slovak journalist M. Leško eloquently wrote: "In the succeeding countries of the former Austria-Hungary, representing traditional Mitteleuropa, there are so many resentments, mutual offences, pains and injustices, which make it impossible to make the stimulation of historic stereotypes and complexes the recipe for political success. It is no coincidence that the politicians of the 4 countries of former Austria-Hungary shortly before elections address people with statements aimed at moving the "pathological sediment" in them. They wouldn't be doing it if it weren't a recipe for success. This reveals not only the character of Central European politicians, but also the mental desolateness of a vast majority of Central European population."

Sceptic voices of some politicians and observers expressing fear from the destruction of Visegrad didn't hesitate to go even further and think about an overall destruction of the basis of Central European co-operative and geopolitical re-defining of the area of Central Europe and the Danube region. A different view on the history started dividing their possible political options and a discussion arose about closer co-operation between Austria, where are many critics of the afterwar retribution bills of the Czechoslovak Republic not only within the extremist Party of the Free, but also among the people's democrats, and Hungary, shall the Prime Minister V. Orbán remain in the government. In the Czech Republic the pre-election development in Germany is observed with ever growing fears, where the CDU-CSU coalition under the leadership of the Bavarian Prime Minister E. Stoiber shows equally denying and critical view on the issues connected with the end of the WWII. These fears led even to hysteria. One of the ideologists of Klaus's ODS didn't hesitate to use quite a strong comparison borrowing a phrase from the vocabulary of the American President G. W. Bush and called the axis Berlin-Vienna-Budapest the *axis of evil*.

Such exaggerative evaluations do not support co-operative atmosphere in Central European area and for the connoisseurs of the era between the two wars they could be reminiscent of the block division of this region into two groups: the countries connected with fear from the revision of the WWI results known under the name the Small

Treaty (Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia) and countries connected with irredentist interest of the so-called Rome Documents (Italy, Hungary, Austria). This fragmentation of the region itself with its negative consequences should provide a teaching for us that the disunity leads to complications and in the final effect has a negative impact on all nations living in this territory. That's why history should be left to the expert historians and not misused by politicians. This doesn't mean that unsolved questions should be forgotten. This stimulates extremist powers to misuse them for political struggles.

New Challenges for the Regional Co-operation in Central Europe

The Visegrad Co-operation is still a relatively new project in the sphere of sub-regional co-operation. After its creation in the V-3 format in February 1991 in the north Hungarian town of Visegrad, its functioning in the first phase was effective in communication frames until the Prague Meeting of the Presidents in May 1992. After the split of the CSFR in 1993 the countries declared willingness to preserve this formation in the format of the V-4, but in fact this co-operation, as I wrote above, declined. The process of reviving the V-4 was announced in October 1998 in Budapest, where Slovakia was addressed to take the prepared seat in the V-4, but the real launch of this process didn't come before the Bratislava Summit in May 1999, where clear principles of meetings and communication were agreed on. If we sum it all up, the co-operation functioned in the first phase of Visegrad less than two years and in the second, revitalized one, up to present days less than three years. A time too short to enable the V-4 to find its stable place and not to become only a *seasonal matter* for one governing period.

The real launch and activity lasted during the rule of the *quadrate* Zeman, Buzek, Dzurinda and Orban. Despite certain personal problems some kind of personal liking was created between these politicians, which supported co-operation of the V-4. It is more than clear that at the end of this year it will be a completely new *quartet* of Prime Ministers who should meet and re-start the stagnating Visegrad Co-operation, at least by sending out a clear signal about its necessity and political willingness to support this informal and non-institutionalized political regional formation. This year is probably going to be another testing year for Visegrad. The decision will be made again whether this model of regional co-operation is only a matter of one season, functioning only occasionally, or whether it is already established well enough to become a well functioning mechanism, that wouldn't brake down with every change in the governing machine.

Today it is more than obvious that one of the biggest political challenges at the beginning of the 21st century will be the solution of the Balkan situation. Not only the area of the Western Balkans, recovering slowly from the period of exhaustive military conflicts, but the whole Balkans – this is even more obvious after the Laeken Summit

of the EU, after which an early membership of Romania and Bulgaria in the EU is not to be expected – will be geographically a relatively large area with a lot of possible complications in the economic, political and social life, the solution of which will require not only verbal but also virtual assistance of the EU. From the geographical point of view it is further necessary to consider the problem of Turkey and its place in the future European architecture.

Central Europe with its experiences in the field of regional co-operation could serve as a model of solving traditional conflicts, although, of course, their character in Central Europe and in the Balkans are incomparable. At the same time Central Europe as an area directly affected by the problems of the Balkans because of its geographical closeness could provide a better help by solving them within the frames of the whole enlarged EU. Central European nations could enrich the EU with their historic experiences and knowledge of the region, acquired thanks to common history or such factors as e.g. Slavonic relatedness of cultures, languages and mentalities. The model of the Visegrad Co-operation could serve as inspiration for the countries of the Western Balkans, which on their long way into the EU will have to learn to co-exist and organize a certain degree of sub-regional co-operation, which, after the war experience, is going to be even more complicated than in Central Europe.

Only a stable, consistent and securityly homogenous Central Europe can become the core of Europe emanating the effect of a successful transition from communism to open society and accepting the responsibility reaching beyond the borders of the own region, responsibility for countries geographically and culturally partly belonging to the Central European region, but also connected with or laying in other regions. These are the so-called border countries as e.g. the Central European Lithuania with its connections with the Baltic and the area of the North Sea. Ukraine, which Western part belonged for centuries to Central Europe, Romania with the typical Central European part of Transylvania, Croatia, which is a Central European country as well as a country the character of which is formed by the Adriatic Sea and which has an important status also thanks to today often overlooked Bosnia and Herzegovina, that deserves more attention not only from Central Europe, but also from the whole of Europe.

The Visegrad formation should keep on searching for possibilities of co-operation with its close neighbours such as Austria and Slovenia and thus try to create a compact Central European region. The V-4 will probably have to find its own political future-oriented agenda and not only an *ad hoc* form of existence, but, so to say, a *per se* form. Only like this it can become not only a regional pillar of European security, but also an influential block with the potential to form European integration processes.

Milan Zemko

Atlantic and European Integration, Central Europe and Slovakia

(To some historical and current bearings of Slovak
integration efforts)

On a threshold of a new century and a new millennium in the North Atlantic space the theme of concluding integration of Central European and some East European countries into two big international communities – The Atlantic Alliance and European Union becomes still more and more urgent. They are, of course, communities of different character and namely orientation. But they are interconnected by fundamental principles of values expressed usually by words as freedom, democracy and free market, and agreeing conclusions in evaluating tragic historical experiences of the 20th century.

Two world wars with until then unknown dimension of human victims (essentially among civilians) and material damage and also with international political changes bringing difficult impact on tens of millions of people brought first representatives of some free nations, west from the Iron Curtain brought by the totalitarian Soviet Union, to establish a defence community and followingly within West Europe also an economic community since its beginning aiming to multilateral and also political integration.

International situation and especially military strategic bearings while respecting basic principles of freedom and democracy led the Atlantic Alliance (and the United States as a leading military and political power inside it) to behave pragmatically and be ready for temporary compromises. I mean concession from two mentioned value principles if required by military strategic and long-term foreign policy interests.

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Portugal, for ten years ruled by the Salazar's dictatorship, was one of the establishing members of the Atlantic Alliance in 1949 and in 1952 also Greece and Turkey became full-fledged members, who thanks to the American assistance escaped the threat of communism but their regimes definitely were not an ideal liberal democracy and respect of human rights. In Turkey the army several times took over power and in Greece a standard pluralistic democracy was established after a painful experience with a *dictatorship of colonels*. Both countries together with Portugal became stable NATO members in the 50s and 60s of the last century. If any member country weakened the power of the Alliance it was the old democratic country of France as it during the government of de Gaulle decided leave military structures of the Atlantic Organization and to apply independent defence strategy. During strong polarisation between West and East, between communism and democracy thus together with respect of basic values of freedom and democracy the issue of allied trustworthiness and reliability and issue of resolute attitude to the communistic threat had sometimes even a decisive importance for the Atlantic Alliance. Though non-democratic and authoritarian but univocally anti-communistic regimes in the three countries in the toughest time of the Cold War fulfilled this criterion. Well, Turkey until today does not satisfactorily fulfil criteria of a standard liberal democracy and hardly can be a model for respect of civic and human rights, but it is in no way called into question as a reliable member of the Alliance.

After disintegration of the Soviet bloc and termination of super power bipolarisation in Europe in the beginning of the 90s of the last century NATO could strengthen the criterion of mutual democratic values for potential new members of the Alliance, what did not mean that an equally important criterion of trustworthiness and reliability was weakened for the new candidates applying for the membership. This double *barrage* became insurmountable for the Alliance admittance for the third government of V. Mečiar in 1994 – 1998. The warning signals already a year before the autumn 2002 election confirm that it may become equally insurmountable for the possible next government of this Slovak politician after the elections and what is the most serious – for the whole country the Slovak Republic. V. Mečiar during his government did not persuade Alliance representatives neither as a democrat nor a reliable man and ally (what does not have to be the same, as history says) and also during last years in opposition he did not do enough to gain the trust. But contrary by his a kind of an own a priori postulate, “what was, it was, now I am your man” addressed to the Alliance, he could not win any trust. The most probably also changes in international development of a break of centuries potentially strengthening geostrategic position of Slovakia in current Central and East Europe will not stand by his side.

Recent NATO conflict with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may assist re-evaluation of Slovak position in current map of Europe. Widespread opinion about a relatively small importance for geostrategic plans of NATO was one of the supportive arguments of the Alliance waiting for satisfying home policy development after the change of the government in 1998. It was argued that for geomorphologic reasons the

mountainous space of Slovakia is strategically little interesting and the territory of Poland is much more important.

This opinion had and still has its power of an argument from the traditional understanding of geostrategic space point of view, applied in great powers war conflicts in the first half of the 20th century or following decades of the Cold War. Today with dominating local conflicts having germs of even global conflicts and with geostrategic space or its use touches all special dimensions of a state sovereignty also allegedly small strategic importance of a little country, in this case Slovakia, may remarkably increase.

It was not just an accident that the Alliance leadership asked the Slovak government for tankers overfly over the sovereign space of the Slovak Republic and following use of the Slovak railways. Even a brief look on the map of Europe shows that its centre is divided by a nearly one thousand and three hundred kilometres long *line* formed by two neutral states (Switzerland and Austria) and non-allied Slovakia. It is possible that for the strategic East – West orientation this pause of three countries outside the Alliance does not have a decisive importance, but the geostrategic situation is completely different if looking the North – South orientation or the middle East. Both neutral countries understandingly cannot free their supreme space for any (land nor air) operation of the Atlantic Alliance. Slovakia is thus the only possible corridor in Central Europe between NATO and the Commonwealth of Independent States with dominating Russian influence that may directly connect West or Northwest Europe with Southeast Europe. This crucially changes its geostrategic importance for the Alliance and raises a question of its membership in it into a new light then traditional globalistic geopolitical thoughts, mainly if Russia together with Ukraine and Belarus are not bind by a closer partner relationship to NATO and the Russian Federation still applies its own geostrategic interests also against the Alliance.

There is an open question that remains that if and until when it would be possible from political and military strategic reasons to use sovereign space of Slovakia only on a basis of repeated requests of the NATO Headquarters for overflies or transport of troops and arms. Full-fledged membership of Slovakia in the Alliance would not only shorten that one thousand three hundred kilometres barrier by more than four hundred kilometres or would make an important break in the barrier but also it would exclude possibility to count with Slovak *non-alignment* (neither in the Alliance nor neutral) for other powers in their geostrategic plans, what would of course assist securing transparent and stable international political situation in Central Europe. For the Slovak government fulfilling required criteria for the Alliance admittance the above-mentioned geostrategic viewpoints be an important supportive factor for the Slovakia's admittance into NATO.

In a case of a new Mečiar's government according to all signals from the Alliance's relevant structures the Alliance is decided not to take these geostrategic standpoints into consideration and prefer opinion of principle about this Slovak politician and his party. But after such a decision one cannot exclude a possibility that the refused go-

vernment in a critical international situation of crisis adopts negative position towards the Alliance's requests. Thus a real barrier in the southeast direction may get created. It might be technically overcome, but it anyway would complicate aims and steps of the Alliance. Unceasing conflicts in the Middle East and potentially explosive situation in the Balkans take out these thoughts from solely theoretical or speculative level.

Since the previous Mečiar's government it is obvious that the Slovak admission into the North Atlantic Alliance is in hands of Slovaks, in their election what means a political decision, to what kind of people they give the right to govern the country for the next electoral period. Well, but it is also obvious that a great part of the electorate perceives their personal situation or perhaps falls and mistakes of the current government as priority and they are touched much less by foreign policy issues. Under the real circumstances one cannot absolutely exclude an election victory of the Mečiar's party (very probable) nor his party's participation nor him personally in the government. Shall we under the given conditions take into consideration all relevant foreign policy and geostrategic circumstances a question arises (at least hypothetically) whether Slovakia shall be stopped in front of the Alliance's gate (and following probably the gates of the European Union) already in the Prague NATO Summit or is there possible and might be even desirable some flexibility against Slovakia and its government. This hypothetical question arises from the fact, that in Prague the candidate countries are to be "only" invited to the accession negotiations and the real membership must be confirmed by parliaments of all member countries. Invitation of Slovakia during also only hypothetical new Mečiar's government into NATO may thus create for Mečiar and his government a situation in a sense of the ancient statement "*Hic Rhodos, hic salta!*" to say it in other words it may put Mečiar under a thorough practical test of the alliance trustworthiness and reliability and undoubted respect of democratic principles. Only after it a final verdict about accession or refusal of Slovakia into the Alliance would come.

Thoughts about Slovak dispositions for its membership in NATO are closely related to thoughts about dispositions of its membership in the European Union. Our membership in the former probably determines our membership in the latter organisation, what was several times stressed also by US representatives (with some beauty of unwanted as they are not an EU member).

It does not need an emphasis that the European unification is a project without any real precedent in the history of the Old Continent. Introduction of the common European currency in twelve states of the Union several times in the mass media reminded us that Europe gained a common currency on such a big territory for the first time since the emperor Charles the Great. One may only hope that reflection of the past concerned only the territorial size, because all the rest of today's unification fundamentally differs from the previous more or less successful attempts for European unification in a closer or more distant past. Previous "integrations" were pursued in better cases by dynastic marriages, where common people had no say, in worse cases by military invasions, and both have nothing to do with unification of free countries

of free people deciding about integrational “marriages” in free referenda. In this sense the current development process is really historically unique incomparable with anything in the past.

Contrary to NATO, of which three Central European countries became members in the mean time, the situation of the Central Europe countries before their admission to the European Union is roughly the same, though any of them would like to be in the on-going accession “regatta” at the top at least by a point if not the whole length of the boat.

Paradoxically despite long-term polite appeals of the European Union representatives to the hottest Central European candidates for membership in this distinguished international club to co-operate more intensively, the issue of identity, that means a meaning, character and future of this European region is dealt only by few idealists if not real dreamers. On the other hand some politicians (even the governmental ones) open old and incite new conflicts of this central European space.

Again as so many times before it appears that Central Europe is not a very specific region of our continent or a region defined too purposefully, so the wider public and it seems that also politicians themselves can hardly internally identify themselves with such a geographic entity. *What kind of a space it is?* – involved public and people who are better oriented in the issue perhaps for the professional reasons ask this question. The central space might be mathematically calculated and drawn to the European continent, but it hardly would have a sufficient support in geographical realia not defying it distinctively enough from the bigger continental unit. It is something not really graspable with what individuals and bigger communities identify themselves very difficultly.

Geopolitical and historical definitions of the Central European space are even more complicated than geographic and geopolitical ones. The basic question stands: Is it the region between Germany and Russia (in its former imperial borders) or is Germany its part? Simplistically personifying the question: Is it Central Europe of T. G. Masaryk, described in the book *New Europe*, or the Central European vision of F. Naumann from his work *Mitteleuropa*? What is more, during the time between the wars and after 1989 there was and is Mediterranean Italy present in the Central European space.

Predicament of trying to find an answer to this political question stays in that it is definitely not an academic problem, it is not a part of simply theoretical thinking, but is a vivid or very painful product of the 20th century history.

T. G. Masaryk and M. Hodža understood Central European space as a band of smaller states between two powers Germany and Russia which were considered a threat, though each one its own way, for young and small states. During the First World War F. Naumann endorsed common Central Europe of Germany and other states in this part of the continent. Tragic experiences mainly from the Second World War and geopolitical consequences brought by war to Europe and principally its Eastern part did not allow giving our insufficiently clear space more definite political or

even international law basis and silhouette. That what is today called a Central European tradition is predominantly of an emotional character (with positive and negative sign of it) cultivated in essays and art. After the Soviet Union's disintegration in today's strained efforts of the post-communist European states for the fastest possible integration into already existing European and Euro Atlantic structures spiritual sphere activities seem to be an insufficient impulse and motor of closer regional grouping, which might be perhaps an inter-step in integrational endeavour of these countries into the EU and NATO. It would have some bearings also after their integration into a bigger unit also because in Europe there is an establishment of a uniformed, indifferent supranational subject with collapse of national and regional diversity unimaginable. All solo escapes from the group of (Central) European pretenders for the European Union membership seem to be even more anachronistic. Some Union countries offer the candidate countries an example how it is possible and necessary to unite global European integrational ambitions with regional international co-operation.

I have in mind the Benelux countries and the Nordic countries united in the Nordic Council. Both groupings were established because of negative experiences given to Europe and the world by the first half of the last century and also of understanding co-operative advantage or necessity of small neighbouring countries often with common history and close interests in mutual bilateral relations. Historical past in the case of the countries united in the mentioned groupings left originally not one trace of doubt that had to be overcome. Belgium was established by separation from the Netherlands, Luxemburg lost majority of its territory to Belgium and conflicts with misunderstandings were traditional also in relations between the Nordic countries, for instance among Norway and Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, or Sweden and Finland. All countries united in Benelux and the Nordic Council overcame this part of the common heritage and brought up in the name of presence and future everything that united them and what could have very pragmatic perspective meaning from them. In a great part it was confirmed in integrational progress into Euro Atlantic and European communities.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that neither different position of individual countries towards NATO and the European Union never prevented and does not prevent their mutual regional co-operation. Contrary to the Benelux countries, which in the same time became members of NATO and all European structures - later the European Union, from among the Nordic countries only Denmark is both NATO and EU member and Iceland and Norway are only NATO members, Sweden and Finland belong only to the EU, while Sweden was during all new age history a neutral country. The Nordic countries case can demonstrate very illustratively narrow multistate co-operation despite differing international obligations of individual members of this regional grouping.

Both regional groupings, but mainly the Nordic countries may serve as an example for countries between Sumava and East Carpathians, The Baltic and the Adriatic, an example by its pragmatic approach to the regional co-operation with flexible ap-

plication of formal and informal steps and frameworks of multilateral co-operation. (For instance the Nordic countries have the Secretariat of the Nordic Ministerial Council, preparing source and background information and proposals for this inter-governmental body practically in all spheres of economic and public life.)

In our Central European conditions tinged with a wide spectrum of surviving and it seams also purposefully newly revived bitter memories, animosities and doubts, it needs besides aimed pragmatism to add something more: equally aimed and long-term focus on everything what united people in the past and connected and what can help also today to liberate people in all countries of this part of Europe from their may be even hundreds years old fears and mistrust in their closest neighbours. Today there is still little and even unsystematically done for the given direction in Central European countries and mainly in countries of the Visegrad Four. Paradoxically antithetical tendencies are winning. Different aimed statements still support dislike and indignation rooting from historical memory in which – as it is so often in this part of the world – lights and shadows touching individual history events end personalities (again mainly from the first half of the last century) are used very wilfully.

To cope with history is a long-term, thought through and internationally coordinated co-operation, long-term persevering effort worth to undergo in our Central European conditions – in our own interest and interest of a bigger regional and all European unit we belong to naturally and which neither we neither other countries want to and can leave.

Ludmila Lipková

Role of the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics in Bratislava at Human Resources Preparation in the Integration Perspective

The Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics was established in 2000. It is the sixth faculty of the University of Economics. Its setting up in Bratislava had an objective reason in a growing need of highly qualified experts securing tasks of the Slovak Republic in an increasing intensity of its involvement as an independent subject in international political and international economic activities. Successfulness of pursuing Slovakia's interests in the given fields is besides others very much determined by erudition of cadres representing the country.

Under current conditions of globalisation of sociological and economic processes of individual national economic entities and of solution of basic development tasks of the Slovak Republic the process of its involvement into world and European regional political and economic structures has a priority importance.

A need to secure qualified experts for the newly emerging activity spheres is an accompanying consequence of the Slovak Republic's establishment and development of quantitative and qualitative dimension of its international status. Specifically it is about a solving task of a social practise within activities of relevant central and other state bodies working here and in abroad, i.e. representing bodies and international

organisations. Preparation of qualified experts not only for need of the highest state level but a business practise securing economic activities of the country in abroad at a micro-level is not less important. Foreign policy, diplomatic activities, and activities in foreign-economic relations require from those responsible orientation in all fields representing the subject of common interest. It is mainly a knowledge of historical context of the world society development, specific issues of bilateral and multi-lateral relations with countries with which the Slovak Republic keeps and develops diplomatic and economic relations, knowledge of their economic situation, cultural traditions, customs, and language knowledge. Knowledge of legal aspects of international politics, protocol and others is an internal part of qualification of people acting in international relations.

Majority of countries prepares its Foreign Service people and international activities actors in specialized universities with a long-term tradition.

Today in Slovakia the university education in a general diplomatic practice field is done by the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of the Matej Bell University and in post-graduate courses at the Law Faculty of the Comenius University in Bratislava.

The International Relations Faculty of the University of Economics in Bratislava tied upon the mission and activity of the Faculty of Commerce, which has been educating international trade and entrepreneurship experts for 30 years now. Since 1996 it educated experts for needs of the Slovak economic diplomacy within the study profile International Relations.

Within the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics an effective inter-University co-operation develops with individual faculties in securing the pedagogical process. Due to the fact that the Faculty of International Relations is a part of the University of Economics the essence of the educational process is focused on specialized subjects mainly from disciplines of economics, which are complemented by appropriate amount of specialized topics from international relations.

A special attention is being paid to foreign languages. Students compulsorily study three world languages. Two foreign languages exam is a part of the University admission exam and students finish study of these languages by the final state exam. The third language is usually studied from beginning. All students of the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics study English. Majority study also German. Last year we set French language study as obligatory for the first academic year. The decision is linked to our idea of a future work of our graduates in the European Union bodies where French together with English are working languages. Since the academic year 2001/2002 we have cancelled this French language study order because we realized we thus limited study of any other language. 95 % of that academic year students studied only English, German and French. Starting from 2002/2003 our students can alongside the so-called big languages – English, German, French, Russian, Spanish, and Italian, study also the so-called small languages – Polish, Hungarian. Gradually we would like to add Orient languages – Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic.

Orientation of graduates of the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics is directed to preparation of experts for jobs in state bodies realizing foreign policy and foreign economic co-operation. After necessary expert practise they shall work as highly qualified experts in various international organizations. The graduates should be able to work in the civil service at a medium and lower level, in big firms, as well as in media.

The Faculty pays a special attention to preparation of experts for work in the European Union bodies and for co-operation with the European Union member countries. Relevant themes are an important part of the syllabus. Our goal is to master issues of international political relations, political science, world and Slovak history, political and economic geography, international law – public, commercial and European, world economics and international economic relations. Within optional subjects students focus on studies of political, economic and culture differences individual world regions. Selection of optional subjects will in future correspond with language orientation of students during the course.

The ten-term study is internally divided into two parts:

In the first part of the study students get through a common basis supporting operative thinking. In the end of the first part, i.e. after 6 terms, students pass a state exam from one world language. The general study basics are based on a general basis approved in the University of Economics in Bratislava and is modified in correlation with a focus of the Faculty.

In accordance with the new University Bill the study also formally consists of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts studies. The Bachelor of Arts study will be finished by a state exam of specialized subjects. Because many of students of the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics want do a part of their study in foreign universities, we want them to have a possibility to finish the first level of our university study with a Bachelor's diploma and to decide how to continue. Equally we want to create conditions to enrol other university students of the fourth year – that means after finishing their Bachelor studies in other university. For instance today three graduates of Bachelor studies of the University of Delhi, India, applied for the engineer studies, that means continuation or study of the fourth and fifth year.

The second four-term part of the study is specializing.

In an engineer studies (4th and 5th school year) the specialized disciplines are enlarged by optional subjects to deepen knowledge and specialization in an individual geopolitical region. During the engineer study the students take a state exam from the second foreign language (after finishing the fourth year).

There are 292 students in five university forms in the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics in the 2001/2002 academic year, of which there are 14 from abroad (Hungary, the Czech Republic, Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia). A great number of students does at least one term of the study in abroad (France, Austria, Portugal, Spain, USA, Russia, Republic of Korea). We want every

student to do at least one term during our five years in a foreign university. It is possible to study only a full time form in the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics.

The Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics have accredited post-graduate studies of International Relations for the 2001/2002 academic year. There are currently 30 internal and external post-graduate students in the Faculty.

The frame of tasks and realization of the educational process uses in a wide form experiences accumulated by two other above-mentioned institutions in Bratislava and Banská Bystrica. The faculty co-operates with universities in abroad with analogical professional orientation, especially with the Diplomatic Academies in Vienna, Paris, and Moscow, we have a close co-operation with the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics in Prague.

The pedagogical corps of the Faculty from a great part consists of experts – professors and senior lecturers, many of them former ambassadors of the SR. The Faculty in securing the high quality of educational process uses expertise of experts from practise mainly for subjects directly linked to a use of practical experiences.

Miroslav Adamiš

Slovakia and the European Union

Slovak foreign policy orientation in the 90s of the last century after decades changed again towards traditional partner countries of West and Central Europe. Integration into structures established after the Second World War in our neighbourhood became a real alternative for further social-political direction of Slovakia. Foreign policy calls the tune in establishing contacts with the developed world. Co-operation with the European Union became one of the most important foreign and home policy challenges of the beginning of this century, and definitely will determine development of our country for decades. Last years effort brought real results in approximation of the Slovak society to the values and functioning mechanisms of developed European countries. Let me in short run through the way Slovakia has gone on its route towards the European Union membership during last years.

1.1. Portuguese Presidency (First Half of 2000)

In connection with decision of the European Council Summit in Helsinki Slovakia opened negotiations in the first meeting of the Accession Conference on 15th February 2000, where general negotiation position declaring basic negotiations framework was presented. The European Union opened during the Portuguese Presidency the first eight negotiation chapters of the European Union legislation and six of them were preliminary closed. Chapters as the Small and Medium-sized Undertakings, Education, Vocational Training and Youth, Science and Research, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Statistics, External Relations did not require big modification of the Slovak legislature because European integration have not reached the level as it is in the further chapters. Course and results of negotiations during the

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Portuguese Presidency can be valued positively as our negotiations were dynamic and from the SR's point of view brought expected progress.

1.2. French Presidency (Second Half of 2000)

The European Union member countries decided to open further eight chapters during the French Presidency. Together with chapters not closed during the Portuguese Presidency the SR closed further four chapters of the *acquis communautaire* – Fisheries, Consumers and Health Protection, Industrial Policy, Culture and Audiovisual Policy. Before the European Council Summit in Nice the SR presented its negotiation positions in all remaining negotiation chapters. During the second half of 2000 the negotiations with the SR progressed satisfactorily. Despite the fact that especially in the beginning of the French Presidency time delays from the EU side appeared the programme set for the French Presidency was accomplished.

During the first negotiations year Slovakia opened 16 from a total of 29 chapters and thus fulfilled its own goal – to open at least a half of negotiation chapters during the first year. The total number of the closed chapters reached 10 and six remained on the negotiation table with a need of supplemental information from the Slovak side, searching or modifying solutions.

2. Year 2000

2.1. Swedish Presidency (First Half of 2001)

The EU Summit in Nice confirmed an important strategic European Commission document for Enlargement the so-called *Road Map* defining the time schedule of the EU priorities in negotiations with the candidate countries during the following three presidencies – the Swedish, Belgian and the Spanish one. Considering the SR's aim to enter the EU in the same time as other countries of the Visegrad group during the first half of the year it was important to primarily stress chapters declared as priorities of the Swedish Presidency – i.e. chapters of the internal market Free Movement of Goods, Free Movement of Persons, Freedom to Provide Services, Free Movement of Capital, Company Law, The Environment, Social Policy and Employment.

Slovakia fulfilled goals set for the first half of 2001. In the end of the Swedish Presidency Slovakia had all chapters opened covering the *acquis*, i.e. 29 chapters and during the Swedish Presidency negotiations in nine chapters were preliminary closed. The SR closed all chapters of the internal market including some chapters where we require a transitional period (Freedom to Provide Services and Free Movement of Capital).

What concerns the Free Movement of Persons chapter despite certain fears of some member countries of a flux of labour from the candidate countries, where a seven-year postponement of full EU labour market opening for our citizens after the EU admission was asked, we managed to persuade the European Commission to propose a more flexible approach. Finally after demanding discussions the member countries agreed a model of a transitional period in a structure 2+3+2. It is not an ideal solution but concerning it pragmatically the best one from those possible. The model allows a full liberalisation from a day of our access shall the current member countries decide so. Even already today several member countries as Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, and The Netherlands officially declared preparedness to open their labour market immediately after our entry. We believe that fears of Austria and Germany that their labour market will be flooded by a cheap labour from the East will not come true and the European Union after two years will allow our citizens to work in its member countries under the same conditions as are valid for the current member countries.

On the other hand because of a different price level here and in the EU we persuaded the Union to prevent member countries citizens to obtain agriculture land in Slovakia for seven years. Our analyses show that during this period of time Slovak real estates market will consolidate and land prices will get to a level comparable with the EU. Individual farmers will be allowed to buy land only after three years of their settlement and agriculture activity in the SR. Similarly in the chapter Freedom to Provide Services we managed to put across our demand of three-year transitional periods for compensatory schemes for investors. Having in mind the *Road Map* The Environment chapter was the only one not completed during the Swedish Presidency. There was an objective reason – a need to prepare detailed financial and implemental plans for a total of 21 directives with an emphasis on those where the SR was asking for a transitional period. In a practical level the “*catch up*” principle was performed and Slovakia after 17 months of negotiations by a total of 19 preliminary closed chapters reached the countries negotiating already a third year. Extremely high involvement of the Swedish Presidency and a positive atmosphere supporting the enlargement agenda assisted the SR’s negotiation objectives fulfilment.

2.2. *Belgian Presidency (Second Half of 2001)*

With the general progress of the negotiation agenda the negotiations entered a more demanding phase in the second half of 2001, broader chapters – by a volume of *acquis* as well as by the SR’s negotiation requirements – were negotiated. The maximal emphasis was put on chapters defined by the negotiation schedule for the Belgian Presidency and on The Environment chapter, which remained opened from the Swedish presidency schedule.

During the Belgian Presidency Slovakia closed further three chapters of the EU legislation and thus the number of preliminary closed chapters increased to 27. Comparing with other candidate countries Slovakia confirmed its negotiation potential and real qualification to enter the EU within the first wave of enlargement in 2004. And what concerns the internal goals we may say they were partially fulfilled. Besides the closed chapters Energy, The Environment, and Financial Control the SR intended to close also further chapters of the Belgian Presidency *Road Map*, namely the Transport Policy and Taxation. We wanted also a more visible progress in the chapter of the Agriculture. Holes in our plans were caused partially by objective grounds: short period of time of the Belgian Presidency and in connection with the 11th September events unplanned focus of human sources and increased attention of the Presidency to the international anti-terrorist fight and related activities. Plus negotiations reached a demanding phase because of the *acquis* volume as well as negotiation requirements from the side of candidates as well as of the European Union. This strongly supported the fact that the *Road Map* priorities were not fulfilled in a by the SR's expected size. To eliminate the above-mentioned delays in negotiation agenda the EU organized an additional Accession Conference at a ministerial level held in Brussels on 21st December 2001, and thus the Belgian Presidency *Road Map* deficit was partially covered.

2.2.1. Some Chapters Negotiated during the Belgian Presidency

In October 2001 the chapter Energy was closed after required longer negotiation time in searching for compromise due to essential objections to running of the nuclear power plants of some member countries. We even gained a 5-year transitional period to provide obligatory emergency 90-day oil and oil products reserves. Together with Poland we have the longest transitional period negotiated with the EU in this chapter.

Preliminary closing of The Environment chapter is also important. It is a difficult chapter of the European legislature because of its volume and negotiation requirements of Slovakia. The SR led successful negotiations about 7 requests concerning transitional periods and the SR's requirements and plans for transitional periods officially withdrawn are being solved by existing possibilities of current *acquis*, i.e. by *acquis* derogation.

2.2.2. European Commission Regular Report

In November 2001 the European Commission published the fourth regular evaluation reports on candidate countries progress in their preparation process for the EU membership. According to the EC evaluation the Slovak Republic keeps fulfilling

political criteria and reached a significant progress in consolidation and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy. Essential steps were adopted to strengthen independence of judiciary. Some progress was achieved in the anti-corruption fight, especially in connection with formulating governmental policy and transposition of international commitments. But it is necessary to consistently realise planned intentions in practice. The European Commission Report declared Slovakia a functioning market economy in a short time able to play against competition pressures of the common EU market.

Slovakia achieved important progress in legislation approximation in individual evaluated fields, smaller progress was realized in implementation and exercitation of these legislation norms in practise. The date 1st January 2004 was set as a referential date of the Slovak Republic's EU admission and because of this fact the Slovak Republic needs to adopt relevant *acquis communautaire* latest by 31st December 2002.

3. *The Year 2002*

3.1. *Spanish Presidency (First Half of 2002)*

Concerning negotiations development during the Spanish Presidency Conclusions of the EU Summit in Laeken make also a positive signal. The most important conclusion in an enlargement context is that the fifteen member states' leaders named ten candidate countries (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia) of which they expect the EU admission in 2004 if the current pace of negotiations progress is kept. Started process of drafting the accession agreements in the first half of 2002 is a one more positive fact.

During the Spanish Presidency Slovakia primarily aims to close chapters remaining opened from the Belgian Presidency – Competition Policy, Co-operation in the Area of Justice and Home Affairs, Taxation, and Transport Policy – and prepare for the final negotiation phase chapters defined in the *Road Map* for the Spanish Presidency. In the Taxation chapter the transitional period for lower consumer taxation rates on cigarettes asked by us remains unsolved. The minimal level increase required by the Union brings several unwanted economic, social and political impacts. We propose a 5-year transitional period to moderate these impacts.

In the Transport Policy chapter the SR does not ask any transitional period, unequivocally positive is the fact that the Union made a decision not to limit the new member countries in their access to the international transport market. Only cabotage – a transport done by our transporters on other state territory – remains problematic, because the European Union proposes a transitional period for 2+2+1 year. Costs of our transporters are comparable with costs of the EU transporters, quantity of transport made in a cabotage form is minimal and the Slovak legislature is going to be harmonized with the *acquis* before the SR's EU membership, so we consider the EU

transitional period requirement discriminative against our transporters. We will endeavour that the EU member countries rethink the transitional period.

In the Co-operation in the Area of Justice and Home Affairs chapter we pay a special attention to securing effective protection of our state borders with an emphasis on building the Schengen type border with Ukraine as a future EU outer border. In this connection it must be mentioned that the SR has an eminent interest in keeping over-standard border regime with the Czech Republic until our joint EU and the Schengen system admission.

Slovakia progressed significantly in the Competition Policy chapter by adopting the law on protection of competition policy, state assistance policy amendment and the law on investment stimulants. The only unsolved issue remains the tax holiday given to the foreign investors (especially the US Steel and Volkswagen). The chapter has been closed only by candidate countries, which did not give relief to foreign investors. I expect that negotiations in this chapter will be preliminary closed during the Spanish presidency.

1.1.1 Chapters with the Budgeted Impact

Negotiations held until now between the SR and EU were focused predominantly on issues of adopting and implementation of the *acquis* so their result affect mainly the candidate countries. Negotiations in the Agriculture chapter, Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments, and Financial and Budgetary Provisions chapters influence also the current member countries. It is thus understandable that it is politically a very sensitive issue on both sides. On 30th January the European Commission approved a horizontal document to the financial framework for 2004 – 2006, which would be a subject of EU 15 discussion with the aim to define the EU common position in chapters with a budgeted impact. The document is based on the EU Summit in Laeken, i.e. keeps the Berlin financial framework and respects current valid *acquis*.

The SR positively recognizes complexity of the European Council proposal suggesting granting direct payments to farmers despite the fact that they were grounded neither in August 2000 nor in the conclusions of the Berlin Summit. On the other hand nor suggested duration of a transition period – 10 years for gradual increase of direct payments to the full EU level – neither starting level 25 % are acceptable. Solution can be found in further financing of the payments up the full amount from national budgets or relevant increase of production quota. We suggest shortening the transitional period maximum until the end of the current financial perspective. Because of simpler way of drawing financial means from the cohesion fund focused mainly on infrastructural projects the European Council proposal to increase their proportion within an amount of financial means of structural funds is welcomed. We appre-

ciate also an attempt to solve compensation of candidate countries' contributions to the EU budget during the first years after admission so that the new member countries will not become net budget contributors.

Reform of the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) is an important part of discussion concerning financial issues after the EU admission. Because of the priority to finish negotiation in this year we expect negotiation about the current CAP and do not see a need to link reform to the EU admission. On the other hand we suggest that the new CAP discussion is started even before enlargement, what would create a space for shortening the transitional period within which the direct payments for the candidate countries are to be increased to the level of current member states.

3.2. Danish Presidency (Second Half of 2002)

During the Danish Presidency in the second half of 2002 we expect technical conclusion of the EU accession negotiation. The final evaluation report of the European Commission, which is expected to suggest the Summit of the European Council in Copenhagen, to be held on 11th – 12th December, to close negotiations with prepared countries, will be decisive. The signature of the Accession Agreement we expect during the Greek Presidency in the first half of 2003. Following, the ratification process will start and it should be finished so that the SR can take part in the European Parliament election in 2004 already as a EU member country.

Maroš Šefčovič

Bilateral Relations of the Slovak Republic in 2001

The main determining factors of foreign political activities of the Slovak Republic in bilateral field are the integration ambition of the Slovak Republic, its geopolitical position in Central European region and the pro-export orientation of the Slovak economy. In 2001 the Slovak Republic aimed its bilateral effort mainly at universal development of relationship with the member and candidate states of the EU and NATO, as well as at deepening of co-operation with the neighbouring countries mainly with the partners from Visegrad group. In this connection we can state that last year we succeeded in reaching a high level of political dialogue with the key countries of Euro-Atlantic space what demonstrated itself also in intensity of meetings on level of highest constitutional representatives. Intensive political contacts proved the strengthened position of the Slovak Republic on international scene and the position of our state as one of the main candidates for membership in Euro-Atlantic integration structures. Bilateral relations of Slovakia with other countries of the world were last year also aimed mainly at commercial – economic sphere and at co-operation in international organisations.

In recent years the Slovak Republic made its priority an increase of qualitative standard of *bilateral relations with the USA*, which can be currently characterised as the best in history till present. The dialogue on the highest level continued and maintaining the support for reform policy of present government coalition was successful. We took into consideration the powerful position of the USA and their key role in NATO, which represents for the Slovak Republic a priority political and security alliance. An intensive dialogue developed on all levels of the US administration and with the NATO leadership and in this framework the Slovak Republic systematically

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and consistently promoted its integration into the Alliance. The House of Representatives in November 2001 approved of the *Freedom Consolidation Act of 2001* which is a political gesture ranking the SR after a 5-year break again among equal candidates in accession process of NATO.

In 2001 the Slovak Republic successfully established contacts with the new administration of President George W. Bush. In this respect an important role was played by the meeting of Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda and President of the USA G. W. Bush in the White House in June, preceded by May negotiation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and his American partner C. Powell. As a manifestation of friendship and solidarity with the USA after tragic events from 11th September 2001 the SR immediately offered help and declared that the Army of the SR was ready to join any time on request in peaceful operations against international terrorism in Afghanistan. In the field of agreement basis three new conventions were added to 57 valid bilateral agreements: *Convention on air transport*, *Convention on scientific-technical co-operation* and *Convention on protection and conservation of certain cultural heritage and historical residences*. The building of new Embassy in Washington and Honorary Consulate of the SR in Kansas City, Missouri were opened.

Bilateral relations with Canada developed dynamically. In 2001 the Chairman of the Parliament J. Migaš and Prime Minister M. Dzurinda (in the time of terrorist attacks in the USA) visited Canada and also the first visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada J. Manley in Slovakia took place. In the field of economic co-operation Slovakia cooperates with Canada mainly within *Canadian (governmental) Agency for International Development – CIDA*. This for example participates in project *Development of Romany Community in East Slovakia* and provided a grant for the reform of public administration in the SR. Co-operation with Canada has excellent results within multilateral co-operation mainly in peace missions of the UN and NATO (in four places the members of the Army of the SR act together with Canadian soldiers). Canada definitely supports accession of Slovakia to NATO

The *relations with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* were in 2001 constructive and mutually directed towards progress in the areas of mutual interest. The only problem lies in the persisting strict position of the UK in favour of one sided visa regime towards citizens of the SR. Despite intensive pressure and arguments of the Slovak party the British representatives have not expressed interest in changing the existing visa regime. Advocacy of ambitions of the SR for accession to NATO and acquiring the British support were priority field of mutual relations. The British party positively assessed the achieved progress of the Slovak Republic in fulfilment of MAP and plans for the nearest period. A positive role, especially in military sphere was played by the Embassy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Bratislava, which is the contact embassy of NATO for the SR.

An important role in bilateral relations with the UK is played by economic co-operation. The direct investments represent 6th place in the total ranking of direct

foreign investments in the SR. To the great British investment in the SR belong *Tesco – Store a. s., Citibank, Slovalco, Shell Slovakia, Core Computer and Kerametal*.

The Slovak foreign policy entered year 2001 in *relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany* with significantly more self-confidence since it could rely on high quality political dialogue between both countries progressing during last 2 years. The Slovak diplomacy in 2001 in its relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany concentrated on acquiring maximal support for accession of the SR to EU and NATO and on solution of some open bilateral questions. The Slovak – German bilateral relations maintained the trend, which started three years ago regarding their intensity and standard with the October state visit of the President of the SR R. Schuster in the Federal Republic of Germany as its climax. The level of achieved standard of the dialogue is also justified by other two visits of highest level: the work visit of President R. Schuster in two Federal Republics and the visit of Chairman of the Parliament of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš based on invitation of the President of the German Parliament. In 2001 were accomplished two meetings of the Foreign Ministers of both countries.

In 2001 a significant progress was made in the process of recompensation of Slovak victims of nazism while a part of Slovak victims who were compelled to engage during the World War II will be recompensated from the Fund of German government and industry. Last year the signing of contracting documents definitely solved the questions connected with restitution dispute over the Embassy of the SR in Berlin. The Federative Republic of Germany maintained its position of the most significant economical and commercial partner of the SR as well as the biggest investor. In 2001 continued the successful co-operation in economical field and mainly due to entry of *Deutsche Telekom* to enterprise *Slovenské telekomunikácie* the volume of German investment in Slovakia has raised again.

The development of *bilateral relations with the French Republic* ranks among priorities of foreign policy of the SR. 2001 was the year of standard political dialogue and within its framework were accomplished the visits of the Chairman of the Parliament of the SR J. Migaš and Vice- Prime Minister of the government of the SR M. Kadlečíková in France and several meetings on the level of Ministers of Departments. France provided help and supported the SR in achieving an invitation to OECD. At present it supports Slovakia in achieving the status of observer in International Organisation of French speaking countries. We expect that on the postponed 9th summit of this organisation the SR will achieve the status this year. In the chart of most significant trading partners of the SR France is on the 5th place among 15 member states of the EU. At present there are registered in the SR approximately 160 joint French-Slovak enterprises. The commercial relations will be enriched by production of components for personal cars Volkswagen in industrial zone Záhorie that is being built by the French concern *Plastic Omnium*. Significantly active were the relations of Slovak and French corporations in the field of co-operation with special technique.

The level of *bilateral relations with the Italian Republic* is very good. Contacts with the new Italian government were made especially within multilateral events with the meetings of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The political dialogue of 2001 persuasively showed that Italy at present unconditionally supports the membership of the Slovak Republic in EU and NATO. The favourable development of the political relations reflects itself on intensity of economic co-operation and commercial exchange. Italy takes the 3rd place in foreign trade. Especially significant is the increase of Italian investment in our country to the level of 580 mil. USD. Our trading balance with Italy is active.

The year 2001 was the first year of effective influence of *Basic Agreement between the SR and the Holy See* and it was manifested in very good relationship of mutual relations and high intensity of contacts on the highest level. In the beginning of April 2001 the Chairman of the Parliament of the SR J. Migaš visited Vatican. Vatican very positively valued the visit of President of the SR R. Schuster in the Holy See in November 2001 when the Pope J. Paul II received the President.

The Slovak-Spanish relations in 2001 were aimed at promotion of foreign political priorities of the SR – accession to EU and NATO. The most important bilateral events were the visit of Prime Minister of the Spanish Kingdom J. M. Aznar and official visit of the Minister of Public Administration of Spain J. M. Posed in Slovakia and the visit of Vice- Prime Minister of the SR for European integration P. Haemic and Chairman of the Foreign Committee of the National Council of the SR P. Weiss in Spain. The Spanish Kingdom offers Slovakia help (in the field of Romany problems and training of experts) and actively participates in twinning programmes of EU for the SR.

Portugal unambiguously declared its support for the accession of the SR to EU and NATO. The Slovak – Portugal dialogue made in the last period a qualitative progress while the year 2001 was a turning point in bilateral relations on the highest level. The Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Republic Assembly of Portugal made official visits to the SR. Significant agreements were signed for stimulation of commercial exchange – agreement on economic, industrial and technical co-operation, agreement on preventing double taxation and tax avoidance in the sphere of income tax and agreement on air transport. Portugal however has not placed up to now any direct investment in the SR and the commercial exchange does not correspond with the possibilities of both countries.

With *Malta* we are connected above all by common accession process and future membership in EU. In 2001 the President of Malta G. de Marci and the Chairman of the House of Representatives A. Tabone visited the SR. In June 2001 our Prime Minister M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to Malta.

In 2001 improved the quality and intensity of the *bilateral relations with Ireland*, which in the last year established a residential Embassy in Bratislava. In August 2001 the Chairman of the House of Commons of the Irish Parliament S. Patterson visited Slovakia and in November 2001 the Chairman of the National Council of the SR J.

Migaš visited Ireland. Despite several interventions it was not possible to persuade the Irish party to cancel the unilateral decision from 1998 about suspension of visa free agreement. From 1.3.2001 Ireland exempted the holders of diplomatic and official passports of the SR from visa regime.

Between the SR and the *Kingdom of Belgium* it was possible to establish bilateral relations on very good level what is justified by high intensity of bilateral meetings in 2001. The Prime Minister of the Belgian Kingdom G. Verhofstadt visited the SR and several meetings on resort and parliamentary level took place. Since 1998 in Slovak – Belgian relations resonated the problems of immigrants from the SR who applied for asylum in Belgium what resulted in suspension of visa free regime from the side of the Belgian Kingdom. The visa obligation was cancelled again on 10 April 2001. Belgium, a significant member of EU and NATO supports the accession effort of Slovakia. The co-operation with regions of Belgian Kingdom, Flemish and Valonian regions based on *Convention on Co-operation* between the Government of the SR and Valonia and French community of the Belgian Kingdom is developing. The foreign trade with Belgium ranks among the fastest developing within the Slovak partnership with the countries of the EU.

The Slovak – Dutch relations continued in 2001 with intensity of the previous year and culminated in several visits of ministers (Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Minister of Transport and Water Management, Minister of Defence of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Minister of Foreign Trade of the Netherlands in the SR). In the field of European integration the Netherlands support the individual approach to candidate countries and simultaneously stress the importance of approach to Visegrad Group as a homogenous whole. The Netherlands are a significant commercial and economic partner of the SR and the second greatest investor in Slovakia.

The intensive bilateral co-operation and lively political dialogue between the SR and the *Grand Duchy of Luxemburg* is justified by contacts on the highest level: the first official visit of the Chairman of Luxemburg Parliament in the SR in October 2001, official visit of the Prime Minister of the SR in Luxemburg as well as the official visit of Vice- Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxemburg in the SR. Luxemburg is involved in co-operation of the countries of Benelux and the Visegrad Group. It supports the integration ambition of Slovakia to EU and NATO.

Intensive contacts and *co-operation with the Czech Republic* in practically all fields and on all levels from working – expert to high political, were characteristic for the Slovak- Czech relations in 2001. Due to work of both Prime Ministers and Governments on the principle *within a year and within a day* it was possible to solve many questions connected with permissiveness of frontiers and increase of comfort in interstate communication and others. Co-operation in the second half was aimed at the cultural sphere for maintaining comprehensiveness of the Slovak language in Czech environment. The development showed that domestic political and foreign political

attitudes of the SR and the ČR were in many cases similar to identical what creates good conditions for coordination of attitudes of both countries in solving questions with Visegrad Group and other regional groups and in coordinating steps towards European and Euro Atlantic integration groups. The ČR demonstrated on all levels maximal openness and readiness to support the invitation for the SR to join the NATO on summit in Prague in 2002. The concrete expression of support in the sphere of military – political co-operation is the forming of Czech- Slovak unit within KFOR and mutual Slovak – Czech – Polish unit. Both states accepted the starting point according to which the candidate countries will enter the EU on the basis of their individual preparation while they officially declare that the most favourable for both countries (in broader context for V4) is the common accession which will not disturb the historically, economically and socially built up bonds.

The intensive development of the *Slovak – Hungarian relations* continued also in 2001 by frequent work – expert and high political contacts in political, economic and cultural sphere. The problem of water work Gabčíkovo – Nagymaros and the connected realisation of the decision of the International Court was thanks to both parties transferred from political level to professional level. In September 2001 in Békes Csaba was opened the General Consulate of the SR whose task is besides providing consulate services to the citizens of Slovakia also support of economic relations and help to Slovaks in this part of Hungary. From the point of view of Slovak – Hungarian relations and strengthening of trust between both countries the opening of the bridge between Štúrovo and Ostrihom in October 2001 has a great significance. In the course of evaluated period the contracting basis of bilateral relations further continued. There were signed contracts on accessibility of natural and historical values and on cross border co-operation. The representatives of Hungary express support for accession of the Slovak Republic to NATO and EU. Unfortunately in the evaluated period in Hungary more and more frequently appeared disharmonic elements. It was not only the act on Hungarians living in neighbouring countries but also e.g. the celebration of 100th anniversary of birth of J. Esterházy in the building of the Parliament of the Hungarian Republic, the declarations of some Hungarian politicians about Trianon, revival of symbols of irredentist policy. These facts can have negative influence not only on the quality of mutual relations but also on stability and security in wider region. All questions are subject to further negotiations.

In 2001 continued an intensive *Slovak – Polish co-operation* though the contacts were to certain extent influenced by pre-election activities of the Polish representatives. After the September parliamentary elections and constitution of the new Polish government in the last months of the last year were established the first contacts devoted to preparation of ground for further development of bilateral co-operation, to support of integration ambition of the SR to NATO by new state representation of the PR and common effort of Slovakia and Poland towards common accession to EU. A concrete expression of Polish support for accession of the SR to NATO was the proposal and consequently the signature of contract on establishment of common

Slovak – Polish – Czech military brigade for the needs of NATO with residence in Slovakia.

In bilateral co-operation the attention was focused on the modernisation of infrastructure of frontier crossings and extension of procedure on existing crossings. In January 2001 was opened a new frontier crossing Novt' – Ujsoly and was signed a contract on the change of *Agreement between the Ministry of Transport, Post and Telecommunication of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Transport and Local Economy of the Polish Republic about determination of the connecting place on highway D – 18*. The agreement presumes opening of highway connection in 2005. An increasing tendency can be seen in Slovak – Polish commercial exchange with increase of 13.6% in January – June compared to the same period of last year. A new honorary consulate of the SR was opened in Rzeszow.

The year 2001 meant for *Visegrad co-operation* further intensification of its activity. The results of meetings of presidents and prime ministers confirmed the accession of V4 to EU as their most significant foreign political priority. Official meeting of the Prime Ministers of Visegrad countries in Krakow at the end of Polish presidency unambiguously confirmed the support for the policy of open doors of NATO and similarly support for ambitions of the SR for membership in the Alliance. The priority of Visegrad co-operation in 2001 was the integration of V4 countries to EU. The countries of V4 simultaneously continued in strengthening of structures of the Central European region.

During the year also other meetings on the level of State Secretaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, national coordinators and experts took place. The aim of these meetings were discussing questions of European integration, co-operation of V4 with the other countries in region of Central and Eastern Europe, co-operation with the countries of EU – group of Benelux countries and Austria and others. The summit of Prime Ministers of governments of V4 and Benelux dealt above all with questions of future of EU and sent out an important signal about the further co-operation of these two groups of countries. It is possible to value positively the activity of International Visegrad Fund which in 2001 continued in successful development of its activity and as the only institutional form of Visegrad co-operation provided financial means for realisation of mutual activities of countries of V4 in the sphere of culture, education, science, youth and frontier co-operation.

The *Republic of Austria* belonged in 2001 to priorities of the Slovak foreign policy. The significant dynamics of development of mutual relations continued and was confirmed by official meetings of the Heads of states, Prime Ministers, Ministers of Foreign Affairs as well as intensive bilateral contacts on the level of ministers and experts. Dominant topics of negotiations were questions connected with the future membership of the SR in EU and with the intensification of economic co-operation and with completing the infrastructure between Slovakia and Austria. The SR responded positively to the Austrian initiative of Regional partnership aimed at intensification of bilateral co-operation of Austria and the countries of V4 and Slovenia and strengthening of co-operation of these countries in integration process. The first re-

gional conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs was held in Vienna in June, the second was organised by the Slovak Republic in Bratislava in November.

Austria supports the integration effort of the SR and apart from the question of seven-year transitional period for free movement of labour force did not raise any objections, which could have an adverse effect on the course of accession negotiations. Sharing experience from preparation for Austria's accession to EU on expert level was an important part of integration co-operation. The only question which in the past had a negative influence on bilateral relation with Austria – rejective attitude of Austria to operation of nuclear power station on the territory of Slovakia in 2001 was no longer a problem in bilateral relation due to open and transparent policy of the SR. The standard of mutual economic relations is very good with permanently increasing tendency. Austria is with its volume of direct foreign investment the second biggest foreign investor in the SR.

The Slovak Republic continued in active bilateral dialogue with *Swiss Confederation* official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland in Slovakia, official visit of the Chairman of the Parliament Council of the SR in Switzerland, informal meeting of the Prime Minister of the SR with the Swiss President during the World Economic Forum, visit of Minister of Labour, Social Matters and Family of Slovakia in Switzerland. In 2001 continued the mutually favourable co-operation in economic sphere however it was not possible to lure a bigger influx of Swiss capital to Slovak economy. During year 2001 there were successfully realised the projects supporting the Romany ethnic in the SR mainly in the educational field, which were elaborated and financed by the government of the Swiss Confederation.

Relations of Slovakia and the *Kingdom of Denmark* were in 2001 based on the dialogue activated in last three years and achieved a very good standard. The Danish leadership appreciated the changes in inner political and foreign political development of the SR and declared the support for accession of the SR to NATO and EU. Mainly the opening of Embassy of the Danish Kingdom in Bratislava on 1.9.2001 was a great success of mutual relations. The trade balance of Slovakia and Denmark remains passive in unfavourable to the SR. The total volume of Danish investment in our country is approx. 242 mil SK.

Mutual *Slovak – Swedish relations* are not burdened by any controversial or open questions. The Swedish Kingdom supports the accession of the SR to EU and has no objections to our accession to NATO. During the Swedish chairmanship in EU in the first half of 2001 the relations were intensified. In this period the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda, the Vice- Prime Minister of the SR P. Csáky and Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Kukan visited Sweden. The current state of mutual Slovak- Swedish trade despite the consistent passive balance of the SR can be characterised by favourite development trend of the Slovak export.

The *Slovak – Finnish dialogue* in 2001 developed in the sign of successful negotiations of the SR about accession to EU and candidate membership in NATO. The level of mutual relations in 2001 can be assessed as good. Official visits of the Prime

Minister of Finland P. Lipponen (May) and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan in Finland (January), visits of the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Tuomioju in Slovakia (December) and official visit of the Prime Minister of the SR M. Dzurinda in Finland (December) took place. The trade balance remains passive in unfavourable of the SR. Even though the proportion of turnover in favour of export increase of the SR improved the import from Finland to Slovakia also increases.

Between the SR and *Norway* do not exist any controversial or open questions. After year 1998 the Norwegian Party unambiguously declared its interest in intensifying the bilateral relations and co-operation. In January 2001 the Chairwoman of the Parliament of the Norwegian Kingdom K. K. Grodahl came for an official visit to the SR. In November took place the official visit of Prime Minister of the SR in Norway in the course of which the Norwegian Prime Minister supported the accession of the SR to NATO on the summit in Prague.

The *Slovak – Icelandic relations* can be characterised by rather low volume and intensity despite the good political conditions created by visit of the President of Island V. Finnbogadóttir in Slovakia in 1994. The main reason for the given state is the geographical distance and low volume of mutual commercial-economic relationship.

There was no success in changing the passive state of *Slovak – Estonian relations* and further persist the unused reserves from the point of view of intensification of co-operation in political and economic sphere. The most significant event in year 2001 was the visit of the Estonian Prime Minister M. Laar on the international conference in Bratislava (May). The Minister of Privatisation M. Machová (February) and the Minister of Defence J. Stank (September) visited Estonia. Estonia as a candidate for membership in EU and NATO is for the SR an important partner with positive approach towards sharing knowledge and experience

In 2001 there was an intensification of mutual relations of the SR and *Lithuania*. It is important to state that the real possibilities and needs for co-operation are definitely greater. The most significant event was the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Kukan in Lithuania (March). The Prime Minister of the Lithuanian Republic R. Paksas participated in international conference in Bratislava in May.

The problem free relations of the SR and the *Latvian Republic* maintained their good standard in 2001. In the field of accession to EU and NATO an intensive informal co-operation and exchange of opinions on bilateral and multilateral level is going on. An official visit of the Prime Minister of the Latvian Republic A. Berzinš in the SR (May) and visit of the Vice-Prime Minister M. Kadlečíková during an international conference in Riga (October) took place. Further there were visits of the Vice-Chairman of the Latvian Parliament R. Pīks in the SR, the Minister of Privatisation M. Machová and the Minister of Education M. Ftáčnik in Latvia. A weak point of mutual co-operation remains the trade-economic co-operation, which still does not correspond with the possibilities and interest of both countries.

The foreign policy of the SR towards the *Russian Federation and Ukraine* in year 2001 was characterised by activating of contacts on the highest level what was an

important impulse for further development of well-balanced and pragmatic relations with stress on economic measure of co-operation. Based on accepted strategy of European Union the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR elaborated a strategy of development of relations with the Russian Federation and Ukraine. These are the basic documents of further direction of co-operation of the SR with these states.

The year 2001 brought within *Slovak-Russian relations* three visits on the highest level – Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation I. Ivanov in January, the Chairman of State Duma of the Russian Federation G. Selezňov in November and the climax was the historically first visit of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster in Russia in November. One of the most important moments is the defrosting in the sphere of deblocation of Russian debt towards the SR by solving the problem of non- taking the system S-300 from the Russian party. The co-operation in trade- economic sphere, which represents priority in mutual relations for the reason of raw material bonds to Russia, continued, traditionally continued the increase of negative balance in mutual trade. The introduction of visa obligation between our countries from 1st January 2001 was managed sensitively and without more serious problems. Our relations confirmed the direction and development in good and pragmatic spirit.

Relations with *Ukraine* are developing as problem free with mutual friendliness at solving bilateral and multilateral questions. In April the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Zlenko paid an official visit and in May the historically first official visit of the President of Ukraine L. Kučma took place in the SR. The focus of relations is mainly the economic sphere. After the positive turn in trade- economic co-operation in 2000 continued the dynamics of its increase also in 2001. The SR successfully joined in several significant privatising projects in Ukraine. The possibility of joining the transit of energy bearers through Ukrainian territory for the SR was elaborated. Since March 2001 is valid the agreement of facilitating the visa regime for chosen group of citizens. In accordance with aiming of foreign policy the SR continued in good neighbouring relations with Ukraine, it declared the support for its gradual integration within democratic and market orientated structures including WTO.

In *relations with the Belarus* the SR has a reluctant attitude due to its domestic political situation and the positions of international organisations. The mutual contacts are limited to meetings within multilateral events. The confirmation of presidency of A. Lukašenko in September President elections doe not give any condition for a radical change of direction of domestic and foreign policy of the White Russia.

A definite priority of *relations of the SR with the countries of South Caucasus and Middle Asia* is the continual orientation towards trade- economic co-operation, which is despite declared interest still unsatisfactory and little developed. Significant is and will be the co-operation within international organisations, which is closely connected with the development of political dialogue. Apart from the November visit of the President of the SR R. Schuster in Kazakhstan in 2001 the relations on highest level between the SR and Middle Asian Republics, there were no meetings. The meetings

are practically limited to the framework of multilateral forums and mainly bilateral contacts of Embassies.

With *Turkey and Greece* in the last year continued the development of mutual relations in all spheres of mutual interest. On the whole it was possible to maintain the high intensity of relations, which was justified by traditionally friendly and problem-free relations with both countries. The evidence is the persisting support of Turkey for accession of the SR to NATO and Greece for accession to NATO and EU. The priority of foreign policy of the SR is to maintain the support for accession of the SR to given structures and further development of universal co-operation.

In relations of the SR and the *Republic of Cyprus* there are no open questions. Close attitudes and interests in ongoing integration processes connect both countries. The Embassy of the SR in Nicosia was also in last year exceptionally active in process of solving the Cyprus problem and in the zone of the UN organised nine meetings of leaders of ten political parties from both parts of the island. Contrary to last years it was possible to raise these bi-community meetings to the level of regular almost monthly political events. Engagement of the SR in Cyprus increased when the Slovak soldiers substituted the Austrian contingent within the peace forces of the UN – UNFICYP.

Relations of the SR and *the Croatian Republic* can be assessed as problem free without open questions with positive trend of development characterised by identical foreign political aims – integration within European political and security structures. The priority remains the deepening of economic and trading co-operation within the *Stability Pact for SouthEast Europe*. A significant impulse for further development of economic co-operation is Croatia's joining of CEFTA and the signing of agreement connected with it: *Agreement on Free Trade with the SR*.

The mutual relations with *Bosnia and Herzegovina* are not developed. In the last year there was no bilateral meeting apart from regular contacts of the Ambassador of the SR in Zagreb with the representatives of Bosnia. The SR has not signed any bilateral document with *Bosnia and Herzegovina* yet. The priority is the development and more obvious deepening of economic and trading co-operation, which does not reach the expected level. There are possibilities in the sphere of construction and reconstruction of road communications (experts, delivery of material and technique) and destroying of mines.

The level of *relations of the SR and the Slovenian Republic* on political level was very high also last year, the countries have no open or controversial questions. The co-operation was very intensive and productive also in multilateral forums at sharing information and experience in fulfilling the integration ambitions of both countries especially in case of EU and NATO as well as in international organisations. The trade exchange showed in 2001 a trend of further increase so there is a realistic condition for slight exceeding the record of last year. Also further forms of economic co-operation developed simultaneously: investment, mutual activities in markets of the third countries, employment of the citizens of partner country, co-operation in using the port of Koper etc.

The foreign policy of the SR towards the *Republic of Bulgaria* in 2001 developed in accordance with its central motive, preparation for accession to NATO and EU. There were not recorded any disturbances of traditionally good relationship between both countries on any level of common interest. In the sphere of contractual – legal base all strategic agreements are signed. The co-operation of Slovakia and Bulgaria is also very effective within international organisations. Unused is the potential of reserves of mutual trade turnover and possible involvement of Slovak commercial subjects in the territory (common Slovak – Bulgarian firms, sub-delivery activity) in the framework of projects *Stability Pact for South East Europe*, participation in construction of bridge No 2 over the Danube etc.

Bilateral relations with the Republic of Moldova in 2001 were suppressed mainly due to reasons of different priorities of the Slovak and Moldavian foreign policy after the parliamentary and presidential elections in the country at the beginning of 2001. Positive conditions for further development of relations with Moldavia are formed by permanent interest of Moldavian party in co-operation also within international organisations. The political situation in Moldavia is however too unstable for the possibility to create firm and long-term priorities. The focus of bilateral relations between the SR and Moldavia is the economic and trading co-operation. In the sphere of trading exchange very favourable tendency was recorded in 2001 what is justified by increasing interest of the Slovak entrepreneurial subjects in economic co-operation with Moldavian partners.

The relations of the SR and Romania we can traditionally evaluate as friendly, not burdened by any open or unsolved questions. The political dialogue between both countries continued also during 2001 on the level of highest representatives and members of governments of the SR and Romania. Both countries have common interests in development of regional co-operation and integration within EU and NATO. The dialogue within official visits and meetings was aimed at strengthening of bilateral co-operation as well as co-operation on multilateral level with increasing stress on integration problematic and in the recent period also on exchange of attitudes to the Act of Hungarians living in neighbouring countries. The economic co-operation between the SR and Romania is characterized in the course of last two years by exceptionally positive tendencies in the field of trading exchange where the Slovak export almost four times exceeds the import but also in the case of increase of Slovak investment in Romania.

The fulfilment of tasks of foreign policy of the SR towards *the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* was in 2001 realised in conditions of consolidation of political, economical and social system in the country after democratic changes, which happened in year 2000. The changed domestic political situation in Yugoslavia and its new foreign political position had favourable influence on the whole situation in the region and bilateral relations. In 2001 continued an intensive political dialogue, which started after democratic changes in Beograd. Meetings on high state level took place. The SR accented the support for democratic processes, domestic reforms, redefined fore-

ign policy of Beograd and (re)integration of Yugoslavia within international structures.

The government of the SR as a manifestation of its interest in consolidation of situation in Yugoslavia with the aim to give to this country besides political support also a genuine economic help gave 55 mil. SK for fast economic help, which was aimed especially at the sphere of energetics and health care. The contractual – legal base was completed and in 2001 were signed seven documents including important economic and consular documents. The detailed monitoring of situation development in Yugoslavia from the SR was undoubtedly influenced also by the fact that in the period from May 1999 to June 2001 our Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Kukan was appointed a special envoy of General Secretary of UN for the Balkans.

Bilateral relations with Macedonia are not burdened with any problems of principal importance. The whole development of relations in 2001 stagnated due to regional situation and mainly the crisis in ethnic relation in Macedonia, which resulted in armed conflict. The only activity on high level in 2001 was the visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia in the SR in October. This visit confirmed the quality of relations in political sphere, contributed to positive image of the SR as a supporter of Macedonian state, its territorial entity and sovereignty. Both countries have close foreign political aims even though Macedonia is on a lower level of approaching the European and Transatlantic structures. Mutual economic co-operation does not reflect the level of political dialogue and does not correspond with the possibilities of economy of both countries.

The SR has with *Albania* rather good political relations. Reserves exist mainly in economic and trading co-operation but also in the field of co-operation and development of cultural relations scientific and other contacts. The total development of relations in 2001 stagnated; no meetings on high level took place. Despite effort and consultations on expert level it was not possible to close the revision of contractual basis due to the effort of Albanian Party to annihilate the *Protocol of arranging mutual debts and commitments in payment relations*.

The attitude towards the *countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America* was active what the number of contacts on high level confirms. The mechanism of regular inter-ministry consultations on the level of Departments of Foreign Affairs continued. In the centre of attention was the effort for extension of trading- economic co-operation. The political dialogue contributed to promotion of foreign political and economic goals of the SR in relationship to these regions. An increased attention was devoted to creating the legislative basis in trading – economic sphere. The contacts of representatives of Chambers of Commerce were a contribution, despite this fact the current volume of trade of the SR with countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Australia and Oceania does not correspond with the possibilities and existing economic potential.

Relations with the *People's Republic of China* are not burdened with open questions of basic significance. On all levels a dialogue is carried on which is oriented

towards pragmatic and ideologically not burdened co-operation. Governmental, parliamentary and non-governmental contacts can be evaluated as intensive above average and satisfactorily covering the whole spectrum of bilateral relations. A number of meetings took place on lower and non-governmental levels. The contractual basis in the sphere of economic relations was completed and is currently supplemented by resort agreements.

The most significant fact was the definitive confirmation of the project of the construction of power station Shen Tou by Chinese government in February with the beginning of its realisation in the course of year 2002.

In 2001 the *contacts with Mongolia* were limited to meetings of employees of diplomatic missions in Peking. A positive impulse in relationship with the *People's Democratic Republic of Korea* was the historically first visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR in Korea on the level of General Manager of Section of bilateral co-operation in May 2001 during which the protocol of revision of contractual basis was signed. The most significant event was the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan (August). He negotiated with the Korean highest state representatives and the *Agreement on prevention of double taxation and tax evasion in section of income tax* as well as the *Protocol of co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Korean Republic* were signed. The development of commercial and economic relations belongs to priorities of bilateral Slovak – Korean relations. The fulfilment of this priority was not optimal in year 2001, either.

Relations with the *Socialist Republic of Vietnam* recorded significant improvement in 2001. In April was held the 2nd session of *Joint Intergovernmental Commission for Commercial and Economic Co-operation* in Bratislava with participation of Vice Minister of Trade of the Vietnamese Socialist Republic Le Danh Vinh. The most significant event was the official visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan in Vietnam in August last year. The level of mutual trade exchange was not satisfactory.

The development of *relations of the SR with Japan* gained in 2001 new measures which manifested itself mainly in visits of Japanese representatives in the SR, in establishing of Japanese Embassy in Bratislava, economic activities and in effort for two sided cancelling of visas. The most significant activity was the official visit of delegation headed by the Chairman of the House of Commons of the Japanese Parliament Tamisuke Watanuki in the SR in August 2001. It was the first official visit of the Chairman of the Japanese Parliament in the SR. Special attention was devoted to economic co-operation with special accent on active support of the Slovak export to Japan and stimulation of interest of the Japanese investors to enter the Slovak economy. In March 2001 the Japanese government provided to Slovakia a grant for musical instruments of the State Theatre in Košice.

In relation to *India* practically the only event in 2001 was the visit of State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR P. Brňo who led the governmental delega-

tion of the SR on the 4th session of Indian- Slovak mixed intergovernmental commission for economic and commercial co-operation in Dilli. In relationship to *Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Nepal* besides yearly protocol activities no bilateral meetings took place. The approving process of honorary consulates in Dhaka (Bangladesh) and Colombo (Sri Lanka) was completed.

Relations with Australia developed positively also in year 2001. In January 2001 a mission of entrepreneurs from the state South Australia led by Chairman of Legislative Council (parliament) visited Slovakia. In April visited the SR the Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Federal Parliament of Australia N. Andrew and in November the State Vice- Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia I. Wilcock. The sphere of economic relations still lacks behind the possibilities of both countries. In May 2001 the Honorary Consulate of the SR was established in the capital of the state Victoria in Melbourne. In 2001 there were not realised any significant contacts with New Zealand.

From the point of view of foreign political interests of the SR *Thailand* represents an important country with growing international respect and significant human and economic potential. During the year 2001 there was a complex improvement of Slovak – Thai relations and increase of trade turnover but also Slovak export. The discussions of former President of the SR M. Kováč with Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn and the Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Sathirathai in March 2001 in Bangkok also contributed to establishing informal contacts with the present government. The visit of the Head of Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR M. Tancár took place. In 2001 inter-ministerial consultations on the level of General Manager of the Section of bilateral co-operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR took place in Bratislava.

Appropriate attention was devoted to maintaining basic contacts and the revival of *co-operation with Kampuchea, Laos and Myanmar*. In relations with these countries there are not opened any significant problems and the range of co-operation is limited by objective inner political conditions and foreign political factors on both sides. In November 2001 in Phnompen was signed the *Agreement between the Government of the SR and the Government of the Kingdom of Kampuchea about Restructuralisation and Payment of debts of the Kingdom of Kampuchea to Slovakia*. In relationship to Laos based on the exchange of letters on the level of Prime Ministers in November 2001 there was signed a bank protocol between the National Bank of Slovakia and The Bank of Laos P.D.R. about carrying out the agreement according which the government of Laos commits itself to pay its debt to Slovakia in regular instalments by the year 2009.

A significant step from the point of view of more complex activity in the region was the accepting of the SR as observer in *the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific* (UN ESCAP) with residence in Bangkok on the 57th session of this organisation in April 2001. Acquiring the status of observer enables the SR to participate without financial commitments in regular sessions of ESCAP in Bangkok

and access to information about prepared economic projects financed by international institutions. In 2001 continued the development of relations with other countries of the region of the Southern and Eastern Asia – *Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei* and with the territory of *East Timor*, which since 1999 is under administration of the UN (UNTAET). In 2001 a general honorary consulate of the SR was opened in Singapore and conditions were created for opening an Embassy in Malaysia. The visit of Vice-President of Indonesia and since July 2001 the President of the Indonesian Republic M. Soekarnoputri was during the year due to deep domestic political crisis in the country postponed two times. In economic sphere there were no developed forms of co-operation and the volume of mutual trade does not correspond with the possibilities. Some progress was achieved in the sphere of forming the contractual-legal basis.

A new dynamics of co-operation with special focus on trade-economic dimension with the *Federal Republic of Brazil* was brought by the visit of President of the SR R. Schuster in July 2001. During the visit were signed the intergovernmental agreement on commercial and economic co-operation and the protocol of co-operation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries. A positive perspective of its development is the opening of independent Commercial- economic Department of the SR with residence in Rio de Janeiro (October 2001). In co-operation with *Ecuador and Guyana* there were not recorded any significant activities. The level of mutual commercial exchange with these countries also stagnates. In the stage of negotiation is the proposal for establishing an honorary consulate in Quito (Ecuador).

In bilateral relations with *Chile* the most significant moment in mobilisation of mutual co-operation was represented by visit of the President R. Schuster in July. In the followed period it was possible to record rather intensive contacts on the level of entrepreneurial associations on the side of the SR mainly from position of the Slovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, form the side of Chile the State pro-export organisation PROCHILE. The first signs of consolidation of commercial exchange between the SR and Chile showed after almost three years of stagnation.

Bilateral relations between the SR and *Argentina* were in the last year (July) improved by visit of the President R. Schuster who was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy P. Brño. Agreements on economic-commercial co-operation, cancellation of visa obligation for holders of diplomatic and official passports and cancellation of visa obligations for the holders of passports were signed. There is a potential which should not be neglected with the aim to create privileged relations due to acquiring preferential access to markets of extended EU on one side and on the other side to the markets of MERCOSUR and in future in the *Zone of free trade of Americas (ALCA)*. It is important to appreciate the establishment of four Slovak entrepreneurial missions in the country. The volume of mutual trade balance in 2001 recorded a positive increase.

A significant development impulse in *relations with Uruguay* was given by the visit of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo in July 2001 which confirmed the usefulness of intensification of two sided co-operation in searching for common language of small countries in the conditions of globalisation and in effort of revitalising the trade-economic relations. A positive turn in bilateral contacts in connection with the visit of the State Secretary J. Chlebo was recorded also in *relation to Paraguay* where the interest in establishing a two-sided contracting basis was confirmed. Paraguay in the nearest future will accredit its ambassador for the SR and in Bratislava it will open its honorary consulate.

In relations of the SR with Mexico there are created conditions for continuous development of the political dialogue, foreign political and economic co-operation. In 2001 further prevailed practical purposefulness and short-term political interests. Bilateral relations with the other countries of the region – *Belize, Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Columbia and Venezuela* did not record any relevant change in comparison with the preceding period and there was no significant development. Relation of the SR with Peru and Bolivia are traditionally correct, problem free while the bilateral co-operation is concentrated on trade – economic sphere. During the visit of the State Secretary J. Chlebo in Bolivia inter-ministerial consultations took place and the Protocol on Co-operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia were signed.

In *bilateral relations with Cuba* a useful dialogue on the level of Vice-Ministers of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs continued thanks to the visit of A. Dalmau in the SR in March 2001. In April the representatives of the Parliament of the SR led by P. Weiss participated in 105th session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Havana. During the year the standard of the diplomatic representation of the SR in Cuba increased. The priority in bilateral relations is still the economic and commercial co-operation. Cuba is on the 2nd place in export of the SR in Latin America. In May the 4th session of mixed commission on the level of State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR was held in Bratislava. The SR up to now has not made diplomatic contacts with the *Bahamas, Dominican Commonwealth, Saint Christopher and Nevis and Saint Lucia*. In March 2001 were made diplomatic contacts with the *Dominican Republic*.

Mutual relations with *Algeria* intensified in political sphere in 2001. The visit of the President R. Schuster, which was planned for October, was preliminarily postponed till February 2002. Trade contacts with Algeria stagnate for the reason of absence of Commercial-Economic Department in the Embassy of the SR as well as because of passive approach of the Slovak firms. *Relations with Tunisia* did not record in 2001 a significant development. Tunisia was also in 2001 one of the most visited tourist destinations – it was visited by 32000 Slovak tourists. The development of the relationship of the SR and Morocco remained also in 2001 on insufficient level. The high passive trade balance of the SR persists (import of citrus, bananas). In *relationship*

with Libya for the SR dominates significance in economic sphere. The main role is to maintain a well-balanced pragmatic political dialogue and in mutual relations the solution of the problem of deblocations. The Government of the SR decided about the appointment of residential ambassador of the SR in Tripoli who submitted the accreditation documents in 2001. It was possible to agree upon the result of revision of contractual basis, which will be completed by an exchange of letters between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. In the last year there was developed the preparation of activity of the Slovak – Libyan Commission whose establishing session was transferred from October 2001 to the first quarter of 2002. After establishing of diplomatic relations with *Chad* in 2000 the accreditation of the ambassador of the SR from Tripoli is presumed, however the Chad party did not reply to request for agreement. Relations in political sphere stagnated a certain development can be expected only after submitting the accreditation documents of the ambassador of the SR.

In the framework of the countries of Near East and Africa *Egypt* belongs to priority countries in foreign policy of the SR. The domestic state approving procedure to the *Agreement on Air Transport* was completed. In 2001 there were held rounds of expert negotiations to the *Agreement on prevention of double taxation*, during 2002 the agreement should be prepared for signing. The SR submitted the proposal of executing protocol in the field of education. The reciprocal visit of the President of the SR R. Schuster in the Egyptian Arabic Republic was postponed for year 2002 similarly to the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Moussu in the SR. In January 2001 the Minister of Economy of the SR L. Harach visited Egypt and signed the *Agreement on establishment of Mutual Commission in Trade Sphere*, *Agreement on Co-operation between the EXIM Bank and the Egyptian Insurance Pro-export Corporation* and *Agreement on Co-operation in the Sphere of Fairs*. The approving procedure connected with the establishment of honorary consulate of the SR in Alexandria was successfully completed in the first half of the year. In relations of the SR with Sudan there are no open questions in political field besides inherited part of debts. In 2001 was accomplished the up to now most significant visit of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo. Apart from inter ministerial consultations also negotiations with the Minister of Industry and Investment, the State Minister of Finance and the Vice – Minister of foreign trade took place. Very significant factor for Slovakia in its relationship with Sudan is the activity of Honorary Consulate of the SR in Khartoum. The level of official contacts with Yemen is on minimal level. In political sphere there are neither open nor controversial questions between the SR and Yemen. The reflection of new era in mutual relations is the increase of trade turnover.

Priority in *relation to Israel* was the continued effort for improving the still unsatisfactory level of economic co-operation. The positive reactions of EU and the USA to the development in the SR and appreciation of fast removal of former deficit in fulfilment of political criteria reflected positively also on mutual Slovak–Israeli relations. It was stated on many negotiations that the mutual relations are not burdened by

any open questions; they gained a new quality and represent a good framework for more intensive deepening of co-operation. The Israeli party proclaims interest in realization of postponed visit on high level and also an increase in interest of Israeli entrepreneurs in the SR was recorded.

A significant milestone in the development of the relations was the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel S. Peres in the SR in October 2001. In September 2001 the Israeli parliamentary delegation led by Member of Parliament Kneset and the Chairman of League of Israeli-Slovak Friendship Y. Katz participated in pious celebrations of the Day of victims of holocaust and racial violence, which were held in Slovakia for the first time. Mutual trade between Slovakia and Israel in 2001 developed in non-favour of the SR. A positive trend in mutual economic relations is the growing interest of Israeli investors in the SR. In Israel are at present four honorary consuls of the SR: in Jerusalem M. Rodman, in Beer Shave S. Sax, in Haifa D. Mandel and for the region of Tel Aviv and environs N. Steiner. The honorary consuls of the SR expressed a great initiative in support of Israeli – Slovak commercial relations and participated in organization of several entrepreneurial missions to Slovakia.

In *relations with Palestinian Autonomy* it is important to state that in 2001 it was not possible to maintain political dialogue on the highest level. During the followed period no political meeting was organised. The main reason is the persisting Israeli – Palestinian conflict, which discourages mainly economic circles from engaging in the mutual Slovak – Palestinian co-operation.

Strengthening of economic dimension of co-operation with the region of the *Gulf – the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman*) did not fulfil the expectations connected with opening the Slovak Trade Centre in Dubai in October 2000. The activity of the Centre was officially terminated in June 2001. The SR has in this region an insufficient diplomatic representation – only the Embassy in Abu Dhabi while the SR has at present no commercial representation for this whole region. In relation to Kuwait an activation of mutual relations was recorded. In March 2001 visited *Kuwait* the Slovak parliamentary delegation led by the Vice-Chairman of the Parliament of the SR B. Bugár. A temporary Consulate of the SR was opened and it was met with exceptionally positive reaction from the side of Kuwait. The Minister of the Environment of the SR visited in February the *United Arab Emirates* in the framework of the conference and exhibition *Environment 2001*. In April 2001 in Dubai was successfully completed the *Week of Slovak Culture in the United Arab Emirates*. In May 2001 the SR was for the first time represented also on exhibition *Arabian Travel Market* that is the most significant fair of tourism in the Near East. The *relations with Qatar* started to develop concretely. The evidence was the participation of the Slovak delegation led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR P. Brňo on the 4th Ministry Conference of WTO in Dauha in Qatar in November. A member of delegation was also the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo. The ambassador of the SR P. Zsoldos submitted in September the accreditation documents in *Bahrain. Relations with Saudi Arabia*

were on minimal level. Saudi Arabia submitted a proposal of agreement on co-operation in economic, investment, artistic and cultural sphere. With *Oman* almost no mutual activities were recorded.

Good *bilateral relations with Syria* were confirmed by the visit of the President of the SR R. Schuster in April. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan was leading with his Syrian partner F. as-Sara bilateral discussions. During the visit the *Agreement on Air Transport Services* was signed. The most significant bilateral activity concerning Lebanon was the visit of the President of the SR in April. During his visit was signed the commercial agreement and Protocol on consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. With *Jordan* we maintained correct relations, though on lower level. In 2001 the establishment of Honorary Consulate of the SR in Amman was approved. *Relations with Iraq* remained also in 2001 at a low level due to still valid embargo In trade-economic sphere there was no significant transfer despite the signing of commercial agreement in 2000 and the efforts of the Slovak firms to engage in the programme *Oil for Foods*. The *bilateral relations with Iran* were on good level. In January 2001 there were held in the SR consultations on the level of the General Manager of the Section of bilateral relations. The *Memorandum of Understanding*, which will confirm the state of agreements valid between the SR and Iran, was signed. 3rd session of the mixed economic commission planned for November 2001 was postponed. Stagnation in the relations of the SR with *Pakistan* continued also in 2001. No bilateral political contacts on higher level were realised in the followed period.

The *countries of Sub-Saharan Africa* are covered by four Embassies of the SR out of which West Africa belongs to Embassy in Lagos, East Africa to Embassy in Nairobi and South Africa to Embassy in Harare and Pretoria. From political point of view it is an unstable region suffering from civil wars, permanent coups d'états, changing of military and civil governments, autocrat regimes headed by dictators of states. The SR has the most active bilateral political and trade- economic co-operation out of African states with the *Republic of South Africa*. In the evaluated period the most important event was the participation of governmental delegation of the SR in *World Conference in Durban* led by Vice-Prime Minister L. Fogaš. The trade – economic co-operation has a growing tendency and in 2001 the Slovak export was successfully raised by 104%.

In March 2001 diplomatic contacts were made with *Botswana* in the form of protocol on the level of ambassadors of the SR and Botswana in the Republic of South Africa. After establishing diplomatic relations the Embassy of the SR in Pretoria proposed the realisation of contractual basis. By exchanging notes in August 2001 the revision of contracting basis was realised with *Lesotho* and the maintaining of contractual documents valid by December 31 1992 was confirmed. With other countries – *Mauritius, Namibia and Swaziland* there were no significant activities in the field of bilateral co-operation. Bilateral relations with the *Republic of Kenya* are on comparatively low level in all spheres though in years 1999 – 2000 started a positive

trend of development of bilateral co-operation. In 2001 took place in the SR the visit of the Minister of Defence of *Uganda* A. Mbabazi who negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the SR R. Káčer. In 2001 a training of pilots from *Uganda* on Aviation Academy took place in Košice. It is supposed that the training will be continued next year. In stage of preparation is the visit of the commander of air force of *Rwanda* in the SR. With other countries of the region (*Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti and Seychelles*) there was no shift in the bilateral relations in the followed period. The SR has no diplomatic contacts with *Niger, The Ivory Coast and Saint Thomas and Prince Island*.

The relations of the SR with the states of the region of West Africa are limited to occasional co-operation in international organisations, to commercial co-operation and consular activities. Broader dimensions had *relations with Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Guinea and Senegal*, mainly in commercial and consular field. The visit of the President of *Nigeria*, which should have taken place in year 2001 the Nigerian party, cancelled without giving a reason. The Slovak party expects a response from *Ghana* to the proposal of commercial contract and respond from *Benin* to the proposal of contract on co-operation in military sphere. There were positive changes within evaluated period in the field of commercial – economic co-operation and there was an increase in export of Slovak commodities to the countries of West Africa by 275% compared with a similar period of previous year. Measures were taken towards extension of network of honorary consulates in the countries where the financial possibilities do not allow opening an effective embassy as in *Senegal, Togo, Guinea and Ghana*.

Bilateral relations of the SR with the majority of countries of *South and Central Africa* are on a comparatively low level. In contractual-legal sphere there are elaborated several proposals of bilateral commercial agreements of the SR with *Zimbabwe, Angola and Zambia* which were initiated by the Slovak party. *Zimbabwe* did not respond to proposal of Agreement on visa free contact for holders of diplomatic and official passports. In the evaluated period there continued activities towards creating an effective network of honorary consulates in this region. In 2001 an Honorary Consulate of the SR was opened in Blantyr (*Malawi*). The opening of Honorary Consulate of the SR in Maput (*Mozambique*) is in the stage of preparation.

The development of bilateral co-operation in the sphere of culture, education, science and health care and presentation of the Slovak culture are important elements of promotion of foreign political interests of the SR not only in integration and regional context, but also in relation with other significant partners. A significant role is played by the process of preparation of contracting-legal basis for development of contacts in the sphere of culture, education, science, sport and health care. In 2001 the SR signed inter governmental contracts on co-operation in the field of culture, education, health care and other fields with *Belgium*, agreement on protection of certain cultural heritage and historical residences with the *USA*, agreement on scientific- technical co-operation with the Federal Republic of *Yugoslavia*. For signing is prepared the agreement on providing grant by Japanese government, agreement on

scientific – technical co-operation with Spain, agreement on audiovisual co-production with Canada and intergovernmental programme of co-operation with Israel and Italy. In the stage of preparation are intergovernmental cultural agreements with Argentina, Mexico, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia, intergovernmental programmes of co-operation with Cyprus, Portugal, India and agreement on scientific- technical co-operation with Argentina.

The most important events were: *The Month of the Slovak Culture in New York* in February 2001, a number of cultural events at the occasion of opening the new building of Embassy of the SR in Washington in June 2001, mobile exhibition *Bratislava – the capital of Slovakia*, exhibition *Alexander Dubček and Europe* in November 2001 in Brussels. The SR participated in the first common presentation of the *Central European Cultural Platform* which was held in Brussels with presence of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and State Secretaries of the countries of Austria, Slovenia and Visegrad 4.

The government of the SR based on its resolution No. 591 from June 2001 awarded for school year 2001/2002 48 scholarships for Master and Doctorate studies for students from developing countries and 70 scholarships to compatriot students. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR yearly arranges the notification of scholarships and participates in the process of their awarding within the committee of the Ministry of Education of the SR. There is a co-operation in awarding scholarships and co-operation with foreign educational institutions based on the co-operation programmes.

In *the compatriot sphere* the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR co-operated with the Ministry of Culture of the SR and the delegate of the government of the SR for Slovaks abroad at completing the institutional system of relations of the SR with compatriots within the second stage of transformation of the problematics and at judging the legislative, foreign political and conceptual aspects of co-operation with compatriots. The culmination of institutional transformation of the system of assuring the relations of the SR to compatriots was the proposal for forming a General Secretariat for Slovaks abroad at the Office of government of the SR which was prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR. The General Secretariat started its activity on 1.1.2002. The contacts and co-operation with compatriots continued also through embassies of the SR.

In accordance with the conception of *development of network of the Slovak institutes* started its activity the 8th Slovak Institute in Paris in April 2001. The Slovak Institute in Berlin moved into new premises in the centre of the city, which were opened in October with presence of the President of the SR. At present we concentrate on completing of existing Slovak Institutes from the point of view of personnel and material- technical arrangement. Slovak Institutes operate in independent premises or at Embassies, mainly in capitals of Central Europe, in Prague, Budapest, Warsaw and Vienna, then in Moscow, in important capitals of EU – in Paris, Vienna, Berlin and Rome. The limiting factor abroad is the lack of personnel and finance.

At conception of the programmes of the Slovak Institutes abroad actively co-operated the Council of Slovak Institutes where are represented the departments of education and culture, institutes and organisations with all state coverage in the sphere of economy, culture and tourism with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR. Their main goal was and is the presentation of Slovak historical, cultural and natural realia including the presentation of regions, entrepreneurial subjects and possibilities of tourism with the aim to increase information of the SR in connection with the main foreign political priorities of the SR in pre accession period,

From the majority of interesting programmes it is possible to introduce for illustration the organising of the *Slovak Days* in Information Centre Europe in Koln am Rhein and the *Slovak Days* in Passau which presented Slovakia as a country with aspiration to become a member of European structures, its political system, economy, religious life, culture and art, and possibilities of tourism. From the point of view of foreign policy very important were the *Memorial Nights for 80th birthday of Alexander Dubček*. The Slovak Institutes devote a great attention to common presentation with the partners of Visegrad 4. Common concerts and exhibitions were organised in Paris and Berlin. They shared the preparation of cultural presentations of the SR – *Month of Slovak and Czech Cultural Mutuality in the ČR*, *Weeks of the Slovak Culture in Hungary* (30 events), exhibition of art and film retrospective of director J. Jakubisko. This year also Hungarian President F. Mádl visited this event.

The Slovak Institutes organised besides cultural activities also successful regional and economic presentations (totally 28). To the most important belonged the presentation of Piešťany and Prešov in Vienna, spas in Berlin, the region of the Tatras in Rome, the Rožňava region and Central Pohronie in Budapest and Ružbachy in Warsaw. Several events to promote tourism were held in Prague, Berlin, Moscow, Rome and Warsaw. From the series of economic presentational events presentation of food-stuffs and wine production in Prague, Warsaw, Rome and Budapest rank among the most significant.

Ivan Korčok

Security Dimension in Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic

Considering all what the present modern security policy concept comprises, a review of the security dimension in the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic is highly complicated. From the foreign affairs department's point of view, the aim of the security policy is to make a significant contribution to building such an international position, which would make both the performance and defence of vital interests of the Slovak Republic possible. By the way, we often used to talk about vital or national interests. Nevertheless, it has taken ten years since the independent state was established when we are able to articulate them. It is not by chance that the definition of our vital interests is a part of the security document called *the Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic*, approved last year. Its value stays in the fact that it was approved by a large political consensus of the governmental coalition and the opposition.

Following events: formation of relationship between the Russian Federation and NATO; a phenomenon of Putin's Russia; Ukraine, which direction is still unknown for us; building of the European Security and Defence Policy; mutual relations between the Alliance and the European Union; efforts to prohibit the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; both the ongoing and waning conflicts, directly on the European territory and on its periphery; the United States' withdrawal from the ABM Treaty; but also the uncertainty of world's financial markets as a consequence of both serious internal and international events - that are the most important events and processes in the world policy. The best illustration of the dynamics of the international security policy is in fact that all these processes whose significance and earnestness no one doubts, were essentially influenced or even marginalized by the events of September 11 in the USA. For the security policy it means more questions than clear

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answers. However, it is evident that the above-mentioned processes have immediately affected our country.

It is understandable that the individual actors and their interests shape the international policy. This fact is expressed, to a large extent, in international institutions. Taking our objectively limited potential into account, the only means for enhancement of our international influence, including bilateral context, is an achievement of the full membership in organisations whose positions in international relations cannot simply be overlooked. I mean the European Union and NATO. It is a good message for us, that Slovakia, by its own endeavour, has found itself at their doorstep. On no account does Slovakia want to reduce its involvement in such key security institutions as the United Nations (where we have ambitions to achieve the post of a non-permanent member of the Security Council for the years 2006-2007), the OSCE or disarmament and control regimes that are pillars of the international security. The point is: if Slovakia obtains an invitation to join NATO in Prague, if it finishes accession negotiations with the EU and if the EU summit in Copenhagen in December becomes the beginning of the formal admission to this organisation, then all preconditions for essential increase of authority of Slovakia in foreign policy would be accomplished. Therefore all preconditions for the year 2002 will be met, from the point of view of the foreign policy.

Of course, speaking about security policy eight months before the Prague NATO Summit gives a possibility to reflect where enlargement processes are found, and mainly what the chance for Slovakia to be among the invited countries is.

First, allow me to give a brief recapitulation of the way, which Slovakia has gone since the year 1997 when the Alliance invited the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary in Madrid. The Washington Summit represents a significant milestone, when NATO welcomed its new members – our neighbours, and at the same time the open-door policy was confirmed. The results of the Washington Summit were considered by some of the aspirant countries as too modest. Mainly Slovenia, which remained closely in front of the Alliance's door after the Madrid Summit, has not lost its belief in Washington's invitation. On the contrary, Slovakia belonged to those countries that were satisfied with Washington's results, for the following three reasons: first, unlike its status in Madrid, Slovakia was again included among those considered as aspirants by member countries, second, NATO offered *the Membership Action Plan (MAP)*, and third, to the surprise of many people, and despite our own expectation, the summit strictly set the date of the next summit dealing with enlargement again.

The Alliance underlines in the basic document – *the Membership Action Plan* – that it is an optional program for countries applying for membership. The decision about the invitation, as always in the history of the Alliance will be a political one. MAP involving all nine aspirant countries, represents a practical instrument for their preparation, but not a mistaken complex of formal and unnecessary criteria. The structure of MAP reflects NATO's lessons during the accession process of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Looking at five MAP chapters we can say that three of

them – the political compatibility with all that belongs to it, the legislative area and protection of classified data are preconditions *sine qua non*. Additional two chapters considering defence and military issues and resource issues are the areas where NATO is waiting both a principal and continual progress. Slovakia is now in the third cycle of MAP. In two weeks a decisive meeting of *the North Atlantic Council* will be held in Brussels. An adoption of *the Progress Report* will be its result. The importance of this document rests on the fact that it will be a basic reference document containing the official viewpoint of our readiness for membership before the Prague Summit. MAP is a clear, unambiguous contribution for *Slovakia* because thanks to it we became (according to Alliance evaluations, quoting words of the NATO Deputy Secretary General Mr. G. Altenburg during NATO team's visit in Bratislava in January 2002) *a successful candidate counted with for Prague*. The most important help of the MAP framework is a feedback from the Alliance, embodied in the permanent dialog. Thanks to this feedback, we could correct many of internal decisions in preparation process. It has seemed critical, mainly in the military area and in the adaptation of internal legislation as well.

MAP is not a guarantee of the membership. But if an aspirant does not give a solid performance it can be sure that the Alliance will not even deal with it in Prague. Of course, from this reason, MAP is an extraordinarily important aspect of the enlargement process, but not the only one.

The Washington Summit approved the readiness of the Alliance to continue in further membership accession. After that the following basic question has arisen: "Will the announced summit in 2002 only review enlargement or make decisions about invitation?" It is true that we had heard nothing from the Alliance members as an assurance about the open door policy after the Washington Summit. It has been viewed by the Slovak Republic and by other candidates as too little. Moreover, when it was evident that the Alliance concentrated on more serious issues as the relation between NATO and the EU in the context of the EU ambitions to build an autonomous military capacity for its crisis management, or a feverish discussion about the United States' plans to build an anti-missile defence system. Practically, in the beginning of last year, we identified the most principal issue: whether the Alliance is prepared to give an invitation just in 2002 (and not the question how many other countries will be invited and whether the Slovak Republic will be among them). Despite this not very encouraging picture, the reversal came last June. After the meeting of NATO's highest representatives in Brussels, NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson declared that *the zero-option for Prague was off the table*. From this moment the vocabulary of the Alliance has changed. To our pleasure it does not mention the open door policy but the Prague invitations. The question is what contributed to this principal reversal of the Alliance approach in the course of several months? In my opinion, there were two basic factors: the first consists in the way in which the enlargement topic was understood by the new American administration of President G. W. Bush. The USA has practically brought the enlargement to life again. The European allies,

who openly avow waiting for a signal from the USA side, were also activated. This signal culminated in the President Bush's statement in Warsaw where he presented the USA point of view concerning building the European security and underlined the unique role that enlargement of the Alliance plays. The second factor adding to this reversal was the contributions and behaviour of the aspirants themselves. They have proved, through their results within the *MAP*, that preparation for membership is really considered a serious matter. On the other hand, they have managed to address the Alliance's audience through the mutual co-operation of the so-called Vilnius Ten (V10) group. By means of both V10 and the mutual solidarity of its nations, it has managed to send out a clear message that the processes begun by the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 remain still unfinished without further NATO enlargement. The V 10 has also managed to fight off the mutual destructive competition as well as individual beauty show – what was, as we already know today, without any chance of success. There is no inappropriate self-praise, if I can remind you that Slovakia has played an extremely important role in V 10. *The Conference of the Vilnius Group in Bratislava in May 2001*, with its remarkable medial and political interest in candidates for NATO membership, came a culmination point of the Slovak efforts. Slovakia has gained exceptionally important points in political rating through this conference.

No doubt, in a serious analysis and retrospect, it would be necessary to pay attention to many other items in the period between the Washington Summit and the Prague Summit. I only mention Russia and its continual refusal of enlargement, the development of the approach of the European allies, the role of the new members and so on.

There is no possibility to deal with them because of the lack of time. However, let me say a few words on where Slovakia is today. This is crucial for us that Slovakia was able to change its position from a Madrid non-mentioned country to one, which is mentioned in each realistic scenario of the Prague Summit. For this reason, I avoid, on purpose, speculations on how many countries will be invited in the end. In our case it is not important any more. This position is a result of two basic factors. First, Slovakia has essentially raised its political evaluation, and the discussion between Slovakia and the Alliance is not any more a dialog about both democratic deficits and a serious economic deformation but it is about continuity and stability of internal development in the future. Our achievement in the preparation phase, in the reform of the armed forces, resource assurance, protection of classified data, and adoption as well as adaptation of required legislation including the Constitution is the second factor. The Slovak Republic's evaluation will be favourable in Brussels this March, because we have made a fundamental progress in all the aforementioned parameters over the last three years. Moreover, we were able to convince the Alliance that all prerequisites for continuing this trend after the invitation were set up, and that was very important. Preparation of our armed forces is worth a special attention. Progress is most remarkable in this area. Since the beginning 2001, a qualitative change as a result of political will of the current leadership of the Ministry of Defence has been achieved, especially its conviction that without radical reform Slovakia has no chan-

ce of being successful in Prague. The document of the radical reform is called the *Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic - Model 2010*. According to the Alliance's opinion, it is the first reform since the creation of the Slovak Republic, which gives the system preconditions for the following: first, Slovakia will have effective armed forces; second, as a future member of the Alliance Slovakia will be not only a consumer but also an active contributor to the common goals and missions of this organisation.

We could discuss our position in detail. However, the statement of the Slovak Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR, that "*the NATO invitation for Slovakia has already been printed, we are only awaiting its delivery to Prague*", is, in my opinion, the best expression of that. In conclusion, allow me to add one brief note concerning the Prague Summit decision relating to enlargement, especially procedures. In the recent days, this issue is also mentioned by our press, unfortunately, we often witness distorted, let us say, incorrect information. Considerations of the Prague invitation is more or less only a formal matter because of insurance policy in a way of the ratification process which could stop the whole entry in the end, these considerations must be only classified as speculations. Therefore, it is useful, to remind you that the political decision is expected in Prague. This decision will only be an invitation of one or more countries to start accession negotiations. It will be neither about membership, treaty nor even our invitation. There are still no indications that the process could be different from Madrid. Slovakia would be happy if the Prague Communiqué vocabulary would be the same as the Article 6 of the Madrid Communiqué from 1997. Just after that, opening of the individual accession negotiations would take place. Thanks to the *MAP*, following the accession negotiations of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, the accession negotiations could be much shorter. After the North Atlantic Treaty ratification process completion in the North Atlantic Treaty National Parliaments of the individual NATO member states and deposition of the Letter of Accession of individual countries with the depositary – the Government of the United States the invited applicants will become NATO members *de iure*. I believe it is an actual scenario for Slovakia.

Lubomír Macko

2001 – The Year of Actual Results on the Way of Slovakia to NATO

Preparation of the Slovak Republic for membership in NATO in 2001 first followed the *Annual National Programme PRENAME 2001* approved by the Government of the SR on 27th September 2000 and subsequently the *Updated Annual National Programme PRENAME 2001 (UANP PRENAME 2001)* approved by the Government of the SR on 28th March 2001.

In the UANP PRENAME 2001 the goals and tasks of preparation of the SR were set on national level and were divided in accordance with the *Membership Action Plan – (MAP)* into five chapters: 1. Political and economic issues; 2. Defence and military issues; 3. Sources; 4. Security issues; 5. Legal issues.

By fulfilment of tasks and goals of the UANP PRENAME 2001 the preparation of the SR to take over the commitments resulting from the expected future membership in the Alliance shifted to a qualitatively higher level. At the same time the structures and mechanisms of the process of preparation of the SR for the NATO membership were improved within the whole PRENAME system and in single participating resorts. Fulfilment of conditions for integration of the SR to the Alliance had a complex nature and concerned many aspects of the society life.

1. Political and economic issues

In 2001 the Slovak Republic continued in its complex preparation for integration to the North Atlantic Alliance and in taking over the commitments and duties resul-

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ting from the *Washington Treaty*. There was a significant positive shift in understanding the integration to NATO as a strategic priority of foreign and security policy of the SR in direction of achieving a wide agreement of decisive political forces which was manifested especially by adoption of the *Security Strategy of the SR, the Defence Strategy of the SR and the Military Strategy of the SR* in the Parliament of the SR.

Approval of the amendment of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic by the Parliament of the SR on 23rd February 2001 was a significant step in the sphere of construction and strengthening democratic mechanisms in functioning of a state. In the amended Constitution of the SR it is stated that the Slovak Republic can join the organization of mutual collective security with the aim to keep peace, security and democratic order under conditions settled by international agreement. By including this adjustment in the amendment a constitutional framework for a future integration of the SR to the North Atlantic Treaty was established.

In favour of effective fulfilment of the expected commitments of the SR after its accession to NATO in stated cases the decision to send armed forces outside the SR's territory and to approve presence of foreign armed forces on the SR's territory or to approve their crossing through the territory of the SR was transferred to the Government of the SR.

Further approved adjustments of the Constitution significantly contributed to the development and strengthening of democratic institutions and tools of state functioning. Subsequently legal norms adjusting the reform of public administration were adopted and the elections to representative bodies of higher territorial units and of their chairmen were held, what represents the most significant step in introduction self-government on regional level till present. The quality of democracy was also strengthened by adoption of the Act introducing an institution of human rights protection - an ombudsman as an amendment to the Constitution of the SR.

The SR responded also to objections from the meetings with the Alliance representatives and its member countries, which repeatedly pointed at problems of corruption in Slovakia. The *National Programme of an Anti-Corruption Fight* approved by the Government of the SR in June 2000 was realized under the conditions of Ministries and other central bodies of the state administration through the *Action Programme of Anti-Corruption Fight*.

In 2001 the Government of the SR devoted systematic attention to the problems of minorities. In July 2001 it negotiated and approved the *Report of Current Fulfilment of the Action Plan of Prevention of All Forms of Discrimination, Racism, Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism and other Manifestations of Intolerance for the period of 2000-2001*. In this field the activity was aimed mainly at prevention of problems and seeking positive solutions.

The activities were primarily aimed at the sphere of improvement of housing, education and social level of the Romany ethnic. The measurements were based on a civil principle and dialogue with its representatives, mainly profiling Romany intelligence. An important role was played by effort of making the activity of the Govern-

ment Representative for Solution of the Romany Problem more effective. The change in position of the representative, the reform of his secretariat and closer co-operation with non-governmental Romany organizations appeared the right steps in a long-term process of increasing the living standard of the Romany ethnic in Slovakia.

Accession to the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages* also confirmed the interest of the SR to approach actively the solution of problems in national minority sphere.

Progress was achieved in the sphere of economic transformation. Privatisation of big banks controlled by the state finished in 2001 and privatisation of the so-called strategic enterprises continued. In 2000 a 51% share of the Slovak Telecommunications was privatised, in 2001 the Government adopted a decision about privatisation of 49% of shares of Transpetrol. The achieved basic economic results confirm that the development of economy in Slovakia in this period was quite well balanced. The biggest problem remains the high unemployment on level of 19%, which in spite of increased effort has not been significantly decreased. The sufficient effectiveness of economy remains the basic presumption of successful realization of planned reforms mainly in a sphere of defence.

Several visits of official representatives of the NATO member countries, NATO Headquarters and representatives of member countries non-governmental organizations (above all from states of Visegrad group and the USA) in the SR and visits of the representatives of the SR in countries of the Alliance and its Headquarters in Brussels contributed to improvement of co-operation between the SR and NATO. The SR intensively discussed and consulted its preparation for NATO membership with accent on experience of the newest NATO members. Objections and recommendations of the Alliance member states were used for elaboration of all PRENAME planning documents.

The SR co-operated at an expert level and shared experience in the sphere of integration steps also with other candidates for a membership in NATO. An important event, which significantly contributed to an increase of international prestige of the SR in this field, was the international Conference the *New European Democracy, Leadership and Responsibility* held on 10th – 12th May 2001 in Bratislava. The dominant topic was the further enlargement of the Alliance. The Conference was evaluated highly positively by its participants and had a good foreign response. Especially the right timing and high quality organization of the Conference as well as the significance of presentations of several participants contributed to the success.

The *Annual National Programme of Preparation of the SR for Membership in NATO* for year 2002 (ANP PRENAME 2002) was submitted to the North Atlantic Alliance at the end of September 2001. On the session of the Strengthened Political Committee of NATO and the SR on the higher level (30th October 2001) this programme was negotiated and from the side of NATO justified the way in process of integration of Slovakia to Trans Atlantic and European structures after 1998. Also results the SR achieved mainly during previous year were appreciated.

Similarly during the November visit of lord G. Robertson, NATO Secretary General in Slovakia it was confirmed that results of the SR in process of MAP were evaluated in NATO positively, and shall the SR maintain this positive trend in process of preparation there is a big chance that on summit of the Alliance in Prague it would be invited to join the NATO.

The visit of Prime Minister M. Dzurinda in the NATO Headquarters in December 2001 was a culmination of intensive political dialogue between the SR and the Alliance last year. Negotiation justified again the positive evaluation of progress, which the SR achieved in process of preparation for integration to NATO in the given year. At the same time it confirmed the fact that the decisive criteria in evaluation of readiness of candidates would be the political maturity of the country, stability of its democratic institutions and ability to contribute to consensual solution of problems on a basis of common values of the Alliance.

By preparation for membership in NATO Slovakia on one side strengthened its own outer and inner security and stability, on the other side contributed to increase of regional security mainly by deepening co-operation with the countries of the Visegrad Four (V4), by activities within the Vilnius Ten (V10) and by participation in projects of Euroregions. Simultaneously the Slovak Republic created conditions for its active contribution to security and stability also in a broader context.

The main objective of work with public opinion within the preparation of the SR for membership in NATO in 2001 was to increase information of the Slovak public about the Alliance and achieve a majority support for membership of the SR. Surveys of public opinion carried out by the *Cabinet of Public Opinion Survey of the National Education Centre* (CPOS NEC) since December 2000 show that the support for accession to NATO increased in 2001 from 47 % to 53 %. On the contrary the percentage of opponents of accession in this period decreased by almost 6 % to the level of 41%. Further development showed that this trend continued also at the beginning of 2002 and what concerns increase rate of support it was even more significant. (In March 2002 the level of population support for accession of Slovakia to NATO according to various agencies was within the range of 57 % - 61 %).

In the course of 2001 there was a significant shift also in a question of eventual referendum about integration of the SR to NATO. While in years 1999 and 2000 the public opinion polls predicted only a tight success in case of eventual referendum about the accession to NATO, surveys of the CPOS NEC in 2001 showed that 67 % of respondents would surely or probably participate in such a referendum and out of them approximately 65 % would support accession to NATO. A positive signal were the data of military professionals support for accession of the SR to NATO which during 2001 increased by 12 %, that is to 76 %.

This development of attitudes grounds in a number of information activities joined by a lot of activists and multipliers starting with political representatives through media to a non-governmental sphere. In the course of 2001 the topic of accession to

NATO became a much more frequent topic in a public discussion in Slovakia than in previous years.

Based on an analysis of results of the first great sociological survey the *Communication Strategy DONATO* was elaborated in February 2001, which defined the basic target groups and the ways of communication with them. Consequently various variants of argumentation manuals summarizing arguments for integration to NATO were elaborated.

In spite of existence of these conceptual materials experience in the sphere of work with a public opinion during the first half of 2001 showed that it is necessary to modify the approach in the second half of the year and adjust it to the actual state. The need for a common umbrella and coordination of a number of simultaneous activities became obvious. In summer the *Central Information Programme (CIP 2001)* was elaborated. It adjusted the composition of activities originally planned in the UANP PRENAME 2001 and realized by departments of Foreign Affairs and Defence as well as the number of financial means determined for them.

In a sphere of a crisis management the main effort of 2001 was aimed at elaboration of a material *Conception of Security System of the Slovak Republic* including the problem of the crisis management on the highest level of the state management. The purpose of this document is on the basis of results of an analysis of the present state of security and while taking into consideration knowledge from abroad to name basic problems of the present state of security system of the Slovak Republic and suggest measures and tasks in internationally political, conceptual, legislative and organizational sphere so that conditions may be created for transformation of this system to a new, qualitatively higher level adequate to needs of the state and changed political – security conditions. The elaborated material simultaneously responds to the new security situation in Europe after terrorist attacks on the USA in September.

The October meeting of the State Defence Council approved the *Conception of Security System of the Slovak Republic* with comments and called for its completion. At the same time it decided to propose to the Government of the SR to establish a Governmental Commission for state crisis management audit. The *Conception of Security System of the SR* supplemented by results of the audit should be submitted to the Government of the SR within two months from approval of results of the audit in the Government.

In a sphere of a civil emergency planning in 2001 the attention was focused on modernization of warning and information centres on national and regional level. These centres were equipped with electronic technical systems while the completion of the whole national system of warning and information should be completed within 5 to 7 years depending on economic possibilities of the state. Also construction of information system for support of management for cases of exceptional events is going on based on Geographical – Information System (GIS) that must also fulfil the criteria of compatibility with similar systems of NATO.

An increase of interoperability was the goal of several events organized by the Civil Protection in co-operation with bodies of NATO. As an example we can mention a workshop FATRA 2001 aimed at the sphere of the civil–military emergency planning. *Analyses and removal of consequences of earthquakes and industrial disasters connected to cross border effects* were the main theme. The aim was to test possibilities of use of the information system GIS on the level of regional co-operation. It was an activity included in the *Individual Partnership Programme between the SR and NATO* for 2001. In accordance with this programme the *Regional Course of Civil Emergency Planning and Civil – Military Co-operation* was held in the Slovak Republic at the beginning of October 2001.

Progressively a realization of information system STAREGIS for monitoring and analysis of sources on the Administration of the State Material Reserves of the SR continued in co-operation with the Office of Civil Protection of the Ministry of Interior of the SR and also restructuralisation of mobilization reserves was maintained. Since 1st June 2001 the *Amendment of the Act of State Material Reserves No: 82/1994 Coll.* and *Act of Emergency Reserves of Oil and Oil Products and of Solution of a State of Oil Emergency* became effective.

At the end of 2001 attention in the sphere of the civil emergency planning concentrated on problems of the fight against terrorism and protection of population from terrorist attacks.

The solution of scientific and scientific–technical projects coordinated by the *NATO Science Committee* continued in 2001 in co-operation with the Slovak participants according to the accepted schedule. Altogether there were 15 current projects out of which three were being solved in Universities of the SR and 11 in the framework of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Besides these priority activities also other activities were carried out, i.e. mainly providing grants, scholarships, contributions to seminars, workshops etc to members of the Slovak scientific research community in connection with their participation in programmes of the *NATO Science Committee*.

Based on the *Act No. 203/2001 Coll.* on 1st July 2001 the *Agency for Support of Science and Technique* was established and took over the management of realization of all bilateral agreements on science–technical co-operation on inter governmental and resort level mainly concerning the solution of bilateral scientific and science–technical projects.

In the sphere of environment solution of 2 projects of long-term character aimed at improving the protection of environment in resort of the Ministry of Defence of the SR continued in 2001. Foreign activities realized in this year contributed to deepening of co-operation of Slovakia in the sphere of environment with the NATO member countries.

In the framework of a project aimed at introduction of the system of environment management the task *Identification of Environment Aspects in All Army Units in relation to the EM introduction* was solved. In connection with assuring this task a steering committee was established in the Ministry of Defence of the SR and the statute

of its activity was elaborated. Further a unified methodology environmental aspects evaluation corresponding with the ISO 14 000 was elaborated. The main result of the task was the report containing identification of environmental aspects, which was elaborated in detail for the chosen model military organizations and generally in other organizations, and also classification of aspects according to environmental influence and evaluation criteria.

In the framework of the project *Elaboration of Database of Environment Pollution Sources in premises of the Army of the SR* mapping potential sources of pollution in the Prešov and Košice regions was carried out. The database of potential sources of pollution in military premises was created and maps of underground water, surface water and maps of vulnerability were made. The evaluation of potential risk was carried out according to the database system *Geoenvirom* enabling the determination of priorities at planning the improvement measures in environment. The output of the project was the stage report where results of the solved task were summarized.

Participation of representatives of the SR in solution of pilot studies in the framework of the *Committee for Challenges of the Modern Society* (CCMS NATO) was also one of aims of foreign activities in this sphere.

2. Defence and military issues

The main objectives of preparation of the SR for membership in NATO in the defence department in the course of 2001 were stated on the basis of the *Progress Report of the SR in the framework of MAP* in the period of 1999-2000 as well as on the achieved results in fulfilment of PRENAME tasks in this annual cycle in the following way:

- a) Adjustment of defence and military capabilities of the SR to challenges of the new defence environment of Europe, to new trends in development of military and technologies and modernization of armed forces in accordance with national needs and requirements of NATO with accent on initiative of the DCI (Defence Capabilities Initiative).
- b) Completion of conceptual documents – *Security Strategy of the SR*, *Defence Strategy of the SR* and *Military Strategy of the SR* which form the basis of defence planning and preparation of defence legislative and simultaneously represent the legislative-legal framework for reform of the whole system of security and defence of the SR.
- c) Harmonization of planning approaches and cycles of adapted and extended *Planning and Review Process* (PARP) in accordance with implementation of approaches of defence planning in resort of defence, elaboration of long-term plans of development of single components of the Ministry of Defence and armed forces and forming of control mechanisms for achieving bigger transparency.

- d) Continuance in rationalization of structures of the Ministry of Defence of the SR and the General Staff of the Slovak Army and in increasing civil engagement in political and planning responsibilities in the framework of the Ministry of Defence of the SR based on acquired experience of the member countries of NATO. Simultaneously with the newly formed command on operational level restructuring single elements so that they may form a basis for adequate delegation of operational power and responsibility to lower grades of command.
- e) Continuation in implementation of adopted *Partnership Goals* as the main factor in increasing the level of interoperability of defence and military capacities of the SR with the armed forces of the member states of NATO.
- f) Continuation in construction of the system of command, management and alliance and gradual modernization of communication network and systems of informatics support.
- g) Continuation in gradual meeting the criteria of intellectual compatibility in the sphere of human sources, in further reduction of number of armed forces members and civil employees, in gradual growth of professionalism and optimising personal structure. Completion of introduction of the system of personal management and managing of basic steps in the whole system of recruitment, distribution, development, education, courses, training and staffing.
- h) Gradual overcoming of disproportion between requirements for dynamics of forming the required defence and military capabilities and available sources.

At fulfilment of the above given goals of the preparation of the SR for membership in NATO during 2001 a lot of significant results were achieved which in a decisive way shifted Slovakia forward in its effort for acquiring full membership in this political group.

Based on the *Military Strategy of the Slovak Republic* the strategic aim of the Slovak Republic is a construction of relatively small but of high quality, adequately armed and very well trained armed forces that are able to integrate into collective defence mechanisms of NATO. These armed forces must be able in the nearest time independently defend sovereignty of the state and in future they must be able to participate along the armed forces of NATO in various military operations.

In the framework of fulfilment the partnership goal PG G-0028 *Re-evaluation of the Structure of Armed Forces* with the active participation of several member countries of NATO the principal document *Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic – Model 2010* and the document *Long-term Plan of a Structure and Development of Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic – Model 2010* were elaborated and approved by the Government of the SR in October 2001. These documents defined the framework of the reform of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in period up to a year 2010. Reform of the armed forces will be besides meeting the political criteria for membership in the Alliance decisive for fulfilment integrational ambition of the Slovak Republic towards NATO.

In comparison with the previous period the SR achieved a significant progress in defining its security and defence goals. The Parliament of the SR approved the *Security Strategy of the SR* in March 2001, the *Defence Strategy of the SR* in May 2001

and the *Military Strategy of the SR* in October 2001. By approval of the given strategic documents by wide consensus of political forces it assured not only transparency in issues of national security but also an inevitable continuity of security, defence and military policy of the SR because all conditions were created so that also the government resulting from parliamentary election in 2002 may adopt these documents.

The main goal of the *Defence Strategy of the SR* is to form a system and objective basis for guaranteed defence of a state. In the same time conditions for transition to assurance the defence of a state in a form of a collective defence within NATO taking into consideration security environment and defence sources of a state were created.

Military Strategy of the SR provides strategic military direction for the armed forces, which ensure realization of the *Security Strategy of the SR* and *Defence Strategy of the SR* in a military sphere. It is based on a current geostrategic environment of the Slovak Republic, on available sources of the state and on determination to use as favourably as possible the existing sources for assuring the life interests of the SR. The significant thoughts of this strategy were further developed in long-term realization plan of reform and modernization of armed forces.

In the defence department in 2001 a system of defence planning was introduced and a preparation of material and basic documents for its introduction on national level since 2003 began. Also documents *Defence Planning of the SR* and *Regulation for Defence Planning in the Defence Department for 2003-2008* were elaborated.

The Ministry of Defence of the SR and the General Staff of the Slovak Army of the SR were reorganized and the result is a more effective and more economic structure with balanced number of departments and staff with elimination of duplicity. The reorganization was realized by 1st October 2001 and represents one of the first steps at realization of the document *Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic – Model 2010*. In organizational structure of the Ministry there are 75% systemized positions planned for civil employees with the aim to strengthen the element of the civil management of the Ministry of Defence of the SR.

Offices, facilities, organizations and units directly subordinated to the Ministry of Defence of the SR and the General Staff of the Slovak Army will be gradually reformed and exempted from this subordination and included into a newly created Command of Training and Support.

The structure of ground and air forces was suggested so that they may be able to meet all tasks and requirements, which result for them from the *Military Strategy of the SR*, and at the same time to be compatible with relevant forces of NATO.

Newly created Command of Training and Support will be responsible for a basic and professional training including the specific training of professional non-commissioned officers. The command of logistic will have the main responsibility for logistic support within the entire Armed Forces and will play a decisive role during mobilization. The Command of Training and Support will be formed by 1st April 2002 within land forces and after passing the Act on the Armed Forces it will form an independent part of armed forces.

The SR regards implementation of partnership goals as a basic form of preparation for integration to NATO in the sphere of defence. Out of 64 accepted partnership goals 40 directly concern the realization of the *National Programme PRENAME* in the framework of the *Membership Action Plan* (MAP). The aim of further development of land forces is to increase their operation abilities, apply requirements of interoperability, modernize the system of command, management and connection and assure information support of commands.

Priority requirements of the development of air forces to optimise the structure of air forces, increase ability to monitor and control the air space of the SR, assure operation connection through ASOC and AWACS, modernize chosen helicopters and transport aircrafts and gradual increase of flight hours of pilots.

Within preparation of the document *Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic – model 2010* 64 accepted partnership goals were re-evaluated and 2 were suggested for abolishment. This proposal was implemented into a document *Review of Total Interoperability in 2001* and negotiated with the Alliance representatives at the end of January 2002.

Out of all accepted partnership goals 7 goals were fulfilled in 2001, and the fulfilment of further 15 goals is presumed in 2002. 2003 will be a crucial year for fulfilment of partnership goals.

Individual Partnership Programme for 2001 (IPP–2001) as one of crucial support programmes for fulfilment of partnership goals was negotiated and approved during the negotiations between the SR and NATO in the *North-Atlantic Council + 1* (NAC + 1) format in Brussels on 20th April 2001. The SR implemented into IPP – 2001 altogether 473 activities from the *Partnership Work Programme* (PWP) including activities that were later offered by procedure outside the planning cycle. During the period between 1st January and 31st October 2001 the Slovak representatives participated in 255 activities with total number of 372 events. Besides there were 65 events held in the framework of the *Partnership for Peace* (PfP) which were not included in the IPP – 2001 however the SR participated in them with regard to current needs.

The sphere of building the system of command, management and connection and gradual modernization of communication network was transferred into a fulfilment of several partnership goals. The *Military Information System about the Territory* (MIST) was supplemented for needs of activity of mediating teams as well as assuring their material equipment. Elaboration and evaluation of military topographic maps according to NATO norms started. Actualisation of material of chosen railway unloading and loading stations has already been finished.

In a sphere of personal management in 2001 the reform of Armed Forces of the SR continued connected with decreasing number of persons, technique, material supplies and vacation of military facilities. The aim of reform was to decrease the operational costs, begin a demanding and valuable training of those units, which will remain in new organizational structure, increase the number of flight hours for pilots and

develop the system of preparation of commanders and staff. The reform reckons on significant decrease of military and civil staff, on adjustment of ranking structure of military staff and on gradual transition to full professionalization of the Army of the SR from 2006.

During fulfilment of the partnership goal PG G-0355 *Language Requirements* in the defence department the language norm NATO STANAG 6001 was fully implemented.

Education in foreign languages in the defence department is being realized in language departments. Chosen staff of the Defence Ministry (DM) of the SR is also sent to study in specialized language courses abroad, mainly to the USA, the Netherlands, France, Canada, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Slovenia, Hungary and Poland.

Another important step in intensifying the language preparation will be opening of the Language Institute of DM of the SR. For 2002 a plan was issued for opening of 86 courses of English language, 4 courses of French language and 7 courses of German language. In the defence department of the SR 97 language courses with capacity of 996 tuition places altogether will be opened.

Budget process in the budget chapter of the Defence Ministry of the SR in the last year provided greater responsibility for the Commander of land forces and Commander of air forces. Conditions for integration of budget process into a system of defence planning were created. By approval of the *Long-term Plan of Structure and Development of Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic – model 2010* and providing a governmental guarantee for providing financial means in medium term horizon conditions were created for successful implementation of defence planning in resort of the DM of the SR. By approval of *Regulations for Defence Planning in the Management of the DM of the SR* the cycle for years 2003 - 2008 was started in December 2001.

3. Sources

In the framework of chapter dealing with creating the necessary financial and material sources for preparation itself as well as for future membership in the Alliance the attention was focused on the sphere of planning of financial sources and sphere of economy and co-operation in production for the needs of defence.

In the sphere of planning financial sources the activity in 2001 was aimed at solution of problems of methodology of medium-term and long-term financial planning as well as at coordinating the proportions of goals, measures and priorities in all spheres of PRENAME so that the given sources can be used effectively. Accent was laid on further elaboration of principles of method of financial contributions to the NATO budget in collaboration with foreign experts. At realization of this task it will be inevitable to enlarge and improve co-operation with the member countries of the Alliance and its Headquarters in Brussels.

The programmed budgeting of the state budget was introduced even if not to full extent in all budget chapters. Simultaneously there was a new form of budget proposal introduced, respectively budgeting–medium term budget prospect which should become the tool of reform of financial regulation in accordance with methods used in the member countries of the European Union. The Ministry of Finance of the SR finished implementation of programme budgeting in collaboration with experts from the US Treasury.

A great attention was given to solution of problems of releasing financial means for NP PRENAME realization and distribution of financial means in favour of resorts participating in NP PRENAME for 2002. In spite of exceptional pressure on decrease of state budget costs it was possible to assure financing of the given programme on the level of 2001 and simultaneously keep the proclaimed share of costs of DM of the SR on the level of 1.89% from GDP. Thus the increase of means for defence to a level comparable with member countries of NATO is prospectively assured.

In the sphere of economy and co-operation in production for needs of defence the task *Creating Conditions for Standardization of Artillery Technique and Ammunition to Norms of NATO* was continuously fulfilled. The basic conditions for fulfilment of this task will be given by signing the *Memorandum of Understanding* between the Government of the Slovak Republic and Organization of NATO for technical assuring and supplies co-operation in sphere of logistic the proposal of which was approved by the Government of the SR by resolution No.: 784 on 22nd August 2001. The first actual outputs are expected in a form of implementation documents for 155 mm self-moving cannon howitzer and 155 mm ammunition.

The Defence Ministry of the SR submitted in December 2001 to the Ministry of Economy of the SR for comments the material *Proposal for Assuring the Needs of Defence from Production of Defence Industry of the SR*. This material defines requirements of the Army of the SR for 2002. It results from the material that as a consequence of aiming priority needs of the Army of the SR at partnership goals, the requirements for supplies from production of the defence industry will be minimal.

4. Security issues

In the framework of meeting the tasks resulting from the 4th chapter of MAP the main attention was focused on forming the system of protection of classified facts compatible with the NATO systems. A decisive step in this respect was an approval of the *Act on Protection of Classified Facts and on Change and Amendment of Some Acts No 241/2001 Coll.* in the Parliament of the SR from 30th May 2001.

In the sense of par.1 of this act which came into effect on 1st July 2001 the *National Security Office* (NSO) was established which is the central body of the State Administration for Protection of Classified Facts (PCF) and ciphering service. The effectiveness of remaining parts of the act was stated from 1st November 2001. On

this day also the Regulation NSO No 432/2001 Coll. came into effect, which states the list of classified facts. Simultaneously it was going on the preparation and judgement of regulations to the above given act.

An increased attention at building the resort bodies of PCF was paid mainly to departments of Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Economy of the SR and the Slovak Intelligence Service. Enforcing and giving means to the NSO from the Ministry of Interior of the SR was accompanied in the same time by solving the Constitution issue and making functional the departmental security body of the Ministry of Interior of the SR. In individual departments basic conditions for activity of PCF bodies were created, which should be further extended. Conclusions of international seminar about PCF held between 10th and 14th September 2001 in military sanatorium in Tatranské Zruby organized under auspices of the *NATO Security Office* significantly contributed to fulfilment of tasks. Its conclusions and results contributed also to solution of a number of practical problems in this field in contemporary conditions.

Tasks connected with preparation and making functional the system of PCF by technical means with accent on information security (INFOSEC) will be fully realized in transition period determined by Act on PCF. In the sphere of information security the system of exchange of information by special electronic post was prepared (system of security electronic post – the NSO-mail enabling safe electronic exchange of classified information up to a degree of PT classification among the NSO, selected bodies of the State Administration of the SR and the Mission of the SR at NATO in Brussels).

5. Legal issues

The tasks of the *Annual National Programme of Preparation of the SR for Membership in NATO for 2000* in the field of legal issues which were entrusted into activity of the Defence Ministry of the SR lied in elaborating of the proposal of the *Constitutional Act on Security of the State in Time of War, State of War, Crisis and Emergency*, the *Act on the Defence of the Slovak Republic*, the *Act on the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic*, the *Act on the Compulsory Service*. The Ministry of Interior of the SR was in 2000 entrusted with elaboration of the amendment of law on civil protection of population and elaboration of paragraphed wording on integrated rescue system. The administration of state material reserves of the SR was entrusted by the preparation of amendment of act on state material reserve and act on oil, on emergency stock of oil and oil products and on solution of state of oil emergency and the Ministry of Economy of the SR was given the task of elaboration of the proposal of the act on economic mobilization.

Fulfilment of tasks in the sphere of legal issues in 2000 was the basis for determining goals and tasks for the *Annual National Programme of Preparation for Membership in NATO for 2001* (ANP PRENAME 2001). Based on elaborated complex

factual and legal analysis of the existing state the following range of priorities of UANP PRENAME 2001 was determined:

- to continue the process of amendment of statements of the Constitution of the SR regarding realization of requirements of collective defence;
- to continue the legislative process of preparation of acts regarding defence legislation;
- to elaborate the clause of compatibility of status, technical and other contracting documents according to the 5th chapter of MAP with domestic legal code of the SR.

The given priorities are connected with realization of the partnership goal PG 0050 – *Legal Measures for Participation in Collective Defence*. To these given priorities actual tasks and activities are connected and simultaneously the subject responsible for their fulfilment is determined.

UANP PRENAME 2001 gave the task to elaborate a mechanism of transfer of international commitments to domestic order of the SR and simultaneously entrusted this task to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Defence Ministry of the SR.

Transfer of international commitments to legal order of the SR is currently carried out within legislative process at single legal adjustments the provision of which directly concerns the implementation of international agreements of NATO to which the SR accesses or will access. Based on the Constitution of the SR it is important to transfer all international commitments to valid legal regulations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR at present is preparing new principles of the government for closing the international agreements, which will solve the given problem. UANP PRENAME 2001 also ordered the central bodies of the State Administration to prepare legal regulations which are connected with implementation of international agreements of NATO given in the 5th chapter of MAP.

In 2001 the constitutional Act No 90/2001 Coll. was passed, which changes and amends the Constitution of the SR and which has introduced several significant legal institutes. Chapter 7, section 3 of the passed constitutional act regulates that the Slovak Republic can with an aim to keep peace, security and democratic order under conditions given by an international agreement integrate into organization of mutual collective security. The passed act will thus ensure harmony of agreed international contract about taking over the commitment of integration into NATO and the Constitution of the SR.

The constitutional Act No.90/2001 Coll. also introduced that qualified international agreement to which the SR accessed have priority before laws of the SR and also precisely adjusted the question of sending armed forces outside the territory of the SR, approval of presence of foreign armed forces on the territory of the SR and the crossing of the territory of the SR by foreign armed forces while the decision-making about these issues entrusts in exactly qualified cases (i.e. if it is a humanitarian help, military training or peacekeeping observation missions) to the competence of the government, in further cases the declaration of approval is given to the Parliament of the SR.

The constitutional regulation of basic starting points of practical realization of the institute of collective security is followed by new security and defence legislation. The proposals of the *Constitutional Act on Security of the State in Time of War, State of War, Crisis and Emergency*, the *Act on the Defence of the Slovak Republic*, the *Act on the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic*, and the *Act on the Compulsory Service* represent the basic legal framework for creating professional armed forces which will enable the fulfilment of international commitments of the SR resulting from potential membership in NATO and collective defence as such.

A part of security and defence legislation is also the approved amendment of the Act on state material reserves, Act on oil, on emergency stock of oil and oil products and on solving the state of oil emergency, Act on civil protection of the population, Act on integrated rescue system as well as Act on patents which the Parliament of the SR approved in the course of year 2001.

As a consequence of passing the Constitutional Act No. 90/2001 Coll., which changes and amends the Constitution of the SR the relation of international agreements which are binding the SR and its domestic legal order is adjusted in a new way. Chapter 7 section 5 of the Constitution of the SR recognizes a certain category of international agreements, which have priority before laws of the SR when the given conditions are fulfilled. There are international agreements on human rights and basic freedom, international agreements for carrying out of which no law is necessary and international agreements which directly establish rights and duties of physical entities or legal entities and which were ratified and declared in a way given by law. Moreover the strengthening the constituency of the SR deepened also by supplementing the power of the President by amendment of the Constitution of the SR by possibility to submit to the Constitutional Court of the SR a proposal for decision in accordance to agreed international agreement which needs the approval of the Parliament of the SR with the Constitution of the SR or Constitutional law.

Conclusion

The evaluation of the progress, which the Slovak Republic made in the framework of preparation for membership in NATO during 2001, was dealt with by the visit of a group of experts from the Headquarters of the North Atlantic Alliance in Brussels, which visited Slovakia between 28th January and 1st February 2002. The NATO Deputy Secretary General for Political Affairs G. Altenburg led the so-called *Enlarged NATO Team*. It consisted of representatives of the International Secretariat of NATO, International Military Staff of NATO and Headquarters of Allied Forces of NATO in Europe. Participants were also employees of the Security Office of NATO who in this period carried out an inspection in the National Security Office and several other resorts of the SR.

The visit of NATO team in the SR was the part of regular evaluating process of countries within MAP and its goal is to test the present state of preparation of the SR for membership in the North Atlantic Alliance. The results of the visit were used in elaboration of the *Progress Report*, which the SR achieved in preparation for membership during the previous year cycle of preparation. The given report on progress was negotiated with the representatives of the Slovak Republic during mutual negotiation of the North Atlantic Council and the SR and will be a significant basis for member countries of the Alliance at their decision-making on invitation of the Slovak Republic to NATO during November summit of the Alliance in Prague.

Negotiations of the team members of NATO with the representatives of the SR in January 2002 dealt with all five spheres of preparation identified in MAP. The representatives of NATO generally highly appreciated the progress, which the SR achieved in the process of preparation for integration to NATO as well as the overall scope and speed of initiated or realized changes in followed spheres. They marked as crucial for successful effort of the SR to achieve a full membership in NATO the maintenance of initiated course and continuance in initiated reforms.

As the most positive elements in preparation of the SR at present were by leadership of NATO team marked the good and realistic *Annual National Programme PRE-NAME* for 2002, fast and principal respond to terrorist attacks from 11th September 2001, active participation in missions under the leadership of NATO in the Balkans and the started course of reforms in a field of defence.

For spheres where the representatives of the Alliance and its member countries see reserves and especially needs of improvement they indicated some economic indexes (high budget deficit, unemployment) but above all the inevitability of an anti-corruption fight – mainly in police, judiciary and state administration. This question was repeatedly and with high demand stressed again and again by members of the NATO team.

The leader of the NATO team G. Altenburg repeatedly stressed during his meetings with representatives of the SR that the decision to access the NATO is a strategic decision and means above all accepting mutual values. Such decision requires firm and permanent support of the majority of political forces as well as the public.

The mutual session of the North Atlantic Council at the level of ambassadors of member countries and the Slovak Republic was held on 22nd March 2002 in the Headquarters of the Alliance in Brussels. Its aim was to judge the results achieved in Slovakia in the process of preparation for integration to NATO in all chapters of the *Membership Action Plan* (MAP). It was namely an event, which was decisive from the point of view of evaluation the preparation of the SR for integration to the Alliance before its summit in Prague.

The basis for this negotiation was the *Progress Report of the SR in the framework of MAP in period 2001- 2002* prepared by the International Secretariat of NATO and based on the results of January visit of expert team of NATO in Slovakia.

The NATO Deputy Secretary General A. M. Rizzo led the session of the North Atlantic Council and the SR. The delegation of the SR during the negotiation was led by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Defence of the SR E. Kukan and J. Stank.

The negotiation of NAC with the SR stressed the progress which Slovakia achieved in meeting the requirements of MAP and confirmed that Slovakia maximally used the previous year for achieving a promising starting position for getting an invitation for membership in NATO.

It was also confirmed that the Slovak Republic ranks among the favourites for early full membership in NATO, the basis presumption for invitation in case of Slovakia remains its trustworthiness, guarantees of continuity of present development and undoubted value compatibility with countries of NATO.

The Main Activities of the Slovak Republic in Foreign Policy

January 15 – 16. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Finland E. Tuomioju the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan officially visited the Republic of Finland. E. Kukan negotiated with his counterpart and was received by the Chairman of the Parliament of Finland R. Uuskainen and the Finnish Prime Minister P. Lipponen.

January 19. At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Poland A. Kwasniewski a working meeting of the Presidents of the V-4 countries took place in Poland. Besides the host the participants were: the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the President of the Czech Republic V. Havel and the President of Hungary F. Madl, accompanied by the delegations of other representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the official negotiations the Presidents of the V-4 countries evaluated the activities of the V4 since its creation, they negotiated the issues of further co-operation, joint strategy in the accession process to the EU and expressed full support for Slovak Republic entering the NATO.

January 19 – 20. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan participated in Berlin on the International Bertelsmann's Forum under the title *Europe without borders*. During his stay in Berlin E. Kukan negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany J. Fischer, with the advisor for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany M. Steiner and the Chairman of the German Atlantic Society R. Polenz.

January 23. Based on the Protocol on Co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic, which anticipates annual meetings of the representatives of the Ministries

of Foreign Affairs of both countries on various levels, consultations of the General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic for European Affairs I. Plaskovitis with the State Secretary J. Figel' in the Slovak Republic.

January 31. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation I. Ivanov paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. He met top representatives – the President R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council J. Migaš, the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda and the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan. The discussions were held on a general political level in accordance with the character of the visit. It was a reflection of balanced, standard and transparent relationship of partnership between SR and RF.

February 2 – 6. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Grand Duchy of Luxembourg J.-C. Juncker the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Besides the negotiations with the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg the Slovak Prime Minister was received by the Grand Duke Henri. During the audience the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic expressed the invitation of the President R. Schuster to the Grand Duke for an official visit in the Slovak Republic. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' was also a member of the official delegation and within the frames of the visit he bilaterally negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs L. Polfer.

February 11 – 14. At the invitation of the Government of the Slovak Republic expressed by the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš the Member of the State Council of the People's Republic of China responsible for the issues of economic co-operation with foreign countries W. Yi paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. During her stay in the Slovak Republic she negotiated with the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. W. Yi was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda. The negotiations concentrated on the issues of bilateral trade and economic co-operation and several intergovernmental agreements were signed dealing with co-operation in different spheres.

February 12. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden G. Persson the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a working visit to Sweden. The delegation consisted of the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration P. Hamžik and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel'. The subjects of the negotiations were the issues of the European Integration in connection with the Swedish presidency and the position of Slovakia in this process.

February 15. In accordance with the *Treaty about Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Co-operation between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary* a wor-

king visit of the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Martonyi in the Slovak Republic took place. Besides the negotiations with his partner J. Martonyi was received by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, the Minister of Economy Ľ. Harach and the Minister of Construction and Regional Development I. Harna and he negotiated about the issues of bilateral co-operation. The subjects of the negotiations were the issues of developing bilateral relations, cross-border and regional co-operation and integration.

February 16 – 17. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic Slovenia J. Drnovšek the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to Slovenia. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo. During the whole visit in Slovenia the Slovak Prime Minister was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia D. Rupel. The Slovak Prime Minister negotiated with the Slovenian Prime Minister J. Drnovšek, he met the Minister for European Issues I. Bavčar and the Minister of Defence A. Grizold. The Slovak Prime Minister was also received by the Chairman of the Slovenian Parliament B. Pahor and at the end of the official part of the program also by the Slovenian President M. Kučan, who hosted a dinner in his honour.

February 21 – 23. The Commissioner of the EC for Enlargement of the EU G. Verheugen met during his working visit in Slovakia the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš, the Deputy Prime Minister for Integration P. Hamžík, the Deputy Prime Minister for Human Rights and Minorities and Regional Development P. Csáky and the Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Family P. Magvaši. On a short informal meeting G. Verheugen also met the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan hosted a working lunch in his honour.

February 26. At the invitation of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster an official visit of the President of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia V. Koštunica in the Slovak Republic took place. In the delegation of the Yugoslavian President was also the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia G. Svilanovič. After the negotiations of the Presidents V. Koštunica was also received by the Slovak Prime Minister M. Dzurinda and the Chairman of the Slovak National Council J. Migaš. Separate negotiations between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and G. Svilanovič took place.

February 26. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey F. Logoglua paid a working visit to the Slovak Republic. F. Logoglua held consultations with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel'. He met the Vice-Chairman of the Slovak National Council B. Bugár and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs' Committee of the National Council of the SR P. Weiss.

March 1 – 2. At the invitation of the President of the Czech Republic V. Havel the Slovak President R. Schuster paid an official visit to the Czech Republic. R. Schuster negotiated with V. Havel, the Chairman of the House of Representatives V. Klaus, the Chairman of the House of Commons P. Pithart, the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic for the Legislation P. Rychetský, the Chairman of the Constitution Court of the Czech Republic Z. Kessler, the first Czech Ombudsman O. Motejl and the mayors of Prague, Brno, České Budějovice and Český Krumlov. At the University of Masaryk in Brno he presented his lecture on Slovak – Czech relations and he received a gold medal of the University from the Rector. The President of the Slovak Republic was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan and the Minister of Defence J. Stank, who negotiated with their counterparts J. Kavan and J. Vetchý.

March 1 – 2. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a working visit to the European Institutions in Brussels. He took part on the Congress SME Union on the issue of EU Enlargement from the point of view of small and medium sized entrepreneurship, he negotiated with the Chairman of the EC R. Prodi and took part on the working lunch and on a common press conference. M. Dzurinda expressed the request that during the Swedish presidency negotiations in all 29 Chapters would be opened with our country.

March 6 – 7. The President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid a working visit to German Provinces Rheinland-Westfalen and Independent State Bavaria. The main points of his visit were the negotiations with the Prime Ministers of both provinces W. Clement and E. Stoiber. In Munich he negotiated with the Chairman of the Council of the province Bavaria J. Böhm.

March 12 – 14. The State Secretary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba Á. D. Fernández paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. Within the frames of the visit inter-ministerial consultations took place, Á. D. Fernández was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan and negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic P. Brňo. The main point of the programme was the negotiation with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo.

March 13. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' paid a working visit to Austria. During his visit he negotiated with the General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria A. Rohan, he was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria B. Ferrero-Waldner, Deputy Chairman of the National Council of Austria W. Fasslabend. The subjects of the negotiations with the Austrian counterparts were the issues of the development of bilateral relationships, the Austrian initiative of strategic partnership, preparation of the Slovak Republic for the accession to the EU and the enlargement of NATO.

March 14. The delegation of the Kingdom of Belgium led by the Prime Minister G. Verhofstadt paid a one-day working visit to Slovakia. In the delegation there was also the State Secretary for European Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium A. Neyts-Uyttebroeck. The Belgium delegation was received by the President R. Schuster, negotiations were held with the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda under the presence of the Chief Negotiator for the Accession of the SR into the EU J. Figel'. Both Prime Ministers took part on a common press conference. At the working lunch were present the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration of the Slovak Republic P. Hamžík and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. The priority point of the negotiations was the issue of European integration.

March 15 – 16. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lithuania A. Valionis the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan paid an official visit to Lithuania. E. Kukan negotiated with his counterpart and was received by the President V. Adamkus, the Vice-Chairman of the Parliament (Seim) A. Skardžius and the Prime Minister R. Paksas. At the working lunch the Minister for Foreign Affairs met the Minister of Defence of Lithuania L. Linkevičius.

March 15 – 16. At the invitation of the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration P. Hamžík the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration of Turkey M. Yilmaz paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. They negotiated about the experiences of both countries from the pre-accessional preparations for the membership in the EU. M. Yilmaz was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the Vice-Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic M. Anđel and by the mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík.

March 17 – 18. At the invitation of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster an official delegation of Malta led by the President G. de Marco paid a visit to the Slovak Republic. The main point of the first day of the visit was the negotiation of G. de Marco with R. Schuster and the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda. A negotiation of the Minister of Education M. Vtáčnik with his counterpart L. Galeo took place as well. The second day of the visit both parties met at a working lunch hosted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. The negotiations concentrated on the integration of both countries in the EU.

March 20 – 24. At the invitation of the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Sudan Ch. D. Alak the State Secretary J. Chlebo paid a visit to Sudan. Besides the inter-ministerial negotiations between the delegations of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and Sudan the negotiations with the Minister of Industry and Investments of Sudan J. Y. al-Degair, the State Minister of Finance H. A. Taha and other representatives took place.

March 22. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic J. Kavan paid the first official visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with his counterpart E. Kukan J. Kavan was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, by the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and by the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda. Within the frames of the program of the visit J. Kavan opened the new building of the Embassy of the Czech Republic on the Hviezdoslav's Square in Bratislava.

March 30. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a working visit to the Czech Republic. During the visit together with the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman he unveiled a memorial table on the house of the Slovak politician, statesman, thinker and Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic between the two World Wars Dr. M. Hodža. M. Dzurinda took part on the economic *Žofínské Forum* and on a working dinner with the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman.

March 30. The fifth meeting of the Conference on the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU on the level of the Deputy Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in Brussels. The Slovak delegation was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chief Negotiator of the Slovak Republic J. Figel'. The delegation of the EU was led by the representative of the Swedish presidency of the EU – the Swedish Ambassador in the EU G. Lund, who was also the chairman of the negotiations. The meeting gave a bilateral, detailed evaluation of the accession process.

March 30 – 31. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Prime Minister of the Valon region of the Kingdom of Belgium J.-C. Van Cauwenberghe and the Prime Minister of the French community of the Kingdom of Belgium H. Hasquin paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. The visit was organized on the occasion of the sign up of the inter-governmental *Treaty on the Co-operation between the Slovak Republic, the French community of Belgium and the Valon region of Belgium*. For the Slovak party the Treaty was signed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan.

April 1 – 4. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' visited Washington, where he took part at the conference of the state secretaries of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs of V-4 countries at the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Visegrad co-operation co-organized by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. J. Figel' made bilateral negotiations with the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USA, the US Congress and non-governmental community.

April 2 – 6. The President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid an official visit to Lebanon (April 2 – 4) and Syria (April 4 – 6). The visit of the President of the

Slovak Republic R. Schuster was the first contact on the presidential level since the establishment of the Slovak Republic. The President was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Finance V. Podstránsky, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy P. Brňo and other representatives of the Presidential Office and entrepreneurs.

April 6. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid a working visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During his visit he negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of FRY G. Svilanovič and his Deputy Minister for Foreign-Economic Affairs J. Minić.

April 9 – 10. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Zlenko paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. A. Zlenko negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan, he was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, by the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and he met the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík.

April 11 – 14. The Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile H. M. Valenzuela paid a visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the inter-ministerial consultations H. M. Valenzuela was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and he met the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan. The main point of the programme of the visit of H. M. Valenzuela was the negotiation with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo.

April 19. The first Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and the Chief Negotiator for the accession to the EU P. Telička paid a working visit to Bratislava. The main point of his program was bilateral consultation with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession to the EU J. Figel'.

April 19 – 20. At the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Swedish Kingdom, which is a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, S. E. Söder the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid a working visit to the Swedish Kingdom. Besides the negotiations with S. E. Söder J. Chlebo was during his visit received by C. Noréen, the Adviser of the Prime Minister of the Swedish Kingdom for Foreign Policy. J. Chlebo also negotiated with L. Fogde, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Swedish Kingdom.

April 20. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia V. Gaber made consultations with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel'. V. Gaber also met the Chairman of the Committee for European Integration of the National Council F. Šebej and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic J. Pivarči.

April 22 – 23. At the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway E. B. Eideho paid a working visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with J. Figel' E. B. Eideho was received the Deputy Prime Minister for Human Rights, Minorities and Regional Development P. Csáky and negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence R. Káčer.

April 23 – 25. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession to the EU J. Figel' paid a working visit to Brussels. The program of his visit focused on the negotiation and accession process of the Slovak Republic and the bilateral Slovak-Belgian relations.

April 23. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary V. Orbán the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to Hungary. It was reciprocity to the official visit of the Prime Minister of Hungary V. Orbán in February 1999. M. Dzurinda negotiated with the Prime Minister V. Orbán and the Chairman of the Slovak Self-Government in Hungary J. Fuzik.

April 24 – 27. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid a working visit to Canada and New York. The main points of the visit to Canada (April 24 – 25) were the negotiations with the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Defence. In New York (April 26 – 27) J. Chlebo met various UN representatives.

May 3 – 4. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda the Prime Minister of the Republic of Finland P. Lipponen paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. It was the first official visit on the level of Prime Ministers since the establishment of the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with the Prime Minister P. Lipponen was received by the President R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and the Deputy Prime Minister P. Csáky.

May 6. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan took part on an informal meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the EU countries and the candidate countries in Nyköping, Sweden. It was the first meeting of this type. The Ministers present expressed their opinions on the form and content of the discussion about the future of the EU and its institutional structure.

May 13 – 14. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda the Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia A. Berzinš paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. This was the first official visit of the Prime Minister of Latvia in the Slovak Republic since the establishment of the Slovak Republic. A. Berzinš negotiated with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic and he was also received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Chairman of the

National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš. At a working dinner he met the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan.

May 15. In Brussels there was a meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the EU countries and 15 partner countries (6 European NATO members, who are not members of the EU and other candidate countries) on common European policy in security and defence and the situation on the Balkans, focused on Southern Serbia and Northern Macedonia. This was the first meeting of the Ministers in the 15+15 format, which according to the conclusions of the Summit in Nice should take place at least twice a year.

May 15. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan paid an official visit to Austria. He negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria B. Ferrero-Waldner and was received by the Federal Chancellor of Austria W. Schüssel and the Deputy Chancellor S. Riess-Passer.

May 16. At the invitation of the Chairman of the European Parliament N. Fontaine the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid an official visit to the European Parliament on Strasbourg. In the plenum of the European parliament he presented a speech. He met the Chairmen of the most important fractions in the European Parliament. In confidence he negotiated with the EU Commissioner for Enlargement G. Verheugen.

May 17 – 18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan paid an official visit to Poland. During the visit E. Kukan was received by the President of Poland A. Kwaśniewski, by the Prime Minister J. Buzek, by the Deputy Marshal of the Sejm S. Zajac, by the Deputy Marshal of the Senate M. Tyrna and he negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland W. Bartoszewski.

May 18. In accordance with the Protocol about the Consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine inter-ministerial consultations of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Chlebo and the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine I. Charčenko took place in Bratislava. The realized inter-ministerial consultations confirmed the good standard of relations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries.

May 21. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Netherlands J. van Aartsen paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. During his stay in Slovakia J. van Aartsen negotiated with the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan.

May 22. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Switzerland J. Deiss paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic he was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš.

May 23 –24. At the invitation of the President of Slovenia M. Kučan the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster with his wife paid an official visit to Slovenia. The President of the Slovak Republic negotiated with the President of Slovenia M. Kučan. He was also received by the Prime Minister of Slovenia J. Drnovšek and by the Chairman of Slovenian Parliament B. Pahor. During his visit the President of the Slovak Republic was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan, by the Minister of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property of the SR M. Machová, by the Minister of Education of the Slovak Republic M. Vtáčník and by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic P. Brňo.

May 28 – 29. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman the official delegation led by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda visited the Czech Republic. Besides the negotiations with his counterpart M. Zeman M. Dzurinda was also received by the President of the Czech Republic V. Havel. During his visit the Prime Minister was accompanied by the Minister of Defence J. Stank, the Minister of Finance B. Schmögnerová, the Minister of Economy L. Harach, the Minister of Culture M. Kňažko, the Minister of Soil Management P. Koncoš, the State Secretary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Chlebo, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Interior I. Budiak and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Finance V. Podstránsky, who had separate bilateral negotiations with their counterparts.

May 30. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada J. Manley paid a working visit to the Slovak Republic. It was the first visit of the Canadian Minister for Foreign Affairs in the history of the Slovak Republic. During his visit J. Manley met the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan.

May 31 – June 1. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Poland J. Buzek there was an official meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Czech Republic M. Zeman, of Hungary V. Orbán, of Poland J. Buzek and of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda in Krakow.

June 4 – 5. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda the Prime Minister of Portugal A. Guterres paid an official visit to the Slo-

vak Republic. A. Guterres negotiated with the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda. The Portuguese Prime Minister was accompanied by the Minister of Economy M. C. de Sousa and by the State Secretary for the European Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs T. Moura. M. C. de Sousa had separate negotiations with the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš and T. Moura negotiated with the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration M. Kadlečíková.

June 4 – 5. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession to the EU J. Figel' paid an official visit to Cyprus. During his stay he negotiated with the President of Cyprus G. Klerides, with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus M. Attalides, the former President of Cyprus and the current Chief Negotiator for the Accession to the EU G. Vassiliou.

June 6 – 10. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a visit to the USA. This visit was crucial from the point of view of the development of bilateral relations between the Slovak Republic and the USA. Since the establishment of the sovereign Slovak Republic this was the first reception of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic in the White House on the highest level in history. Besides the President G. W. Bush and the Vice-President R. B. Cheney the Prime Minister negotiated with the Minister of Foreign Affairs C. L. Powell and with the representatives of the Congress of the USA. During an informal breakfast he met the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USA M. K. Albright. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic was accompanied by the Vice-Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic P. Hrušovský, the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan, the Minister of Culture of the Slovak Republic M. Kňažko, as well as by other Members of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the representatives of various departments.

June 12. The fourth meeting of the *Conference on the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU* on the level of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs took place in Luxemburg. The Slovak delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. The delegation of the EU was led by the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Lindh, who presided the negotiation. The negotiation chapter "Customs Union" was preliminary closed and other four negotiation chapters were opened on this meeting.

June 12 – 14. At the invitation of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster the President of Ukraine L. Kučma paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. The President was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Zlenko, the Minister of Economy V. Rohový, the First Deputy Minister of Transport G. Kirpa. L. Kučma negotiated in Bratislava with the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster,

the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš.

June 14 –15. At the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary Zs. Németh the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid a working visit to Hungary. During his visit J. Chlebo negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary Zs. Németh and the Chairman of the Slovak Self-Government in Hungary J. Fuzik. He was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary J. Martonyi. It was reciprocity to the official visit of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary Zs. Németh in the Slovak Republic in November 2000.

June 17 – 19. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda the General Secretary of the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD) D. Johnston paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic D. Johnston was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš. D. Johnston took part at a working dinner hosted by the Deputy Prime Minister for Economy I. Mikloš under the presence of the Minister of Finance of the Slovak Republic B. Schmögnerová and the Governor of the National Bank of Slovakia M. Jusko.

June 18. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU J. Figel' paid a visit to Brussels. The point of his visit was the discussion of next steps in the negotiation in the chapters Energy and Economic Competition as well as the possible progress in negotiations on other chapters under the Belgian Presidency.

June 18 – 19. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Malta E. F. Adami the official delegation of the Slovak Republic led by the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to Malta. The Minister of Health R. Kováč was also a member of the delegation. The visit focused on the negotiations with the President G. de Marco, the Prime Minister E. F. Adami and the leader of the opposition Labour Party A. Santo.

June 19 – 20. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid a working visit to the UN Vienna Office. He took part at the *24th Meeting of the UN Industrial Development Council*.

June 21. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Minister for Minorities and Ethnic Communities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia R. Ljajič paid a working visit to the Slovak Republic. R. Ljajič negotiated with E. Kukan, he also met the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration M. Kadlečíková, the Minister of Justice of the Slovak Republic J. Čarnogurský, the Chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Minorities of the National

Council of the Slovak Republic L. Nagy and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo.

June 21 – 22. The meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the 17 member states of the Central European Initiative (CEI) took place in Milan. The meeting was presided by R. Ruggiero, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, the current presiding country. The Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan led the delegation of the Slovak Republic.

June 25 – 27. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Deputy Prime Minister of Luxembourg L. Polfer, who is at the same time the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade and the Minister of Public Administration and Administrative Reform, paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the Minister E. Kukan L. Polfer was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš, the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration M. Kadlečíková.

June 25 – 26. At the invitation of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo inter-ministerial consultations with the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were held. The Vietnamese delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs N. Van Nganh.

June 26. The seventh meeting of the Association Council SR – EU took place in Luxembourg. The Slovak delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan and the delegation of the EU was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Swedish Kingdom A. Lindh. European Commission was represented by the Commissioner for Enlargement G. Verheugen.

July 1 – 12. The President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid an official visit to Argentina (July 1 – 4), Chile (July 4 – 6) and Brazil (July 7 – 12). The President was accompanied by his wife, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SR E. Kukan, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of the SR P. Brño, the Chief Advisor of the President J. Bílek and the Director of the Communication Department of the Presidential Office J. Leikert. During their visit the representatives negotiated with their counterparts as well as with chairmen of the parliaments in Argentina and Chile. In Argentina the President of the Slovak Republic met the Chairman of the Supreme Court and the President of Argentina F. de la Rúa received from him the *First Class State Honour of the White Double-Cross* (Rad Bieleho dvojkríža I. triedy). R. Schuster received the State Honour of Argentina *The Order of General de San Martín*.

July 1 – 2. The meeting of the NATO membership candidate countries (Vilnius group, V9/V10) on the level of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in Tallin, Estonia. At the meeting took part: the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria N.

Mihailova, the General Director of the Section of Euro-Atlantic Integration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania A. Kuko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Croatia T. Picula, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Estonia T. H. Ilves, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lithuania A. Balionis, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Latvia I. Berzinš, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Macedonia I. Mitreva, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Romania M. Dan Geoana, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia I. Golob and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel'. The special guest of the Tallin meeting was B. Jackson, the President of the American Committee for NATO.

July 14 – 22. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid official visits to Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay. In Uruguay (July 16) he negotiated with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs G. Vallesa and Deputy Minister of Economy and Finance A. Bonsignore. During his visit in Bolivia (July 18) J. Chlebo negotiated with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Soruco and he underlined the importance of the first official visit of a representative of the Slovak Republic in Bolivia. In Paraguay (July 20) he negotiated with the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs R. Gauto, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade M. T. de Segovia, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture C. Peralta and the Deputy Minister for Stock-raising J. L. Laneri. It was the first visit of a state representative of the Slovak Republic in Paraguay.

July 19. Within the frames of the regular meetings on the level of the Chief Negotiators Slovak – Czech consultations of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' on the issues of European integration took place in the Czech Republic. Besides the meeting and a working lunch with the Chief Negotiator of the Czech Republic P. Telička, J. Figel' took part at meetings on the Parliament level. He negotiated with the Chairman and the Vice-chairmen of the Senate of the Czech Republic and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of the Czech Republic.

August 26 – 31. At the invitation of his counterparts the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan paid an official visit to the Republic of Korea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. During his stay in these countries E. Kukan negotiated with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs (H. Seung-soo from Korea, N. Dy Nien from Vietnam) and the Ministers of Trade (H. Doo-yun from Korea and V. Khoan from Vietnam). He was received by the Presidents (K. Dae-jung from Korea and T. D. Luong from Vietnam), the Chairman of the National Council of the Republic of Korea (L. Man-sup), the Deputy Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (P. G. Khiem), the Minister of Environment of Korea (K. Myung-ja) and the Minister of Marine and Fishing of Korea (J. Woo-taik).

August 28. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania C. Diaconescu held working consultations with the State Secretary of the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo in Bratislava. The meeting confirmed good relations and readiness of both countries to co-operate in all spheres of common interest.

August 30 – 31. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia D. Pešič the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to Yugoslavia. M. Dzurinda was accompanied by the Minister of Finance B. Schmögnerová, the Minister of Economy Ľ. Harach, the Minister of Transport, Post Offices and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic J. Macejko, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' and the Chairman of the Office for Normalisation, Metrology and Testing D. Podhorský. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda negotiated with the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia D. Pešič, the President of Yugoslavia V. Koštunica, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia Z. Djindjič, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, and the Chairman of the *Coordination Centre for Kosovo* N. Čovič. The ministers of the Slovak government also had separate negotiations with their counterparts on the federal level and on the level of the Republic of Serbia.

September 2 – 9. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo paid a working visit to the Republic of Singapore, the Republic of Philippines and the State of Kuwait. During his visit in Singapore J. Chlebo was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs S. Jayakumar, he negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore Dr. Ch. H. Owo and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Trade and Industry of Singapore P. Ch. M. Liang. During his visit in Philippines the State Secretary J. Chlebo was received by the Vice-President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Philippines T. Guigon, he negotiated with the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Philippines L. Bajo and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence F. Gacis. During his visit in Kuwait J. Chlebo was received by the State Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait M. al-Salim al-Sabah.

September 9. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan took part on an informal meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the EU countries and the candidate countries in Genval, Belgium. During a common meeting the ministers exchanged their opinions on the form and content of the discussion about the future of the EU and its institutional structure.

September 11 – 13. At the invitation of the Chairman of the Canadian Government J. Chrétien the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic was supposed to pay an official visit to Canada. Under the influence of the extraordinary events of the terrorist's attack in the USA the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Canada decided to cancel this visit, although the governmental airplane was already on its way to Canada.

September 21. The meeting of the State Secretaries of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs of the V-4 took place in Budapest. At the meeting took part Zs. Németh, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, J. Chlebo, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, A. Ananicz, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland and P. Ježek, the Director of the Section of European Integration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

September 25 – 29. At the invitation of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster the President of Croatia S. Mesić and his wife paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. The President of Croatia was accompanied by the Minister of Education and Sport V. Strugar, the Adviser of the President of Croatia for Foreign Policy T. Jakić, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Croatia V. Cvjetković-Kurelec and the Deputy Minister for Economy of Croatia M. Brinar. The President of Croatia negotiated with the President of Slovak Republic R. Schuster. He was received by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and the Mayor of the capital Bratislava J. Moravčík.

September 29. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a one-day working visit to Brussels. The point of the visit was the meeting with the Chairman of European Commission R. Prodi, where he informed R. Prodi about the development in Slovakia in the last period and the status of preparation of the Slovak Republic on the accession to the EU. The Commissioner of the EC for Enlargement G. Verheugen also took part on these negotiations. M. Dzurinda met during a working lunch the Rapporteur of the European Parliament for Slovakia J. M. Wiersma.

September 28. At the invitation of the Federal Chancellor of Austria W. Schüssel a Slovak delegation led by the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda paid a visit to Austria. During the visit the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic negotiated in confidence with the Austrian Federal Chancellor and after that both Prime Ministers presided the negotiation of both delegations under the presence of the Austrian Deputy Chancellor S. Riess-Passer and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria B. Ferrero-Waldner. The Prime Minister was also received by the Federal President T. Klestil.

October 4. A meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Vilnius Group countries (V10) took place in the Slovenian Bled. The main point was to demonstrate solidarity with the USA after the terrorist's attacks from September 11, 2001 and at the same time to show the interest to make use of the opportunity to enter NATO during the Summit in Prague. The Slovak Republic was represented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan.

October 5. The meeting of the Presidents of the V10 countries under the title *Contribution of New Democracies to the Euro-Atlantic Security* took place in Sofia,

Bulgaria. The General Secretary of NATO Lord G. Robertson, the Turkish and Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs and the American political scientist Z. Brzezinski also accepted the invitation. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was led by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster.

October 10. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The visit was a compensation for the second day of his visit in August, which was cancelled due to the tragic car accident. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic had a short meeting with the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia D. Pešič and negotiated with the federal Minister for Minorities and Ethnic Communities of Yugoslavia R. Ljajič, the Minister of Justice and Local Self-government of Serbia V. Batič and the Chairman of Matica Slovenská in Yugoslavia R. Surový.

October 9 – 13. At the invitation of the Federal President of Germany J. Rau the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid a state visit to Germany. During his visit the President of the Slovak Republic was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan, the Minister of Soil Management P. Koncoš, the Minister of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property M. Machová, the State Secretary of the Minister of Economy P. Brňo. The President of the Slovak Republic negotiated with the Federal President J. Rau, with the Federal Chancellor G. Schröder, the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Fischer, the State Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ch. Zöpel and other top representatives on the federal and provincial level.

October 12 – 14. The Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan paid a visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was realized on the occasion of his participation on the international conference *A Year After: The Challenges of Democracy – Priorities of the Future* at the invitation of the organizer of the conference – East-West Institute. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia G. Svilanovič, the President of Yugoslavia V. Koštunica, the Minister for Minorities and Ethnic Communities R. Ljajič and the Chairman of the Federal Committee for Kosovo M. Trajkovič. E. Kukan also met the Deputy Chairman of the Serbian Government and the Chairman of the Coordination Committee for Kosovo N. Čovič.

October 15. At the invitation of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel S. Peres paid a one-day official visit to the Slovak Republic. During this visit negotiations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan took place. He was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, with whom he also negotiated. He also negotiated with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš. S. Peres declared Israel's support

for the Slovak Republic in the accession to the NATO and the EU and expressed readiness to use the wide contacts of Israel's diplomacy in key countries to support Slovakia's integration ambitions.

October 18 – 20. At the invitation of the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster the President of Hungary F. Mádl paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. During his visit F. Mádl was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and had a short meeting and negotiation with the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík. The President of Hungary F. Mádl paid a visit to Banská Bystrica, Rimavská Sobota and Košice.

October 18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Macedonia I. Mitreva paid the first official visit to the Slovak Republic. On this occasion she negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan, the Vice-Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic P. Hrušovský, the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Minister of Economy of the Slovak Republic L. Harach. The points of the negotiations were the issues of bilateral co-operation.

October 20. On the initiative of the Belgian Presidency an enlarged European conference on the ministerial level took place in Brussels. At the conference took part: fifteen EU countries, four EFTA countries, thirteen candidate countries and five countries from south-eastern Europe participating on the Stabilisation and Association Program. Russia, Ukraine and Moldavia were also invited. The main discussed topic was the current situation after the terrorist's attack in the USA and fight against terrorism. The Slovak delegation was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo.

October 24. The President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid an official visit to Austria. During his visit R. Schuster negotiated with the President of Austria T. Klestil and the Chairman of the National Council of Austria H. Fischer. The Austrian President organised in the honour of his guest an official lunch under the presence of various people of importance in Austrian political and economic life.

October 26. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Slovenia J. Drnovšek the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a short working visit to Slovenia. Within the frames of his program the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic took part on a working lunch with J. Drnovšek and presented his speech *The preparation on the EU membership, experiences and perspectives of Slovakia* at the second day of the 9th *International Regional Forum of Entrepreneurs in Bled*.

October 26. The 8th meeting of the *Conference on the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU* on the level of Deputy Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in Brussels. The Slovak delegation was led by the State Secretary and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU J. Figel'. The delegation of

the EU was led by the representative of the EU Presidency, the Ambassador of Belgium in the EU, F. van Daele, who presided the whole negotiation. During his working visit in Brussels he met the EC Director General for Enlargement E. Landaburu.

October 30 – 31. The third common meeting of the Reinforced Political Committee of the NATO on a higher level and the Slovak Republic in the format 19+1 took place in the headquarters of NATO in Brussels. The aim of the conference was to present the *Annual National Programme of Preparation for the Membership in NATO for the year 2002*. NATO's aim was to evaluate the quality and the substantiality of this plan as well as the present results achieved within the frames of the fulfilment of the *NATO Membership Action Plan*. The negotiation was presided by the NATO Deputy Secretary General D. Speckhard. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figeľ. The defence and the military sphere ANP PRENAME 2002 was represented by the State Secretaries of the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic J. Pivarčí and R. Káčer.

November 5. Within the frames of the planned journeys to 9 countries, which are candidates to become members of the NATO, NATO Secretary General Lord G. Robertson paid a visit to the Slovak Republic. During his one-day visit in Bratislava G. Robertson was received by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš, the Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic J. Stank and by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster. At the end of his visit an informal meeting with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan took place.

November 7 – 8. The 109th meeting of the Committee of the Ministers of the European Council took place in Strasbourg. The leaders of the delegations had the opportunity to discuss with the NATO Secretary General Lord G. Robertson, who was invited to the meeting. During the negotiation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan G. Robertson highly appreciated the conclusions of the visit in the Slovak Republic on the November 5.

November 11 – 14. The President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster paid the historically first official visit on the highest level to the Russian Federation and to Kazakhstan. The main point of the visit was activation of relations and of bilateral cooperation with Russia and Kazakhstan. The President R. Schuster was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan, the Minister of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property of the SR M. Machová, the Minister of Economy of the SR L. Harach, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Transport, Post Offices and Telecommunications of the SR M. Balog, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Finance of the SR V. Podstránsky, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Construction and Regional Development of the SR R. Šipoš and the Chief Advisor of the President of the SR J. Bílek. Pre President R. Schuster met in Russia

the President of the Russian Federation V. Putin, the Prime Minister of Russia M. Kasianov, the Patriarch Alexij II., and the Mayor of Moscow J. Lužkov. In Kazakhstan the President of the Slovak Republic met the President of Kazakhstan V. Nazarbajev, the Chairman of the House of Representatives of Kazakhstan Z. Tujakbajev and the Prime Minister of Kazakhstan K. Tokajev.

November 12 – 13. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda the Prime Minister of Greece C. Simitis paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. It was the historically first visit of the Greek Prime Minister in the Slovak Republic since the establishment of the sovereign Slovakia. During his visit he negotiated with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš and the Mayor of Bratislava J. Moravčík.

November 13 – 14. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Norway K. M. Bondevik the visit of the official delegation of the Slovak Republic led by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda to Norway took place. The member of the delegation was the State Secretary of the Ministry of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property of the SR V. Drozda. In the Parliament the Prime Minister M. Dzurinda negotiated with the Chairman of the Parliament of Norway J. Kosma. The culmination of the visit was the audience of the Prime Minister at the King of Norway Harald V. The point of the negotiations was in particular in the issues of bilateral relations, Euro-Atlantic integration and regional co-operation.

November 19 – 20. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic M. Zeman paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with his counterpart M. Dzurinda M. Zeman was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic J. Migaš. During his visit the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic was accompanied by the Minister for Economy M. Grégr and the State Secretaries of Ministries of Interior, Finance, Health and for Foreign Affairs.

November 19 – 20. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan paid a working visit in Brussels. During his visit he met the Commissioner of the EC for Enlargement of the EU G. Verheugen and he took part at the *Conference about the improvement of the military capability* in the frames of the Common European Security and Defence Policy in the format of 15+15.

November 22 – 23. The delegation of the Slovak Republic led by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda took part at the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the Countries of the Central European Initiative (CEI) under the presence of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Terst. During the Summit bilateral negotiations between the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and his coun-

terparts from Italy and Ukraine S. Berlusconi and A. Kinach took place. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan met his counterpart from Belarus M. Chvostov.

November 29. The 2nd meeting of the *Regional Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs* of Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia took place in Bratislava. The delegations were led by: B. Ferrero-Waldner, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, R. Jindrák, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Zs. Németh, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, S. Meller, the Vice-Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, E. Kukan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and S. Žbogar, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia. The Conference was presided by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. Within the frames of the programme the attendants dealt with the actual issues of the regional co-operation, the fight against terrorism, the process of the enlargement and the issues related to the future of the EU.

December 3 – 4. The 9th meeting of the *Ministerial Council of the OSCE* took place in Bucharest. At the meeting a delegation from the Slovak Republic led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan took part. The meeting focused mainly on the issues of the fight against terrorism, regional problems, consolidation of the role of the OSCE as the forum of political dialogue and the activities of the OSCE in the area of actions of the police.

December 4. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Spain J. M. Aznar paid a working visit to the Slovak Republic. The Spanish Prime Minister was accompanied by the State Secretary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain R. de Miguel. The programme of the visit consisted of the main negotiations with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda and the common press conference of the both Prime Ministers.

December 4 – 5. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Figel' paid a working visit to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland. The point of the visit was to enter into contact with the new Minister for Europe of the British Government P. Hain and to strengthen the existing contacts with the partners in the British Parliament.

December 4 – 6. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic J. Chlebo took part at the II. International Economic Forum *Partnership in the name of the Concorde and Development* in Kiev, which took place under the aegis of the President of Ukraine L. Kučma and the Prime Minister of Ukraine A. Kinach. Besides the participation on the Conference the State Secretary J. Chlebo negotiated during his visit with the counterpart, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine J. Sergejev.

December 4. At the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland E. Tuomioju paid a working visit to the Slovak Republic. Besides the negotiations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs E. Kukan E. Tuomioju was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster and the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda. The point of the negotiations was besides the issues of the development of the bilateral relations in particular the issues of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

December 5. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg J.-C. Juncker the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda took part at the first meeting of the Prime Ministers of the V-4 countries with the Prime Ministers of the Benelux countries. On the meeting participated also the Ministries for Foreign Affairs of the participating countries. The point of the meeting was the establishment of the future co-operation between the V-4 and the Benelux and the exchange of opinions on issues of future of the EU. The meeting was focused on the common plenary negotiation.

December 10. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid a working visit to the Headquarters of the NATO in Brussels. During his visit he was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic met the NATO Secretary General Lord G. Robertson and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom J. Straw.

December 11. The *Conference on the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU* on the level of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in Brussels. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. The delegation of the EU was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium L. Michel, who also presided the Conference. Contents of the negotiations were the general evaluation of the achieved results and the proposal of next steps in the accession process of the Slovak Republic to the EU.

December 14 – 15. The regular meeting of the European Council about the enlargement of the EU, the introduction of Euro, the future of Europe and about the issues of justice and home affairs took place in Laeken, Belgium. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was led by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda, who was accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chief Negotiator of the Slovak Republic on the Accession to the EU J. Figel'. During the meeting the *Laeken Declaration* about the future of the EU was passed.

December 18. The Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia N. Čović paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. On this occasion he was received by the President of the Slovak Republic R. Schuster, he took part at a working dinner hosted by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic L. Fogaš under the presence of

the State Secretary of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic M. Gacík and negotiated with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic E. Kukan. The points of the negotiations were the issues of the bilateral co-operation in political, economic, consular and cultural-educational field.

December 18. The 8th meeting of the *Association Committee SR – EU* took place in Bratislava. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was led by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Chief Negotiator of the Slovak Republic on the Accession to the EU J. Figel'. The delegation of the EU was led by the Chief of the negotiation team for Slovakia from the Directorial General European Commission for Enlargement D. Meganck. The program me of the Association Committee was focused on the evaluation of the completing the tasks of the *Partnership for accession* and the *National program for the implementation of acquis*.

December 19 – 20. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Finland P. Lipponen the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic M. Dzurinda paid an official visit to the Republic of Finland. Besides the negotiations with the Prime Minister of Finland M. Dzurinda was received by the President of the Republic of Finland T. Halonen and the Chairman of the Finnish Parliament R. Uosukainen.

December 21. The meeting of the 9th *Conference on the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the EU* on the level of the Deputy Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in Brussels. The delegation of the Slovak Republic was led by the Chief Negotiator of the Slovak Republic on the Accession to the EU J. Figel'. The delegation of the EU was led by the representative of the Presidency of the EU the Ambassador of Belgium in the EU F. van Daele, who also presided the Conference.

The List of Treaties and Agreements Concluded between the Slovak Republic and Other Countries in 2001

I. Presidential agreements year 2001

1. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on double taxation avoidance in area of corporate and property taxes.
(Bratislava, February 26, 2001)
2. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Lithuania on double taxation avoidance and prevention of tax evasion in area of income and property taxes.
(Vilnius, March 15, 2001)
3. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Canada on social welfare.
(Bratislava, May 21, 2001)
4. Understanding between the Government of the Slovak Republic and Government of Canada on double taxation avoidance and prevention of tax evasion in area of income and property taxes.
(Bratislava, May 22, 2001)

5. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands on export of social welfare benefits.
(Bratislava, May 28, 2001)
6. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on statute of the Custom Union Council of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic and statute of the Permanent Secretariat of the Custom Union Council.
(Prague, May 28, 2001)
7. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on refunding of expenses conjunctive to Custom Union performance.
(Prague, May 28, 2001)
8. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Bulgaria on social welfare.
(Sofia, May 30, 2001)
9. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Portugal on double taxation avoidance and prevention of tax evasion linked to income taxes.
(Bratislava, June 5, 2001)
10. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Korea on double taxation avoidance and prevention of tax evasion linked to income taxes.
(Soul, August 27, 2001)
11. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Austria on social welfare.
(Bratislava, December 21, 2001)

II. Inter-Governmental Agreements

1. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on international surface transport.
(Bratislava, January 11, 2001)
2. Resolution No. 1/2000 of the Common Council of Free Trade Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey regulating Protocol 3 con-

- cerning the phrase “original products” and methods of administrative co-operation.
(Bratislava, January 19, 2001)
3. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the United States of America on air transportation.
(Bratislava, January 22, 2001)
 4. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Portugal on economic, industrial and technical co-operation.
(Lisbon, February 9, 2001)
 5. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the People’s Republic of China on co-operation in area of veterinary medicine.
(Bratislava, February 12 2001)
 6. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the People’s Republic of China on co-operation in area of plants quarantine and plants protection.
(Bratislava, February 12, 2001)
 7. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on visas commitment cancellation for holders of diplomatic and service passports.
(Bratislava, February 26, 2001)
 8. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on research-development co-operation.
(Bratislava, February 26, 2001)
 9. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on visas regime liberalization.
(Bratislava 30. January 2001 - Ukraine February, 26 2001 - notes)
 10. Protocol between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Hungary on modification of Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Hungary on mutual employment of citizens from February 12, 1999.
(Bratislava, March 8, 2001)
 11. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the United States of America on protection and preservation of respective cul-

- tural sights and historical settlements.
(Washington, March 9, 2001)
12. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Republic of Lithuania on visas commitment cancellation
(Vilnius, March 15, 2001)
13. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on mutual acceptance of education certificates equity issued in the Slovak Republic and in the Czech Republic.
(Prague, March 23, 2001)
14. Agreement between the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics on simplified way of state borders crossing by citizens with permanent address in frontiers villages.
(Prague, December 6, 1985, No. 53/1986 Coll. – termination March 25, 2001, No. 140/2001 Coll.)
15. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Federal Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavian on mutual assistance in custom issues.
(Beograd, March 28, 2001)
16. Co-operation agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic on one side and the Government of French Community of Belgium and the Government of Valon region on the other side.
(Bratislava, March 30, 2001)
17. Commercial agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Lebanon.
(Beirut, April 2, 2001)
18. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Syrian Arabic Republic on airway transport services.
(Damask, April 4, 2001)
19. Resolution No. 1/2001 of the Common Council of Agreement on free trade between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey and modification of Protocol 2 on temporal compensation for live beef-cattle mentioned in Annex B to protocol 2.
(Ankara, April 10, 2001)

20. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Peru on visas commitment cancellation for holders of diplomatic and service passports of the Slovak Republic and for holders of diplomatic and special passports of the Republic of Peru.
(Lima, April 20, 2001)
21. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on availability of visiting historical sights and natural values occurring thereabouts the common state frontiers.
(Budapest, April 23, 2001)
22. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Republic of Hungary on cross-border co-operation between regional units or authorities.
(Budapest, April 23, 2001)
23. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Poland on international multimode transportation.
(Ziwiec, April 28, 2001)
24. Resolution of the Association Council No. 4/2001 between the European Union and the Slovak Republic from May 5, 2001 stating financial contribution from the Slovak Republic for taking part in programs "Sokrates II" and "Youth" in the years 2001-2006.
(Brussels, May 25, 2001)
25. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Estonia on international surface passenger and cargo transportation.
(Lisbon, May 28, 2001)
26. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Latvia on international multimode transportation.
(Lisbon, May 28, 2001)
27. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on mutual acceptance of laboratory tests of agriculture and groceries products.
(Prague May 28, 2001)
28. Framework agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Nordic Investment Bank on financial co-operation.
(Helsinki, June 1, 2001)

29. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Portugal on airway transportation.
(Bratislava, June 5, 2001)
30. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on co-operation in tourism.
(Bratislava, June 12, 2001)
31. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Malta on co-operation in health care.
(Valletta, June 19, 2001)
32. Amendment to the Protocol between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation dealing the particular downsizing the debt of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Russian Federation against the Slovak Republic by supplies of special materials and equipment from July 24, 1997.
(Bratislava, June 19, 2001)
33. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on final solution of opened issues relating to real estates.
(Berlin, June 29, 2001)
34. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Argentina on visas commitment cancellation for holders of diplomatic and service passports of the Slovak Republic and for holders of diplomatic or official passports of the Republic of Argentina.
(Buenos Aires, July 2, 2001)
35. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Argentina on visas commitment cancellation for holders of tourist passports.
(Buenos Aires, July 2, 2001)
36. Agreement on economic and trade co-operation between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Brazil.
(Brasilia, July 10, 2001)
37. Protocol on co-operation between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Brazil.
(Brasilia, July 10, 2001)

38. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on mutual assistance of agriculture subjects by agriculture machinery.
(Prague, July 16, 2001)
39. Resolution No. 1/2001 of the Common Council of Free Trade Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Lithuania on modification of protocol No. 2 to Free Trade Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Lithuania.
(Riga, July 23, 2001)
40. Protocol between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on termination of the validity of inter-governmental Protocol from August 4, 1998 on problems clearing of its partial fulfillment by Russian side.
(Moscow, August 14, 2001)
41. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Federal Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on releasing and receiving the persons, who does not fulfill the conditions for entry or residence at other country.
(Beograd, August 30, 2001)
42. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Federal Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on co-operation in field of telecommunications and posts.
(Beograd, August 30, 2001)
43. Exchange letter to the solutions of receivables of the Slovak Republic against the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.
(Bratislava, July 4, 2001, Vientiane, September 3, 2001)
44. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Philippines on visas commitment cancellation for holders of diplomatic and service passports of the Slovak Republic and for holders of diplomatic or official passports of the Republic of Philippines.
(Manila, September 6, 2001)
45. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on modification of Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on employing of employees to extend their special and language knowledge.
(by exchange of diplomatic notes, September 7, 2001)

46. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Czech border executing spot in the Slovak Republic at the border crossing Skalica – Sudoměřice.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
47. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Czech border executing spot at the Slovak Republic in the border crossing Červený Kameň – Nedašova Lhota.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
48. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak and Czech border executing spot at the road crossing Brodské – Břeclav (D2).
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
49. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak border executing spot in the Czech Republic at the road border crossing Lysá pod Makytou – Střelná.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
50. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak and Czech border executing spot at the road border crossing Svrinovec – Mosty u Jablunkova.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
51. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak border executing spot in the Czech Republic at the road border crossing Nová Bošáca – Březová.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
52. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Czech border executing spot in the Slovak Republic at the road border crossing Čadca – Milošová – Šance.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
53. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak and Czech border executing spot at the road border crossing Holíč – Hodonín.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)

54. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak border executing spot in the Czech Republic at the road border crossing Drietoma – Starý Hrozenkov.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
55. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak border executing spot in the Czech Republic at the road border crossing Vrbovce – Velká na Velickou.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
56. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak and Czech border executing spot at the railway border crossing Čadca – Mosty u Jablunkova and of border execution during the trip in trains at route Žilina – Český Tešín and vice versa.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
57. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak and Czech border executing spot at the railway border crossing Lúky pod Makytou – Horní Lideč and of border execution during the trip in trains at route Púchov – Vsetín and vice versa.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
58. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak and Czech border executing spot at the railway border crossing Kúty – Lanžhot and of border execution during the trip in trains at route Bratislava – Kúty – Břeclav and vice versa.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
59. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on establishment of Slovak border executing spot in the Czech Republic at the border crossing Klokočov – Bílá.
(Bratislava, October 2, 2001)
60. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on modification of character of road border crossing Rusovce – Rajka.
(Bratislava, October 24, 2001 – by notes exchange)
61. Agreement between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahyria on co-operation in health care.
(Tripoli, September 9, 1981, No. 63/1982 St.)
(agreed termination November 10, 2001, No. 363/2001 Coll.)

62. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia on restructuring and refunding debt of the Kingdom of Cambodia against the Slovak Republic.
(Phnom Penh, November 6, 2001)
63. Protocol between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on supply of military products in the framework of partial refunding of indebtedness of Russian Federation against the Slovak Republic.
(Moscow, November 12, 2001)
64. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Slovenia on research-development co-operation.
(Bratislava, November 13, 2001)
65. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Byelorussia on co-operation in fight against terrorism, drugs dealing and other organized criminal activity.
(Bratislava, November 14, 2001)
66. Framework agreement between the Slovak Republic and the European Bank for Restructuring and Development concerning activities of International Fund for support of termination of Nuclear Plant Bohunice.
(London, November 16, 2001)
67. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on mutual acceptance of equity with documents confirming university education.
(Bratislava, November 23, 2001)
68. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Kingdom of Spain on international road passenger and cargo transportation.
(Bratislava, November 27, 2001)
69. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on rules of the commodity origin and methods of administrative co-operation.
(Prague, December 14, 2001)
70. Executive agreement to the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Austria on social welfare.
(Bratislava, December 21, 2001)

III. Ministerial agreements

1. Agreement between the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Lithuania on trade-economic and research-development co-operation.
(Riga, January 8, 2001)
2. Administrative agreement between the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic to the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on mutual employment of citizens.
(Prague, January 30, 2001)
3. Agreement between the Ministry of Soil Management of the Slovak Republic and the State Forest Administration of the People's Republic of China on co-operation in forestry.
(Bratislava, February 12, 2001)
4. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare of the Republic of Croatia.
(Bratislava, March 5, 2001)
5. Memorandum of understanding between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the British Council Slovakia and the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the College University in London for academic years from 2001/2002 to 2003/2004.
(Bratislava, March 15, 2001)
6. Protocol on consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants of the Republic of Lebanon.
(Beirut, April 2, 2001)
7. Administrative agreement between the Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Health of the Czech Republic to execution of the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on health care servicing and refunding.
(Bratislava, April 2, 2001)

8. Co-operation plan between the Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic and the Ministries of Health of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in field of medicine and health care.
(Geneva, May 14, 2001)
9. Execution agreement to the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Bulgaria on social welfare.
(Sofia, May 30, 2001)
10. Memorandum of understanding and co-operation between the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment of the Netherlands.
(Bratislava, May 28, 2001)
11. Co-operation protocol between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile.
(Santiago de Chile, July 4, 2001)
12. Letter of Intent between the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile in field of culture and art.
(Santiago de Chile, July 4, 2001)
13. Co-operation protocol between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bolivia.
(La Paz, July 18, 2001)
14. Agreement between the Ministry of Transportation, Post Offices and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Transportation and Sea Economy of the Republic of Poland on modification of Agreement between the Ministry of Transportation, Posts and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Transportation and Sea Economy of the Republic of Poland on location appointment of touching the planned highway D18 at Slovak side and planned direction-divided road at Polish side at the Slovak-Polish border crossing Skalité a Zwardoń and on their allocation in border area, ratified in Bratislava on November 29, 1995.
(Bielsko-Biala, July 19, 2001)
15. Co-operation between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Youth and Sport of the Republic of Hungary in field of youth and sport for years 2001-2002.
(Blahova, 17. August 2001)

16. Co-operation protocol between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea. (Seoul, August 27, 2001)
17. Agreement on co-operation between the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the Federal Secretariat for Development and Science of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in field of constructing and using of cyclotron complexes in science, technique and medicine. (Beograd, August 30, 2001)
18. Protocol between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Education of the Czech Republic on co-operation in field of education, youth, physical education and sport. (Levoča, September 21, 2001)
19. Program of co-operation between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia and the Ministry of Science and Technologies of the Republic of Croatia for academic years 2000/2001, 2001/2002, 2002/2003 and 2003/2004. (Bratislava, September 26, 2001)
20. Protocol between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Ukraine on co-operation and exchanges in field of education for years 2001-2004. (Bratislava, October 12, 2001)
21. Agreement on co-operation in field of education and Slovak and English language teaching between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the British Council the Slovakia for period of 2001-2004. (Bratislava, October 18, 2001)
22. Agreement between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation on co-operation in field of education for years 2001-2004. (Moscow, November 12, 2001)

IV. Multilateral Agreements

1. Framework agreement on institutional bases for creation of international systems of oil and gas transportation. (INOGATE)
(Kiev, July 22, 1999)
note: dep.: MFA Ukraine
admission the SR January 11, 2001
validity beginning February 17, 2001
valid for the SR from February 17, 2001

2. European convention on peaceful solving of confrontations
(Strasbourg, April 29, 1957)
note: dep.: SG CE
signature the SR on January 12, 2001
RL the SR stored on May 7, 2001
valid for the SR from May 7, 2001
doc. No. 23

3. Protocol on equity of four-language text of Agreement of international civil aviation.
(Montreal, September 30, 1977)
note: dep.: USA
the SR admission document stored on January 19, 2001

4. International convention on suppression of terrorism financing
(New York, December 9, 1999)
note: dep.: SG UN
Signature of the SR on January 26, 2001

5. Tampere agreement on providing telecommunication sources for disasters lessening and rescue operations.
(Tampere, June 18, 1998)
note: dep.: SG UN
Signature of the SR on February 16, 2000
RL the SR stored February 7, 2001

6. Optional protocol to Agreement of all forms of women discrimination elimination.
(New York, October 6, 1999)
note: dep.: SG UN
Signature of the SR on May 5, 2000
RL the SR stored on November 17, 2000
Valid for the SR from February 17, 2001

7. European Charter of regional or minority languages.
(Strasbourg, November 5, 1992)
note: dep.: SG CE
Signature of the SR on February 19, 2001
RL the SR submitted on September 5, 2001
doc. No. 148

8. Protocol on modification of Agreement on international civil aviation.
(Montreal, September 30, 1977)
note: dep.: ICAO
Agreement signed in Chicago on December 7, 1944
RL the SR stored on February 19, 2001

9. Agreement on protection of European architectural heritage.
(Granada, October 3, 1985)
note: dep.: SG CE
Signature of the SR on October 10, 2000
RL the SR stored on March 7, 2001
Valid for the SR from July 1, 2001
doc. No. 121

10. Amendment protocol to the Agreement on protection of human rights and human dignity in accordance with application of biology and medicine about prohibition of human beings cloning.
(Paris, January 12, 1998)
note: dep.: SG CE
Signature of the SR on March 31, 1998
RL the SR stored on October 22, 1998
Valid for the SR from since March 1, 2001
doc. No. 168

11. Agreement on protection of Afro-Euro-Asian water migratory birdlife species.
(Haag, August 15, 1996)
note: dep.: Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
the SR admission document with stipulation stored on April 23, 2001

12. Agreement on releasing medical, surgery and laboratory equipment to the temporal usage regime for hospitals and other health care facilities for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes with full custom-free, taxes-free and free of any other fees paid by import.
(Strasbourg, April 28, 1960)

note: dep. SG CE
Signature of the SR on September 13, 2000
RL the SR stored on May 7, 2001
Valid for the SR from August 8, 2001
doc. No. 33

13. European convention on acceptance and execution of decision relating to children care and children care restoring.

(Luxemburg, May 20, 1980)
note: dep.: SG CE
Signature of the SR on March 2, 2000
RL the SR stored on May 7, 2001
Valid for the SR from September 1, 2001
doc. No. 105

14. Agreement on black money laundering, searching, dispossessing and confiscating of incomes from criminal activity.

(Strasburg, November 8, 1990)
note: dep. SG CE
Signature of the SR on September 8, 1999
RL the SR stored on May 7, 2001
Valid for the SR from September 1, 2001
doc. No. 141

15. Agreement on termination of request of supreme verification of foreign public documents. (Haag, October 5, 1961)

note: dep. MFA the Netherlands
the SR admission document stored on June 6, 2001
Valid for the SR from December 20, 2001

16. Agreement on children protection and co-operation by international adopting. (Haag, May 29, 1993)

note: dep.: the Netherlands
Signature of the SR on June 1, 1999
RL the SR stored on June 6, 2001
Valid for the SR from October 1, 2001

17. Modification agreement to the Protocol on privileges and immunities EUTELSAT (European Telecommunication and Satellite Organization)

(Cardiff, May 20, 1999)
note: dep.: EUTELSAT
Signature of the SR on June 12, 2001

18. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic, the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of the Republic of Poland on multinational squadron.
(Orava Castle, September 20, 2001)
note: dep.: the Slovak Republic

19. Agreement on competence, applicable law, acceptance, execution and co-operation in field of family rights and obligations and measures for children protection.
(Haag, October 19, 1996)
note: dep.: the Netherlands
Signature of the SR on June 1, 1999
RL stored on September 21, 2001
Valid for the SR from January 1, 2002

20. Agreement regarding the creation of global technical regulations for wheeled vehicles, equipment and spare parts, which can be installed or used at wheeled vehicles.
(Geneva June 25, 1998)
note: dep.: SG UN
the SR admission document stored on November 7, 2001
Valid for the SR from January 6, 2002

21. Amendment protocol to the Agreement on privacy protection within the automated personal data processing regarding supervisory authorities and cross-border data flows.
(Strasbourg, November 8, 2001)
note: dep.: CE
Signature of the SR on November 8, 2001
yet not valid
No. 181

22. Protocol on smuggling of immigrants at surface, sea and airway, amending the UN Convention on international organized criminality.
(New York, November 15, 2000)
Signature of the SR on November 15, 2001
yet not valid

23. Protocol on prevention, suppression and punishing of trade with people, especially women and children, amending the UN Convention on international organized criminality.
(New York, November 15, 2000)
note: dep.: SG UN

*Signature of the SR on November 15, 2001
yet not valid*

24. Optional protocol to the Agreement on children rights and children involved in armed conflicts.

(New York, May 25, 2000)

note: dep.: SG UN

*Signature of the SR on November 30, 2001
for the SR yet not valid*

25. Optional protocol to the Agreement on children rights and trade with children, children prostitution and children pornography.

(New York, May 25, 2000)

note: dep.: SG UN

*Signature of the SR on November 30, 2001
for the SR yet not valid*

26. Protocol on privileges and immunities of the International Mobile Satellite Communication Organization. (IMSO)

(London, December 1, 1981)

note: dep.: IMSO

*the SR admission document stored on December 3, 2001
Valid for the SR from January 2, 2002*

27. Modifications of the Agreement on the International Mobile Satellite Communication Organization and the Operating agreement of the International Mobile Satellite Communication Organization.

(London, April 24, 1998)

note: dep.: IMO

the SR admission document stored on April 7, 2000

Valid from July 31, 2001

Operating agreement INMARSAT – validity expiry on July 31, 2001

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Director: Peter Kormúth, tel. 59783141, peter_kormuth@Foreign.gov.sk

Department for the UN and Expert Organizations of the UN System

Director: Ivan Surkoš, tel. 59783501, ivan_surkos@Foreign.gov.sk

Department for International Economic-Trade Co-operation

Director: Ján Jursa, tel. 59783561, jan_jursa@Foreign.gov.sk

Section of Bilateral Co-operation

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2. Territorial Department States of Middle and North Europe

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3. Territorial Department, States of South and East Europe

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4. Territorial Department, States of Middle East, Asia, Australia, Oceania, Africa and Latin America

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Department for Cultural Relations

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Section of International Law and Consular Affairs

Director General: Ján Varšo, tel. 59783701, jan_varso@Foreign.gov.sk

International Law Department

Director: Drahoslav Štefánek, tel. 59783711, drahoslav_stefanek@Foreign.gov.sk

Consular Department

Director: Jozef Cibula, tel. 52961729, jozef_cibula@Foreign.gov.sk

Human Rights Department

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fax: 02 43 33 7827

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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

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Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic

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State Secretary

Gen. Jozef Pivarči

Office of the State Secretary

Director: coll. Gustav Kőszegi, tel. 4425 8905, fax: 4425 8794, sedlackovah @mod.gov.sk

State Secretary for Integration

Rastislav Káčer

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Director: Juraj Podhorský, tel.: 4425 9946, fax: 4425 8794, sedlackovah @mod.gov.sk

Section for Defence Policy and International Relations

Director General: Igor Slobodník, tel. 44258781, slobodniki@mod.gov.sk

Department for Foreign Affairs

Director: Vladimír Žbodák, tel. 44250701, zbodakv@mod.gov.sk

Department for Security Policy

Director in Charge: Marián Božík, tel. 44256250, bozikm@mod.gov.sk

Security Office of the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic

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Mail: Kutuzovova 8, 832 47 Bratislava 3

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Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic

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Department for European Integration and Foreign Affairs
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Section for Public Administration

Department of Organisation and International Co-operation
Director: Eva Chmelová, tel. 43338660, oo.svs@mvsr.vs.sk

Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic

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www.finance.gov.sk

Section for European Integration and International Relations

Director General: Mária Kompišová, tel. 59582315, mkompisova@mssr.sk

Department for European Integration and European Funds

Director: Jaroslav Náhlik, tel. 59582137, jnahlik@mssr.sk

Division of Foreign Assistance

Head: Marcela Zubrická, tel. 59582334, mzubricka@mssr.sk

Department for International Finance and Economic Organizations

Director: Katarína Kováčová, tel. 59582308, kkovacova@mssr.sk

Division of Bilateral Relations

head: Ujlakyová Andrea, tel. 59582337, aujlakyova@mssr.sk

Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic

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fax: 02 54 41 9671
www.culture.gov.sk

Section for International Co-operation

Director General: Božena Krížiková (temporarily in charge), tel.: 59391431, sms@culture.gov.sk

Section for minority cultures

Director General: Gabriela Jarábiková, tel. 59391444, smk@culture.gov.sk

House of Foreign Slovaks

Jakubovo nám. 12, 810 00 Bratislava 1

tel.: 02 57 26 3102

fax. 02 52 93 1829

www.dzs.sk

Director: Karol Palkovič, tel. 52931559, palkovic@dzs.sk

Ministry of Administration and Privatisation of the National Property of the Slovak Republic

Drieňová 24, 820 09 Bratislava

tel.: 02 43 33 1090

fax: 02 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 of the Slovak Republic

Limbová 2, 837 52 Bratislava 37

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fax: 02 54 77 7983

www.health.gov.sk

Department of Foreign Affairs and European Integration

Director in Charge: Michal Ondrejčák, tel. 59373113, michal.ondrejcak@health.gov.sk

Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic

Špitálska 4-6, 816 43 Bratislava

tel.: 02 59 75 1111

www.employment.gov.sk

Section for International Relations

Director General: Igor Kosír, tel. 59752215, kosir@employment.gov.sk

Department for Foreign Affairs and Protocol

Director: Vladimír Gráf, tel. 59752415, graf@employment.gov.sk

Department of European Integration

Director: Ľubica Gajdošová, tel. 59752210, gajdosova@employment.gov.sk

Department for PHARE and other Foreign Assistance

Director: Elena Globanová, tel. 59752216, globanova@employment.gov.sk

International Centre for Family Studies

Drotárska cesta, 811 04 Bratislava

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Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic

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www.education.gov.sk

Section for International Co-operation and European Integration

Director General: Juraj Kalnický, tel. 69202216, kalnickyy@education.gov.sk

Department of Foreign Affairs

Director: Dagmar Hupková, tel. 69202224, dhupkova@education.gov.sk

Department of European Integration and Multilateral Co-operation

Director: Vladimír Belovič, tel. 69202222, belovic@education.gov.sk

Section of Science and Technology

Department for International Science-Technical Co-operation

Director: Dušan Valachovič, tel. 69202214, valachov@education.gov.sk

Ministry of Justice of the Slovak Republic

Župné námestie 13, 813 11 Bratislava

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www.justice.gov.sk

Section for International Law and European Integration

Director General: Peter Báňas, tel. 59353248, smp@gratex.sk

Department of International Law and Private Legal Relation with Abroad

Director: Miloš Haťapka, tel. 59353349

Department of Foreign Relations and Human Rights

Director: Eva Rupcová, tel. 59353187, rupcova@justice.gov.sk

Department of European Integration

Director: Branislav Boháčik, tel. 59353186, bohacik@justice.gov.sk

Ministry of Environment of the Slovak Republic

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www.lifeenv.gov.sk

Section for European Integration and International Co-operation

Director General: Kamil Vilinovič, tel. 59562459, kovarikova.alena@lifeenv.gov.sk

Ministry of Soil Management of the Slovak Republic

Dobrovičova 12, 812 66 Bratislava

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fax: 02 52 96 8510

www.mpsr.sk

Section for European Integration, Structural Policy and Countryside Development

Director General: Ľubomír Miček, tel. 529656134, micek@land.gov.sk

Department of European Integration

Director: Ján Husárik, tel. 59266281, husarikj@mps.sanet.sk

Ministry of Transport, Post Offices and Telecommunication of the Slovak Republic

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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

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fax: 02 52 93 1203

www.build.gov.sk

Section for Regional Policy

Director General: Zsolt Lukáč, tel. 59753816, parizkova@build.gov.sk

Department of European Integration and Regional Development Strategy

Director: Štefan Sopko, tel. 59753818, nemcakova@build.gov.sk

Supreme Control Office of the Slovak Republic

Priemyselná 2, 824 73 Bratislava

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Drieňová 24, 826 03 Bratislava

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fax: 02 43 33 3572

www.antimon.gov.sk

Department of Legislation and Law and European Integration

Director: Katarína Fodorová, tel. 48297363, fodorova@antimon.gov.sk

Statistical office of the Slovak Republic

Miletičova 3, 824 67 Bratislava

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www.statistics.sk

Department of European Integration and International Co-operation

Director: Magdaléna Holubová, tel. 50236330, magdalena.holubova@statistics.sk

List of the Embassies of the EU, NATO and Some Other Countries

February 2002

Country	Start of Diplomatic Relations	Address of Embassy	In charge of Embassy (LoC - Letter of Credence)
The Republic of Angola	30/09/93	Mudroňova 47 811 03 Bratislava 1	Manuel Quarta "Punza" <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 18 June 1987
The Kingdom of Belgium	01/01/93	Fraňa Kráľa 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	François del Marmol <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 30 September 1999
The Republic of Bulgaria	01/01/93	Kuzmányho 1 811 06 Bratislava 1	Jani Milčakov <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 16 September 1998
The Czech Republic	01/01/93	Hviezdoslavovo nám. 8 P.O.Box 208 810 00 Bratislava 1	Rudolf Slánský <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 15 January 1997
The People's Republic of China	01/01/93	Údolná 7 811 02 Bratislava 1	Yuan Guisen <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 9 December 1999
The Kingdom of Denmark	01/01/93	Maltezián square 5 P.O.Box 25 118 01 Praha 1	Ulrik Helweg-Larsen <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 30 September 1999
The Arab Republic of Egypt	01/01/93	Ferienčikova 14 P.O. Box 322 814 99 Bratislava	Mohamed Hussein A. Abdelghani <i>attaché /administrative affairs/</i>
The Republic of Finland	01/01/93	Gonzagagasse 16 A-1010 Vienna	Tom Carl Ernst Grönberg <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> agr.: 26 January 2001
The Republic of France	01/01/93	Hlavné námestie 7 P.O.Box 152, 810 00 Bratislava 1 812 83 Bratislava 1	Georges Vaugier <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 14 October 1999
The Hellenic Republic	01/01/93	Hlavné námestie 4 811 01 Bratislava 1	Efstathios Daras <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 18 January 2002
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	01/01/93	Fraňa Kráľa 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	Henk Jacob Willem Soeters <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 16 September 1998
The Republic of Croatia	01/01/93	Mišikova 21 811 06 Bratislava 1	Davor Vidiš <i>chargé d'affaires a. i.</i>
The Republic of India	01/01/93	Radlinského 2 811 02 Bratislava 1	Upendra Chandra Baro <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 1 February 2001
The Republic of Indonesia	01/01/93	Mudroňova 51 811 03 Bratislava 1	Malikus Suamin <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 27 April 1999

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic

Ireland	01/01/93	Obchodné centrum Nám. 1. mája 11 811 06 Bratislava	Thomas Lyons <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 5 December 2001
Japan	01/01/93	Hlavné nám. 2 811 01 Bratislava	Toshiro Araki <i>counsellor</i>
Canada	01/01/93	Mickiewiczova 6 125 33 Praha 6	Margaret Huber <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 7 December 2000
The Republic of Cuba	01/01/93	Somolíckého 1/A 811 05 Bratislava 1	Adelaida Serviat Peña <i>chargé d'affaires a. i.</i>
Luxemburg	01/01/93	Sternwartestrasse 81 A-1180 Viedeň	Jacques Reuter <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 22 July 1999
The Republic of Hungary	01/01/93	Sedlárska 3 814 25 Bratislava 1	Miklós Boros <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 16 March 1999
The Kingdom of Norway	01/01/93	Reisnerstrasse 55/57 A-1030 Viedeň	Helga Hernes <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 17 December 1998
The Republic of Poland	01/01/93	Hummelova 4 811 03 Bratislava 1	Jan Komornicki <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 17 April 1997
The Republic of Portugal	01/01/93	Opernring 3/1/1 A-1010 Vienna	Carlos Neves Ferreira <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> agr.: 23 January 2001
The Republic of Austria	01/01/93	Ventúrska 10 811 01 Bratislava 1	Martin Bolldorf <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 18 January 2002
Romania	01/01/93	Fraňa Kráľa 11 811 05 Bratislava 1	Gheorghe Dinică <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 28 August 1997
Russian Federation	01/01/93	Godrova 4 811 06 Bratislava 1	Alexander Georgijevič Akseňonok <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 17 December 1998
The Republic of Slovenia	01/01/93	Moyzesova 4 813 15 Bratislava 1	Ada Filip Slivnik <i>mimoriadna a sLoCnomocnená veľvyslankyňa</i> LoC: 7 September 2000
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	01/01/93	Panská 16 811 01 Bratislava 1	Damien Roderic Todd <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 5 December 2001
The United States of America	01/01/93	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 5 811 02 Bratislava 1	Ronald Weiser <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 5 December 2001
The Federal Republic of Germany	01/01/93	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 10 811 02 Bratislava 1	Frank Lambach <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 20 January 2000
The Holy See	01/01/93	Nekrasovova 17 811 04 Bratislava 1	Josef Nowacki <i>apostolic nunciatus</i> LoC: 10 May 2001

The Kingdom of Spain	01/01/93	Prepoštská 10 811 01 Bratislava 1	Estanislao de Grandes Pascual <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 16 April 1998
Swiss Confederation	01/01/93	Tolstého 9 811 06 Bratislava 1	Thomas Wernly <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 9 December 1999
The Kingdom of Sweden	01/01/93	Úvoz 13 P.O.Box 35 160 12 Praha 612	Harald Fälth <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 5 December 2001
The Republic of Italy	01/01/93	Červeňova 19 811 03 Bratislava 1	Luca Del Balzo di Presenzano <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> agr.: 7 December 2000
The Republic of Turkey	01/01/93	Holubyho 11 811 03 Bratislava 1	Inci Tümay <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 26 September 2000
Ukraine	01/01/93	Radvanská 35 811 01 Bratislava 1	Jurij Olexandrovyč Rylač <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 9 February 1999
The Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahyria	01/01/93	Rérová 45 811 02 Bratislava 1	Ibrahim B. Dredi <i>chargé d'affaires</i>
The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	01/01/93	Búdkova 38 811 04 Bratislava 1	Miroslav Kopečni <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 15 February 2001
Sovereign Order of Maltezians Knights	01/01/93	Na Vřšku 8 811 01 Bratislava 1	Helmut Liedermann <i>extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador</i> LoC: 22 July 1993
European Commision Delegation		Panská 3 810 11 Bratislava	Eric van der Linden <i>ambassador of the EC in SR</i>

List of Embassies of the Slovak Republic

Embassy	Country	In charge of the embassy
Abu Dhabi	United Arab Emirates	<i>Peter Zsoldos, ambassador</i>
Alger	The Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria	<i>Ján Dömök, CDA</i>
Ankara	The Republic of Turkey	<i>Ján Lišuch, ambassador</i>
Athens	The Hellenic Republic	<i>Milan Dubček, ambassador</i>
Baghdad	The Republic of Iraq	<i>Ing. Jaroslav Čaniga, CDA</i>
Bangkok	The Kingdom of Thailand	<i>Marián Tomášik, ambassador</i>
Beograd	The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	<i>Miroslav Lajčák, ambassador</i>
Berlin	The Federal Republic of Germany	<i>Ján Foltín, ambassador</i>
Bern	Swiss Confederation	<i>Juraj Hraško, ambassador</i>
Brasília	The Federal Republic of Brazil	<i>Jozef Adamec, ambassador</i>
Brussels	The Kingdom of Belgium	<i>František Lipka, ambassador</i>
Budapest	The Republic of Hungary	<i>Štefan Markuš, ambassador</i>
Buenos Aires	The Republic of Argentina	<i>Ján Jurišta, ambassador</i>
Bucharest	Romania	<i>Peter Kopecký, ambassador</i>
Canberra	The Commonwealth of Australia	<i>Anna Tureničová, ambassador</i>
Damask	The Syrian Arab Republic	<i>Ivan Zachar, ambassador</i>
Den Haag	The Kingdom of the Netherlands	<i>Ján Kuderjavý, ambassador</i>
New Delhi	The Republic of India	<i>Ladislav Volko, ambassador</i>
Dublin	Ireland	<i>Marcel Peško, CDA</i>
Hanoi	The Socialist Republic of Vietnam	<i>Anton Hajduk, ambassador</i>
Harare	The Republic of Zimbabwe	<i>Ján Valko, ambassador</i>
Havana	The Republic of Cuba	<i>Ivan Puškáč, ambassador</i>
Helsinki	The Republic of Finland	<i>Emil Kuchár, ambassador</i>
Jakarta	The Republic of Indonesia	<i>Milan Lajčiak, ambassador</i>
Cairo	The Arab Republic of Egypt	<i>Žigmund Bertók, CDA</i>
Copenhagen	The Kingdom of Denmark	<i>Roman Bužek, ambassador</i>
Kuala Lumpur	Malaysia	<i>Pavol Svetík, CDA</i>
Kiev	Ukraine	<i>Vasil Grivna, ambassador</i>
Lagos	The Federal Republic of Nigeria	<i>Vasil Hudák, CDA</i>
Lima	The Republic of Peru	<i>Marián Masarik, ambassador</i>
Lisbon	The Republic of Portugal	<i>Peter Rusiňák, ambassador</i>
London	The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	<i>František Dlhopolček, ambassador</i>
Ljubljana	The Republic of Slovenia	<i>Milan Tokár, ambassador</i>
Madrid	The Kingdom of Spain	<i>Ján Voderadský, ambassador</i>

Mexico D.F.	The United Mexican States	<i>Branislav Hitka, ambassador</i>
Minsk	The Republic of Belarus	<i>Jozef Božek, ambassador</i>
Moscow	The Russian Federation	<i>Igor Furdík, ambassador</i>
Nairobi	The Republic of Kenya	<i>Stefan Morávek, ambassador</i>
Nicosia	The Republic of Cyprus	<i>Dušan Rozbora, ambassador</i>
Oslo	The Kingdom of Norway	<i>Andrej Sokolík, ambassador</i>
Ottawa	Canada	<i>Miroslav Mikolášik, ambassador</i>
Paris	The Republic of France	<i>Mária Krasnohorská, ambassador</i>
Beijing	The People's Republic of China	<i>Peter Paulen, ambassador</i>
Prague	The Czech Republic	<i>Ladislav Ballek, ambassador</i>
Pretoria	The Republic of South Africa	<i>František Hudák, ambassador</i>
Riga	The Republic of Latvia	<i>Jozef Dravecký, ambassador</i>
Rome	The Republic of Italy	<i>Jozef Mikloško, ambassador</i>
Santiago de Chile	The Republic of Chile	<i>Pavol Šípka, ambassador</i>
Sofia	The Republic of Bulgaria	<i>Ján Kováč, ambassador</i>
Soul	The Republic of Korea	<i>Peter Sopko, ambassador</i>
Stockholm	The Kingdom of Sweden	<i>Teodora Chmelová, ambassador</i>
Tashkent	The Republic of Uzbekistan	<i>Peter Juza, CDA</i>
Tehran	The Islamic Republic of Iran	<i>Vladimír Lomen, ambassador</i>
Tel Aviv	The State of Israel	<i>Ján Bratko, ambassador</i>
Tokyo	Japan	<i>Július Hauser, ambassador</i>
Tripoli	The Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahyria	<i>Ján Bóry, ambassador</i>
Warsaw	The Republic of Poland	<i>Magdaléna Vášáryová, ambassador</i>
Vatican City	The Holy See	<i>Marián Servátka, ambassador</i>
Vienna	The Republic of Austria	<i>Lubor Bystrický, ambassador</i>
Washington	The United States of America	<i>Martin Bútora, ambassador</i>
Zagreb	The Republic of Croatia	<i>Ján Petřík, ambassador</i>

Permanent Missions

Permanent mission	Organisation	Head of the mission
M Brussels	European Communities	<i>Juraj Migaš</i>
M Brussels	NATO	<i>Peter Burian</i>
PM New York	UN	<i>Peter Tomka</i>
PM Geneva	UN	<i>Kálmán Petöcz</i>
PM Strasburg	Council of Europe	<i>Eva Garajová</i>
PM Paris	OECD	<i>Dušan Bella</i>
PM Vienna	OSCE	<i>Anton Pinter</i>
PM Vienna	UN	<i>Alojz Némethy</i>

Consulates General

Country	Name and address of the Consulate General of the SR	Consul General
The Republic of Hungary	Consulate General Békešská Čaba, Derkovits sor 7, 5600, Békeš Csaba	<i>Štefan Daňo</i>
The Republic of Turkey	Consulate General Istanbul, Aci Su Sokak, Arzu Ap. No. 15/3,7 806 80 Macka, Istanbul	<i>Ivan Šveda</i>
The Czech Republic	Consulate General Brno, Vodová ul. 10 612 00 Brno	<i>Katarína Smékalová</i>
The Federal Republic of Germany	Consulate General Mníchov, Vollmannstrasse 25 d. 819 25 Munich	<i>František Zemanovič</i>
Ukraine	Consulate General Užhorod, Lokoty 4 880 17 Uzhorod	<i>Igor Bartho</i>
Russian Federation	Consulate General Sankt - Peterburg, ul. Orbeli č. 21/2 194 223 Sankt Peterburg	<i>Augustín Čisár</i>

Slovak Institutes

Názov	Stát	Adresa
Slovak Institute Prague	The Czech Republic	<i>Purkyňova 4/53, P.O. Box 635, 111 21 Praha 1</i>
Slovak Institute Budapest	The Republic of Hungary	<i>Rákóczi út. 15, H-1088 Budapest</i>
Slovak Institute Warsaw	The Republic of Poland	<i>ul. Krzywe Kolo 12/14a, PL-00 270 Warszawa</i>
Slovak Institute Vienna	The Republic of Austria	<i>Wipplingerstrasse 24-26A-1010 Wien</i>
Slovak Institute Moscow	Russian Federation	<i>ul. J. Fučíka 17/19RF-123 056 Moscow D-47</i>
Slovak Institute Berlin	The Federal Republic of Germany	<i>Zimmerstrasse 27D-10117 Berlin</i>
Slovak Institute Rome	The Republic of Italy	<i>Via dei Colli della Farnesina 144I-00194 Roma</i>
Slovak Institute Paris	The Republic of France	<i>125, rue de RanelaghF-75016 Paris</i>



Editorial Commentary

Background materials for annexes (Main Activities of the Slovak Republic in Foreign Policy in 2001, List of Treaties and Agreements Concluded by the Slovak Republic in 2001, List of Embassies and Other Representation Offices of the Slovak Republic, Slovak Institutes in Abroad, Permanent Missions, General Consulates and Embassies in the Slovak Republic) were provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

In the text of Annexes names of states, international organisations and other institutions are given in their shortened versions and instead of full names only first names initials and surnames are used noting extend of annexes.

Importance of an individual event for the Slovak foreign policy was the main criterion for selection of records in chronology of foreign policy activities of the SR.

Editors

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