



**YEARBOOK  
OF SLOVAKIA'S  
FOREIGN POLICY  
2007**

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**RESEARCH CENTER  
OF THE SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION**

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BRATISLAVA 2008

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FIRST EDITION, NUMBER OF PAGES 196.

PRINTED BY  
ACADEMIC ELECTRONIC PRESS, S.R.O.

THE PUBLICATION IS PUBLISHED IN COOPERATION AND WITH THE KIND SUP-  
PORT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC.

THE OPINIONS, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OR RECOMMENDATIONS EX-  
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ISBN 978-80-89356-03-4

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# FOREWORD

The Yearbook of Slovakia's Foreign Policy is a unique project which has for the past nine years been, we hope that successfully, contributing to the development of the tradition of the regular evaluation and analysis of the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic in the given year and supporting the cultivation of the foreign policy debate. This publication represents a significant and at the same time the only book source keeping record of the development of Slovakia's foreign policy and the discussion on its further direction.

The foreign policy of every country needs to build its own traditions especially in the case of a young state such as the Slovak Republic. Should the foreign policy be successful it must have its own form, its own language and its own institutions. In this sense under the term institutions it is necessary to comprehend not only the buildings of state bodies which are occupied by those who are responsible for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. In a democratic state the public discussion is a part of the formulation of all public policies and foreign policy is not an exception. It is very important that public discussion gains institutional forms which become a tradition because without traditions there is no continuity and the absence of continuity means the repetition of old mistakes and always starting from point zero. In other words tradition is institutionalized memory. New knowledge is impossible without memory and without knowledge there can be no good political decisions. That is why traditions are so important especially in an area such as the foreign policy of a state.

In this context it is possible to see the exceptionality of this publication as a 'tradition' as well as its specific position in the public debate on Slovakia's foreign policy. It is a unique forum primarily dedicated to Slovakia's foreign policy which provides space for those who bear the responsibility for the realization of the foreign policy of this country and those who are not indifferent to Slovakia's foreign policy. The Yearbook serves for the exchange of opinions, knowledge, experience, positions and arguments with the goal of improving the quality of decisions in the area of foreign policy to best serve the interests of this country. We are convinced that it is very important to regularly evaluate the state of Slovakia's foreign policy, which crucial events occurred in the past year and what challenges stand before the Slovak Republic in the near future. These were the main goals and intentions of the previous Yearbook editions; we prepared this year's edition with identical objectives and we believe that we will do the same in the following years.

The 2007 Yearbook evaluates the year of our foreign policy in the traditional structure. It analyzes Slovakia's operation in the international environment, the realization of the priority areas of our foreign policy as well as the effectiveness of the instruments of its implementation. The introductory contribution of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic is however an exception compared to previous years. It summarizes and evaluates the foreign policy of the past 12 months from the viewpoint of the person bearing the responsibility for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy throughout the electoral term. This text thematically corresponds to individual chapters in the Yearbook which gives the reader the unique opportunity of seeing the same issue from two different angles.

The expert section of the Yearbook is opened by the contribution of Vladimír Bilčík from the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association who focuses on the process of the completion of the integration process as well as the challenge of the active contribution to the formation of the future EU which stands before the SR in the upcoming period. Our Permanent Representative to the UN Peter Burian evaluated the goals and conditions of our operation in the UN Security Council, analyzed threats and their solutions and didn't leave out a thorough analysis of our February presidency. Tomáš Valášek, the Director of Foreign Policy and Defense at the Centre for European Reform in London, concluded the first chapter with his view of the Slovak security policy and our operation in foreign missions.

The second section of the Yearbook devoted to the priority areas of our foreign policy is opened by the article of the High Representative of the International Community for Bosnia and Herzegovina and EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Miroslav Lajčák. In his contribution on Slovak policy in the Western Balkans he instigates a reflection upon how most of all the EU but also NATO could strengthen our positions and how to maintain our long-term specialization on this agenda. Tomáš Strážay, RC SFPA analyst, focused his attention on the successes and some problematic areas of the cooperation of V4 countries as well as to the resolutions which they were not able to fulfill but which could increase the significance and effectiveness of the V4 in the near future. Alexander Duleba, RC SFPA Director and Head of the East European research program, attempted to evaluate the development of the political and economic agenda of Slovak relations with its eastern partners in the year 2007 including the fulfillment of the new foreign policy priority – the economic dimension of Slovak diplomacy. The contribution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR to external energy security was addressed in the article of Ján Šoth, the Director of the Analyses and Policy Planning Department and the Head of the Standing Work Group on External Energy Security.

The concluding part of the expert section which is devoted to the institutional background and foreign policy instruments is opened by the contribution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secretary General Marcel Peško on the modernization of the Slovak Foreign Service and the future character of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. The representatives of the Slovak Non-Governmental Development Platform Eva Havelková and Nora Beňáková focused on the functioning of presumably the most important bilateral instrument of the Slovak foreign policy in the year 2007 – development assistance. The authors offered their view of the institutional and legislative changes in the Slovak ODA and tried to compare the territorial and sector objectives of bilateral projects in the periods before and after the realization of said changes. The expert segment of the Yearbook is closed by the contribution of the Director of the International Economic Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Jaroslav Chlebo which is devoted to the possibly most frequently cited collocation in this electoral term – the economic dimension of diplomacy.

The expert section is traditionally supplemented by annexes such as the chronology of the most important foreign policy events, chosen political documents, a list of international treaties, information on the structure and representatives of state administrative bodies operating in foreign policy, a list of diplomatic missions and representatives of the SR abroad, SR diplomatic bodies, military missions abroad etc.

We firmly believe that also this year's Yearbook edition will find its readers and serve to all those who are interested in the past, present and future of Slovakia as well as its foreign policy. In conclusion we would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR for its cooperation in this project and its support as well as for the fact that, also thanks to this institution, we can continue in building this much needed tradition.

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# SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN 2007 AS SEEN BY THE SLOVAK FOREIGN MINISTER

JÁN KUBIŠ

The year 2007 was the fifteenth year of Slovakia's independence. In that time the Slovak Republic has transformed from a country striving to strengthen its identity and prove itself, building administrative capacities and its position in international relations almost from zero – to a country which is firmly anchored in reliable and secure integration structures of the world and active in the most significant relations of international events. Although Slovakia is not a great power, in its own way it managed to create adequate conditions for the promotion of its interests as well as unambiguously and consistently to operate in favor of the international community while applying the principles of democracy, humanity and solidarity in the fight for human rights and against poverty and other global threats. Although this road was not straight and smooth all the way, during the 15 years the development towards the clearly set integration goals gained momentum and in a relatively short period of time Slovakia was able to achieve strategically significant progress in its international political position.

The Slovak Republic was able to gain full-fledged membership among the states of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and prove its commitment to common values and determination to act with the knowledge of its shared responsibility for peace on the European continent and in the world. Such continuity has been undertaken and implemented by the current Slovak Government which considers as its higher political imperative the promotion of value-oriented foreign policy based on the respect for democratic principles, the rule of law and good governance, the respect for human rights, support of sustainable development and social solidarity.

For Slovak foreign policy 2007 was a successful year. The prestige of the Slovak Republic has been strengthened. We demonstrated that we are able to defend our interests as well as our positive image and that we also have an adequate influence on regional development. What is behind such an evaluation? It is mainly a result of

Slovakia's very highly regarded and successful conduct in the UN Security Council as well as our activities in the EU, NATO and the Council of Europe. We have a lot of reasons to be proud that the year 2007 was a year of successes some of which will certainly remain engraved in the records of the Slovak diplomatic service.

The fulfillment of a country's foreign policy goals is always a result of the effect of many important factors, the most significant factor being the synergy of the foreign policy activities of the highest constitutional actors. Besides standard interactive activities with our closest partners in the EU and NATO in the year 2007 Slovakia's highest representatives focused on official and working meetings with high-ranking representatives of those countries which represent some special economic interest for Slovakia. Among there can certainly be included meetings with representatives of the Czech Republic, Austria, Russia, Ukraine, China, Israel, Libya, Kazakhstan and other states.

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*We have a lot of reasons to be proud that the year 2007 has been a year of successes some of which will certainly remain engraved in the records of the Slovak diplomatic service.*

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The state visit of the Dutch Queen Beatrix to Slovakia in May 2007, the official visits of the President of the SR Ivan Gašparovič to Italy in February, to Ireland in March, to the Kingdom of Spain in October 2007, his speech at the UN General assembly as well as his support to the East European countries within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy (for example the historically first official visit of the Slovak President to Moldova in June 2007) were an integral part of the Slovak President's contribution to the solid basis

of Slovakia's international position in the past year.

The Conference of the Speakers of EU Parliaments which took place in May 2007 in Bratislava and was attended by top representatives of the legislative bodies of EU member countries was a unique contribution to the strengthening of Slovakia's position as one of the actors in the European arena. The conference focused mainly on the theme of institutional reform and the system of EU functioning in the future. It thus helped in significantly strengthening the foreign policy position of the SR through the parliamentary dimension.

The consistent and transparent position of the Government of the SR and most of all its Prime Minister in the formulation of the *Treaty of Lisbon* text during the German and Portuguese presidency played an important role in the process of adaptation of the EU institutional reform. The personal involvement of the Prime Minister Robert Fico was also visible during the preparation and throughout the course of the highly valued Bratislava Conference *The Vision of Europe in the World of Tomorrow*, which was held on October 15, 2007. The Prime Minister's negotiations with foreign partners provided new impulses; for example in France in October 2007 after talks with the new French President Nicolas Sarkozy the Prime Minister arranged new frameworks of mutual cooperation, in Lisbon in relation to preparations for the adoption of the common Euro currency by Slovakia, with the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel and the Prime Minister of Luxembourg Jean-Claude Juncker during the October European Council, with the Prime Minister of Portugal José Sócrates in June and the Prime Minister of Italy Romano Prodi in July in Bratislava.



The diverse mosaic of foreign policy activities of the Government of the SR in 2007 is supplemented by the contributions of other organs of the Slovak state administration which are considered to be very important by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. Very good results were achieved in those cases where the MFA and its partners maintained intensive constructive cooperation and meaningful communication.

The successful completion of the historically first elected membership in the UN SC was undeniably one of the performance peaks of Slovakia's foreign policy in the past year. For its consistent and balanced approach as well as the adequate setting of priority issues Slovakia earned open appreciation from its partners. The assessment that Slovakia has set a high standard for the operation of a small country in the position of a non-permanent member of the Security Council sounded very encouraging. The culmination point of our membership in the SC was marked by our presidency in February 2007 during which we promoted our key horizontal agenda – the Security sector reform whose central significance has also been confirmed by the report of the Secretary General of the UN. Through meticulous preparation in the previous period and work in the area of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction Slovakia proved its ability to manage the operation of this key UN body and its committees as well as elaborate new perspectives on the solution of problems. I personally highly value the excellent work of the Permanent Mission of the Slovak Republic in New York. Its performance represents a valuable and unique experience also for the fulfillment of future new tasks of the Slovak Foreign Service.

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In the year 2007 we celebrated the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the *Treaties of Rome*. Slovakia was one of the EU member countries which used this opportunity to overcome the stagnation of the Union's institutional reform. After the adoption of the *Berlin declaration*, under the German presidency, the June summit was finally able to achieve dramatic progress and establish the mandate of an intergovernmental conference during the Portuguese presidency. The basic position of the Slovak government at the intergovernmental conference respected the solution of the EU institutional reform approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic in the authorization of the text of the *Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe*. In the debate on the EU institutional reform Slovakia was persistent in adopting positions which stood on previously achieved agreements and which finally led to the Ceremony of the signature of the *Treaty of Lisbon* on December 13, 2007.

I am deeply satisfied by the fact that on April 10, 2008 the National Council of the Slovak Republic ratified the *Treaty of Lisbon* and that the President of the Republic consequently approved it by his signature. Slovakia thus proves that it belongs among those countries which support the deepening of the internal integration of the European Union as well as its simultaneous enlargement and the growth of its influence in the world.

Assuming the Chairmanship in the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in November 2007 offered Slovakia a chance to deepen further its influence on the development of various European issues and Slovakia seized this opportunity. Through priorities of our chairmanship we directed the attention of member states to the increased effectiveness of the organization's operation and to issues which also represent the fundamental interest of the SR such as for example the position and problems of the Roma minority in Europe.

The year 2007 brought the historical enlargement of the Schengen area to 9 new EU member countries including Slovakia. For Slovakia the historical and political significance of this event greatly surpasses the technical and security aspects of the accession. This is due to the fact that it contains a strong political message on the trustworthiness of a member country and its ability to share responsibility. Its potential and positive consequences for the development of civil freedoms and the economic

activities of Slovak citizens as well as those of our partners in the EU are also undeniable.

In the year 2007 Slovakia was one of the leaders of the discussion on the use and security of nuclear energy within the Union. The Prime Minister of the SR significantly contributed to Slovakia's acquisition of the European Nuclear Forum seat and the launch of its operation. It is the first seat of an EU institution in Slovakia. The timing of this step is also significant – the issue of the peaceful utilization of nuclear materials is rising in importance in the

time of growing anxiety of global energy shortages and negative impacts of climate change. Two member countries – Slovakia and the Czech Republic – have agreed on the establishment of a joint seat of this institution which is a unique fact and should not be overlooked. We perceive this fact as a positive 'certificate' on the ability of Slovakia to create and maintain good neighborly relations.

In the past year we strived to maintain systematically and pragmatically as well as to develop correctly and broadly relations with our neighbors – this is a permanent part of our foreign policy priorities. We continue to maintain above standard relations on all levels with the Czech Republic. Our mutual cooperation certainly fulfills the European standards of neighborhood cooperation – it continues to be an example of intensive communication, effective cooperation and mutual partner support. Relations with our other neighbors – Poland, Austria, Hungary and Ukraine – are balanced, complex and well-wishing. I would like to emphasize that this evaluation is also true for relations with Hungary because we oppose their reduction to two or three issues that are seen as sensitive or problematic from a political point of view, or by the media. We were also able to conduct a political dialogue with Hungary – on a parliamentary and governmental level. Mutual cooperation was supported by the meetings of the Prime Ministers of both countries who adopted the joint document *Common Past, Common Future*. We were also able to maintain a beneficial dialogue on all levels with

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our Ukrainian partners. We supported the fulfillment of the *EU-Ukraine Action Plan* through practical cooperation.

Central European regional cooperation had special significance to us. In this context I consider the performance of the Slovak Republic in the position of the presiding country of the Visegrad four (V4) during the first half of 2007 to be very positive. Following the previous period of doubts and a search for the new content of Visegrad Cooperation Slovakia was able to expand the activities of this grouping through agendas like Schengen, EU eastern policy, visa regimes and the issue of Kosovo. We also increased the external attractiveness of the V4 – the dialogues with the Baltic countries, Romania, Bulgaria and Japan all proved beneficial. The presidency culminated by the V4 Summit attended by the Prime Minister of Portugal, which at that time held the EU Presidency.

In the past year we strived to use intensive bilateral relations with EU countries and individual European policies mainly to increase the competitiveness of Slovakia in the strengthening of its socially oriented market economy. The entry into the Eurozone became our clear priority. We perceive the adoption of the euro as Slovakia's last step on its journey towards the complete integration into the European economic and monetary union. The past year also brought slight progress in the expansion of opportunities of Slovak citizens to work freely in the countries of the European Union when another two countries – the Netherlands and Luxembourg – decided to abolish restrictions on access to their labor markets.

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*In 2007 Portugal asked us to take over the EU presidency in Belarus in its name. Slovakia proved that it is able to effectively and with dignity represent the interests of the entire EU in the complex relations of the Union with this East European country.*

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The fact that Portugal asked us to exercise the EU presidency in Belarus on its behalf serves as an example of the good image Slovakia and its diplomacy have gained among EU partners. Slovakia and its diplomatic mission in Minsk have proven that the SR is capable of representing the interests of the entire EU effectively and with dignity in the complex relations of the Union with this East European country.

The USA represent a strategic partner for the Slovak Republic. In practice this is visible not only in our close cooperation within NATO and in security policy altogether but also in the dialogue between the EU and the USA on global challenges or in the joint effort to include Slovakia in the Visa Waiver Program. NATO remains the main guarantor of Euro-Atlantic security. Within the Alliance Slovakia has been a trustworthy partner and ally who responsibly fulfills his duties and operates actively in the structures and missions of the organization. The highly regarded operation of the Slovak Embassy in Kiev as the NATO Contact Point Embassy in Ukraine serves as a proof. Our priorities in NATO were mainly reflected in activities towards the improving flexibility of reactions to changes of the global security environment, to support of multifaceted cooperation between NATO and the EU, to the open door policy for the countries of the Western Balkans, Ukraine, Georgia, and particularly to participation in NATO military missions abroad – in Afghanistan and Kosovo.

Slovakia continued in its support of the operation International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan which was expressed by the transfer of a multifunctional engineer unit of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic (57 personnel) from the airport in Kabul to the Kandahar airport in the southern part of Afghanistan as well as by other contributions. On the initiative of the government the National Council of Slovakia approved further reinforcement of the AF SR participation in the ISAF operation during 2008. This will practically lead to the doubling of the number of AF SR members in the said operation to 115. This will also ensure the complexity of the AF SR contribution – a multifunctional engineering unit, a guard unit, provincial reconstruction teams, an operational training and communications team, a medical team and operation within the ISAF command. Through its participation in ISAF the SR is striving to maximize our potential of solidarity. The south of Afghanistan namely the Urugzhan province, where we are taking over the responsibility for the protection of the Tarin Kowt base under Dutch command has become the center of our operation.

The regions of the Western Balkans (Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Eastern Europe (Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus) have remained in the focus of foreign and security policy activities of the SR in the past year. We consider the appointing of the Slovak diplomat Miroslav Lajčák to the position of High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina to be a success of Slovak diplomacy. The issue of Kosovo which we had the opportunity to discuss several times in the National Council of the Slovak Republic certainly required our special attention. Slovakia did not join the majority of EU members that recognized the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo. We did not hide that we were not satisfied by unilateral solutions in such a delicate issue. For the moment we decided to closely observe further developments in Kosovo as well as the approach of the international community and contribute to the consolidation of security in the region through the reinforcement of our participation in the KFOR mission as well as by joining the EULEX mission.

In 2007 we strengthened Slovak-Russian relations in the economic area as well as political contacts in full accord with the EU policy which perceives Russia as its strategic partner. The SR supported the balanced implementation of the European policy of 4 common spaces with the Russian Federation and the adoption of a new EU-RF framework agreement. The number one interest of the SR in relation to the RF is to maintain Russia as a good European partner and ensure the energy security of Slovakia through reliable supplies of energy resources. We also intensively developed relations with the People's Republic of China.

The year 2007 was also a year of development in internal interagency cooperation. It was the interest in a more complex approach and more effective cooperation among ministries in the external energy security agenda of the SR that led us to the establishment of the Standing Working Group on external energy security whose operation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was initiated at the end of the summer of 2007.

The Ministry led an intensive dialogue and cooperated with the Slovak third sector organizations concerned with international relations and Slovakia's foreign policy. The expanding cooperation of the Ministry with the non-governmental sector was

reflected in the substantial increase of interest in the MFA SR grant system on the part of relevant non-governmental organizations.

The provision of development assistance has also been a reflection of Slovakia's recognition of its responsibility for a more positive global development including fight against poverty, observance of human rights and environment protection. The quality of this process should be improved by the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation which was established last year. In the year 2007 the total volume of provided assistance amounted to 1,7 billion SKK, however in order to fulfill our commitments with the expected growth of the gross national income – from 10 to 12% annually – it is necessary to reach the amount of more than 3,9 billion SKK by 2010. This means that although the volume of assistance is increasing it is stagnating in percentage terms to Slovakia's GDP. I appreciate encouraging words which have been spoken in the Parliament with a promise of support in the augmentation of budget resources for this area.

The international environment, in which the Foreign Service is operating, is evolving and growing in its complexity. In order to be able to generate and promote our ideas and interests in a globalizing world in the past year we commenced a review process of our internal working procedures. Our goal is to implement the results of this internal audit in the year 2008 and try new work and management approaches in the interest of increasing the overall professionalism of the foreign policy realization.

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*Slovakia's foreign policy has had a good year. Natural preconditions for positive continuity in the year 2008 have been established.*

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I do not want to omit either a rather less positive fact that we still lack a Foreign Service Act which would deal with the specifics of civil service at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are multiple open and practical questions many of which have significant impact on the everyday lives of entire families of our employees. The final draft of this act is almost complete and I believe that we will be able to adopt it in the near future according to the provisions of the *Government Manifesto*.

I also consider as still unsolved the issues of the unified Foreign Service, the deepening of the economic dimension of diplomacy and the improvement of Slovakia's presentation abroad. I truly wish that in the following period we will be able to find a solution with our partners from other ministries on how to improve the synergic operation of the employees of various ministries abroad to the benefit of the foreign policy and economic goals of the Slovak Republic.

Slovakia's foreign policy has had a good year. Natural preconditions for positive continuity in the year 2008 have been established. There are many challenges and the Slovak Foreign Service will address them professionally, prudently and with dignity.



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**I.** THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC  
IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

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# SLOVAKIA'S PRIORITIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

VLADIMÍR BILČÍK

In the period since the last parliamentary elections in the Slovak Republic, in 2006, we can identify two main trends in Slovakia's activities in the European Union (EU). First of all Slovakia is showing significant continuity in the fulfillment of integration priorities of the previous governmental coalition of Mikuláš Dzurinda. The governmental coalition of Prime Minister Robert Fico has focused on the successful finalization of Slovakia's full-fledged membership to the EU mainly through accession to the Schengen area and the Eurozone. Secondly, the current government has not introduced any new Slovak strategic priorities in the EU except for the activities of the European Nuclear Forum which the SR initiated in cooperation with the Czech Republic in 2007. Since the cabinet of Prime Minister Robert Fico assumed its mandate there has been tension in the area of Slovakia's external relations between the officially proclaimed foreign policy goals and the behavior of top political representatives on the Slovak domestic scene. The main role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR is often reduced to explaining the positions of the Prime Minister or the Chairmen of other coalition parties (SNS and ĽS-HZDS) instead of the real formulation and promotion of the foreign policy concept of the country. After years of fulfilling the letter of the *Treaty of Accession to the EU* the Slovak Republic now faces a period when it can contribute to the transformation of the EU according to its own interests. It remains an open question how well the country is prepared for this new role.

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This material has been supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract No. APVV-0660-06.

## INTEGRATION PRIORITIES<sup>1</sup>

The integration priorities of the SR are spelled out in the *Treaty of Accession to the EU* from 2003. The government of Robert Fico has brought Slovakia to its full-fledged EU membership despite initial doubts related specifically to the fiscal discipline of the current coalition. In its manifest from 2006 the current government coalition of the Slovak Republic declared that it will "closely co-ordinate its policies in the field of national economy, finance, budget, taxes, subsidies, prices, support of investments and in other economic fields with the monetary policy of the independent National Bank of Slovakia (NBS), with the objective to introduce the Euro on January 1, 2009". The first political steps of the government of Robert Fico at the end of the year 2006 however focused on increasing expenses in various forms, such as Christmas gifts for the retired. The government also adopted several changes in the tax area which were considered by the former Minister of Economy Ivan Mikloš as decisions which could deepen the budget deficit and jeopardize the adoption of the Euro in the year 2009.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the year 2007 the government headed by the Prime Minister R. Fico made evident efforts to fulfill the conditions for the successful adoption of the Euro. The Prime Minister presented the updated convergence program of the Slovak Republic to the European Commission on December 3-4, 2007 and stated that Slovakia's goal to "enter the Euro zone in 2009 is realistic and the government will do everything to make it happen"<sup>3</sup>. The Slovak Republic had no internal political problems with the adoption of the common currency. The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) is the only parliamentary party refusing the adoption of the Euro in 2009. KDH politicians argue that the SR should postpone Euro adoption to at least 2011 because Slovakia is currently prospering economically also due to the appreciation of the Slovak crown and the Euro will have a negative effect on the low-income segment of the society.

The adoption of the Euro by the SR got complicated in the beginning of the year 2008 by various interpretations of the fulfillment of Maastricht criteria which represent the basic condition for accession to the EU currency union. Skeptics, mainly from the European Commission (EC) which was preparing a report for member countries in 2008 with a recommendation to include the SR into the common currency zone, warned for example of the high inflation rate which appeared after the adoption of the Euro by Slovenia in 2007. On January 2008 the EC published an analysis of the Slovak convergence program which considered inflation growth to be the greatest risk to Bratislava. It also recommended stricter budgetary policy to the Government

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<sup>1</sup> The analysis concerned with the accession of the SR to the Eurozone and Schengen as well as the energy priorities of the country in the EU draws from V. Bilčík, "Slovenská republika a Európska únia", M. Bútora, M. Kollár, G. Mesežnikov (eds) *Slovensko 2007. Súhrnná správa o stave spoločnosti*. (Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs, 2008), pp. 361-373.

<sup>2</sup> ČTK (September 29, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> TASR (December 3, 2007).

of the Slovak Republic; the Government however argued that its savings within the budget were adequate. Despite various doubts on sustainable criteria fulfillment by Bratislava on May 7, 2008 the European Commission recommended the adoption of the Euro by the SR on January 1, 2009. The conclusions of the European Council from June 19-20, 2008 were the final formal confirmation of Slovakia's membership in the Eurozone. The conversion rate was set to 30,1260 Slovak crowns for 1 Euro on July 8, 2008.

After Slovenia, Slovakia will become the second post-communist country to adopt the common European currency. This fact opens the door for the admission of other Central and East European countries to the Eurozone because the potential disapproval of the EC towards the SR would most likely have meant a long-term 'stop' to the extension of the Euro to new member countries. On its journey to the adoption of the common currency the Slovak Republic created several precedents. Probably the most significant one is related to the strengthening of the domestic currency which revalued twice since entering the currency exchange mechanism ERM II on November 28, 2005. The value of the Slovak crown towards the Euro gradually grew by 27,6472% from this date.

Besides preparations for the adoption of the common currency, since the formation of the current government of Prime Minister Fico, the Slovak Republic successfully finished its integration into the Schengen area without border passport checks. Along with the other post-communist member countries of the EU the SR entered the Schengen area on December 21, 2007; airports and docks of the new Schengen area member countries were integrated into the common protection system of EU external borders on March 29, 2008.

The admission of the SR to the Schengen area was not automatic. In October 2007 an internal report of the Council warned of serious shortcomings in the readiness of new EU member states for the entry into Schengen. Slovakia's gravest problem was the issue of the protection of the future external EU border between Slovakia and Ukraine. Along with the encouraging conclusions of the European Commission evaluation report on the readiness of new member states to enter the Schengen area, which was officially presented at the EU Justice and Home Affairs Council meeting held on November 8-9, 2007, the change of the previously critical position of Austria was the dominant positive signal towards Slovakia's membership in Schengen. If the Austrian Minister of Interior Günter Platter had serious doubts about the readiness of the Slovak Republic before, his doubts were gradually dispersed and in June 2007 during his personal visit to the Slovak-Ukrainian border crossing in Vyšné Nemecké and the Slovak border police directorate in Sobrance the Austrian Minister of Interior stated that the Slovak Republic "fulfils all of the Schengen standards"<sup>4</sup>. Cooperation

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<sup>4</sup> *Sme* (October 12, 2007).

between the SR and Austria in enlarging the Schengen area resulted in the signing of a bilateral memorandum of understanding between the Ministries of Interior of both countries.

The Accession to the Schengen area integrated Slovakia into the Schengen Information System (SIS) which allows the security organs to access information on persons and items within the common Schengen database in every state of the Schengen regime. The SR has become an active user of data from other member countries as well a contributor to the formation of the SIS by providing police and judicial information as well as information on stolen vehicles or lost travel documents. For Slovak citizens the accession to the Schengen area means that they can freely cross borders between Schengen member states and freely move in the entire Schengen area. On the other hand, the strictness of border checks has been increased on the Slovak-Ukrainian border along which a new security system has been built to counter illegal migration. The Slovak Republic has commenced issuing standard Schengen visa which require a higher standard of technical equipment and pose new demands on the capacities of the Slovak consulates mainly those located in our largest neighbor – Ukraine. Schengen can thus slow down the development of cross-border cooperation between Slovakia and Ukraine. The approval of the National Council of the SR to the bilateral

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In the eyes of Slovakia's citizens the completion of the full-fledged membership of the SR in the EU still rests upon the abolition of restrictions for free movement of workers. In July 2008 four EU member countries still enforced transitional restrictions towards the SR – Germany, Austria, Belgium and Denmark while France abolished its restrictions just at the beginning of its EU presidency in the second half of 2008. Bratislava will strive to see these transitional periods abolished by May 2009 when the old EU member states have the last chance to extend the enforcement of restrictions up to the year 2011. Germany has already stated that it wishes to maintain the restrictions in force up to 2011.<sup>5</sup>

## NEW EUROPEAN THEMES

With the gradual integration of Slovakia into the EU the natural question of the country's own strategic priorities in the EU emerges. In general, the country has been promoting the principles of continued deepening and widening of the EU. It has joined the mainstream of countries which do not provoke fundamental discussion on the politi-

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<sup>5</sup> SITA (July 19, 2008).

cal and geographical limits of integration. The SR has supported further institutional reform while successfully ratifying the *Treaty of Lisbon* in the spring 2008. At the same time it supports the process of further EU enlargement particularly to the countries of the Western Balkans.<sup>6</sup> The Prime Minister Fico also expressed support for Turkey's ambitions to join the EU. At the meeting of the European Affairs Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic on December 11, 2006 he declared that "Slovakia supports Turkey's accession to the European Union. It will be a benefit for the Union as well as Turkey - economically, politically and strategically". Fico also added that Muslim Turkey cannot be disqualified from the accession process just because its majority religion is different than in the EU.<sup>7</sup>

The Slovak Republic has offered its most significant political contribution with the issue of energy security so far. Slovakia along with the Czech Republic initiated the first meeting of the European Nuclear Energy Forum which should regularly discuss the agenda of nuclear energy in the European Union. The first meeting of the European Nuclear Energy Forum was held in Bratislava on November 26-27, 2007. The participants of this meeting discussed the formulation of a European legislative and regulatory framework for the simplification of administration and the issue of permissions for the construction of new nuclear plants. According to Prime Minister Robert Fico "the Slovak Government wishes to continue in the construction of nuclear power plants". In addition to the finalization of the construction of the two blocs of the Mochovce nuclear power plant, the *Energy Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic* declares the intention of building a new nuclear power plant on the site of the shut down V1 nuclear power plant in Jaslovské Bohunice. Among the highest representatives of the member countries to attend the meeting of the European Nuclear Forum was besides Robert Fico the Prime Minister of the CR Mirek Topolánek who however did not perceive the purpose of the initiative unambiguously when he emphasized that: "This forum should not promote nuclear energy, it should search for arguments for and against it." The second meeting of the European Nuclear Forum was held in Prague on May 22-23, 2008.<sup>8</sup>

The Slovak Republic is searching for alternative sources of energy. After the planned closure of the nuclear power plant in Jaslovské Bohunice, which will be completed in 2010, the Slovak Republic will find itself in the position of a country which cannot satisfy its domestic demand for energy by domestic sources. However, Slovakia faces

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<sup>6</sup> The SR has not recognized the independent status of Kosovo so far.

<sup>7</sup> ČTK (December 11, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> For further details see: [http://ec.europa.eu/energy/nuclear/forum/bratislava\\_prague/2008\\_05\\_22/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/energy/nuclear/forum/bratislava_prague/2008_05_22/index_en.htm).

several restrictions in the search for alternatives including the national emissions limits for greenhouse gasses which are set by EU commitments in the fight against climate change. On February 7, 2007 the Government of the Slovak Republic filed its first ever complaint against the European Commission in relation to the allocated quota of 30,6 million tons of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent annually. The Slovak Republic initially demanded a national emissions limit of 41,1 million tons annually. In relation to the filed complaint Slovakia argues that the EC has no authority to decide on the manner of the national emissions quotas calculations because it belongs in the competences of the governments. The EC is said to have bypassed the consultation of its calculations with the Government of the Slovak Republic and to have neglected certain facts including the closing down of the nuclear power plant in Jaslovské Bohunice. The SR also argues that the lowered quota will have a negative impact on the economic growth and employment rate in Slovakia.

## STRATEGICALLY AND WITH(OUT) A CONCEPT

The European Union as an international organization represents an added value to the pursuit of interests of individual member countries especially in the realm of public policy where the state's capacities in promoting its own interests are limited. It is therefore natural that the SR is striving to find solutions to its energy needs within the EU. The priorities of EU member countries are not purposeless, they follow real interests. Slovakia's interest in the development of nuclear energy capacities is a consequence of the sense of insecurity caused by a possible lack of electric energy.

However, a sense of imminent danger cannot be the main driving force behind a successful promotion of Slovakia's priorities in the EU. The country needs a positive approach to its own priorities within the EU based on planning and analyses of long-term trends, which will present a complex view of the country's preferences in the European Union. In the time when Slovakia faces a new discussion on its own strategic priorities within the EU we can see that the political priorities of the SR are often defined *ad hoc* without a broader public and parliamentary debate.

Due to its obligatory character Slovakia's membership in the EU presents a very sensitive area for the formation of political preferences. The nature of Slovakia's priorities within the EU is closely linked to the method of their selection. The government and its departments are technically and politically responsible for the formulation of the country's positions in the European Union. At the same time the Constitutional Act No. 397/2004 of June 24, 2004 on the Cooperation of the National Council of the SR and the Government of the SR in European Union matters significantly improves the preconditions for a new balance in the legislative-executive relations.<sup>9</sup> However

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<sup>9</sup> For further details see: E. Láštík, "Get the Balance Right: Institutional Change in Slovakia during EU Accession and Membership", *Sociológia* 38 (6), (2006), pp. 533-545.



research and interviews conducted throughout 2007 with political and administrative actors concerned with Slovakia's membership in the EU suggested multiple limitations to the formulation of Slovakia's positions within the EU.<sup>10</sup>

The problem is that Slovakia's policy in the EU has very little in common with traditional foreign policy focused on issues of war and peace. The success of member states in promoting their interests within the European Union is in many ways dependent upon the ability of the domestic politics to search for solutions of seemingly internal problems on the EU level. In the case of the SR individual ministries differ in the implementation of their own mechanisms and coordination of working groups on European affairs as well as in the formulation of strategic documents on Slovakia's priorities within the EU. Research has demonstrated<sup>11</sup> that the activity of domestic ministries in EU agendas is higher in the cases of foreign affairs, economic policy or social issues as opposed to, for example, transportation issues. The Permanent Representation of the SR in Brussels in some cases substitutes a domestic ministry and often plays an important role in the formulation of Slovakia's priorities. However, such an approach lacks a broader concept due to the fact that the Permanent Representation of the SR to the EU can at best operatively react to European Commission proposals or the initiatives of other member countries but is unable to formulate strategic documents.

Another factor contributing to the current state is the quality and accessibility of human resources. The Slovak Republic has approximately three times fewer people working on European affairs in the ministries of central state administration than the neighboring Czech Republic or Hungary. The fact that the size of the population of these other two countries is nearly twice as large is practically irrelevant because the scope of the EC legislative proposals is the same for all countries. In some cases the operability of the ministry is weakened by the language skills of the experts at its disposal. This is most of all true in the case of more experienced and thus older administrative workers whose knowledge of the agenda and experience obtained through practical applications could provide a great added value to the defense of Slovakia's positions during negotiations of EU working groups. The lack of professional experience is also linked to the high fluctuation of employees due to low 'table (fixed) salaries'. Many departments are only capable of keeping an employee for a maximum of one year. These employees then leave for more interesting financial opportunities in the private sector.

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*The limited connection between domestic politics and the political community on the EU level has been a joint problem of the previous governmental coalition of Mikuláš Dzurinda and the current government of Robert Fico.*

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<sup>10</sup> The following analysis of the limitations in the formulation of Slovakia's positions in the EU draws from the research: V. Bilčík, A. Világi, "Fungovanie a koordinácia domácich inštitúcií SR v legislatívnom procese EÚ: stav, možnosti a odporúčania", (Bratislava: Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Mikuláš Dzurinda and the current government of Robert Fico. A specific communication system was established in the case of the 2002-2006 coalition providing a certain amount of predictability in the positions and behavior of the executive representatives. This fact was also related to the clearly defined priorities in the accession treaty. In the current governmental coalition of the Prime Minister Fico, the different rate of interest of individual ministers in the affairs and mechanisms of the European Union is influencing the ability of Slovakia to present and promote its own positions in the EU. This fact is already projected into the limited ability of the SR to elaborate its own strategies beyond the framework of the accession treaty.

Besides the executive, the impaired role of the National Council of the Slovak Republic (NC SR) in European affairs also presents a problem. Despite the legally strong position of the NC SR the role of the Parliament is restricted to discussing politically sensitive and attractive issues such as the accession talks with Turkey, sovereignty in tax

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policy or energy security. In the case of every day EU agenda the role of the Members of Parliament is marginal and the employees of the NC SR Office concerned with EU affairs are focused on the evaluation of the compatibility of Slovakia's positions with the positions of other member countries. This fact alone suggests that the NC SR has great potential for the formulation of strategic documents and transparent interests of the SR in the EU because these are the documents and interests which should serve as the basis for the evaluation of the quality

of a country's positions within the European Union. However the National Council lacks the administrative and expert capacities for a truly effective control function towards the executive or a real impact on the content of Slovakia's positions within the EU. The fulfillment of the Constitutional Act on the Cooperation of the NC SR and the Government of the SR in European Union matters so far has led to an increased exchange of information between both institutions while the flow of the information almost always has a single direction: from the government that initiates and decides to the parliament which takes note of the decisions.

After the successful accession to the Eurozone the SR needs its own strategic priorities in the EU. Their formulation is so far dependent upon the activity of individual ministers, the skill and willingness of the state administration and diplomats rather than on the conceptual approach of the country. The institution of the Ministerial Council of the Government of the SR for European Affairs established by the Government Decree No. 981 of December 14, 2005 is an example of unexploited opportunities. Under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of the SR the Ministerial Council of the Government of the SR for European Affairs should serve as a coordination, consultation and expert body of the Slovak Government for the activities of the SR in the EU. Based on the approved status it should thus formulate the main concepts and resolve disputable issues concerning the positions of the country in the EU. However the practical efficiency of this institu-



tion has been very low so far and the most significant internal conflicts regarding the positions of the SR in the EU were often solved in the last minutes by the coalition council or the NC SR.

In the time when the natural question on Slovakia's own strategic priorities within the EU beyond the existing integration or the utilization of resources from structural and cohesion funds emerges, the current government is still declaring the same fundamental priorities as the previous coalition of Prime Minister Dzurinda. The Prime Minister is interested in EU affairs especially in relation to short-term domestic issues of the SR. At the Summit of the European Council on June 19-20, 2008 the Prime Minister Fico expressed his disappointment in the fact that after the unsuccessful Irish referendum on the *Treaty of Lisbon* the leaders of the EU were still focused on institutional issues "which do not mean anything to the people" instead of addressing the problems of "unprecedented high prices of oil and groceries".<sup>12</sup> The Office of the Prime Minister thus does not represent a natural leader in the formulation and coordination of Slovakia's strategic concepts in the EU. The composition of the current coalition is another obstacle to an active policy of the SR in the EU when especially the statements of the Chairman of the SNS Ján Slota are transforming the Ministry of Foreign Affairs into an office which is overwhelmed by a need for repeated explanations of the statements and positions of the country's politicians in relation to EU partners. The space left for the conceptual work of Slovak diplomats within the EU is thus diminished. Bratislava still occupies the position of a student or spectator in the EU also due to its limited ability to promote its own staff into central positions in EU institutions. According to our diplomats the SR is currently fulfilling its administrative quotas up to about 60-70%.<sup>13</sup> If we add to this fact the absence of a political discussion on the priorities of the state within the EU, then there will be a real danger that after the adoption of the Euro the agenda of European integration becomes a secondary political affair. The Slovak Republic could thus shift from its current position of a successful student of European integration to a new position of a country that promotes its interests both late and without any concept.

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<sup>12</sup> TASR (June 20, 2008).

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# THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC'S PERFORMANCE IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL (2006-2007)

PETER BURIAN

Our membership in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) was a unique opportunity to show that the Slovak Republic is a responsible member of the international community capable of contributing to the resolution of both global and regional issues. It was historically the first membership of the independent Slovak Republic in the UNSC, which is generally considered the most effective instrument for dealing with the questions of international peace and security. Slovakia was thus given the historically first opportunity to assume an appropriate share of global responsibility and directly take part in the resolution of current security issues and challenges in the world and in the adoption of the relevant decisions of this body. In this spirit, we pursued the following basic objectives and principles during the UNSC membership:

- promotion of democratic values and rigorous application of the principles of international law with the goal of contributing to both the resolution of crisis situations in the world and to the effective operation of this UN body;
- reinforcement of the international standing of the SR as a country capable of contributing to the resolution of complex international problems;
- utilization of the SR's unique transition experience, Slovak diplomacy's expert potential, and comprehensive knowledge of certain regions to enrich the UNSC debate and to seek effective solutions intended to reinforce regional as well as global security and stability;
- rigorous defense of SR's interests and security priorities as laid down in *The Security Strategy of the SR*;

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- effective application of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU;
- active contribution to the effective operation of the UNSC and to the reinforcement of its transparency and openness, in particular towards other UN member states, including complex reform of the UNSC and the reform of its working methods.

I believe that the results we achieved while pursuing the afore-mentioned objectives, as well as the impression we have left behind in the UNSC thanks to the superior and responsible execution of our membership, fully reaffirm that we have handled the exceptionally demanding task very well. The experience and reputation our foreign service has gained during the Security Council membership needs to be utilized adequately in the upcoming years to further our standing on the international scene. One of the ways of achieving this is also building upon what we have started and accomplished in the Security Council.

## CONDITIONS AND INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND FOR OUR PERFORMANCE IN THE UNSC

The time when the Slovak Republic was entering the Security Council and operated in it as an elected member in 2006-2007 was marked by certain phenomena and factors which have to a great extent informed its activity and determined its agenda.

1. After a period of relative peace on the international scene in 2004-2005 and absence of a greater crisis of global nature, the Security Council started to recover from the 'post-Iraqi' trauma which had divided this body. There was a sensible endeavor of all members to overcome the division, turn the page, and, if possible, avoid similar situations in the future.

2. External pressure to reform the body started to grow stronger: from one side with the goal to strengthen the representativeness and legitimacy of its decisions, inter alia also by enlarging the Council with new permanent and non-permanent members, in particular countries of the Global South, new regional powers, and key contributors; from the other side through the reform of the Security Council's working methods, namely towards the reinforcement of the UNSC's openness and transparency (especially of its permanent members) vis-à-vis the other UN members. A new phenomenon was the unfolding dispute regarding the competences of the General Assembly and the Security Council demonstrated by certain non-members (mostly from the Non-Aligned Movement) blaming the Security Council that it starts to encroach the competences of other bodies and assumes certain functions that – according to the *Charter* – do not belong to it, especially in the legislative sphere. They referred mostly to certain UNSC resolutions in the field of fighting terrorism, but also a growing pressure from certain of its members to strengthen the Council's active role in conflict prevention and raising certain questions in the field of solving the new unconventional threats.

3. The Darfur conflict, which one group of analysts considers a result of the climate change and the commencing fight for life in Africa, another as the spread of a conflict

driven by Sudan's mineral resources, and the third as a dangerous ethnic clash of the Arab African North and the Black African South, started to demonstrate in an acute manner. In any case, we are dealing with an immense humanitarian calamity and a growing conflict with a dangerous regional impact. While solving it, the Security Council as well as the entire concept of the responsibility to protect<sup>1</sup> adopted by the UN summit in 2005, passes a difficult test.

4. The attempts of certain states (North Korea, Iran) to gain the capacity to produce a nuclear weapon, as well as the danger of the abuse of weapons of mass destruction by terrorist organizations.

These are only a few specific factors which accompanied our entry into the Security Council. In general, however, it can be argued that in the period of our membership the activity of the Security Council – also as an effect of these and other factors – exceptionally intensified and a series of whole new challenges started to show in their full extent; all that in the time when a lot of the old problems and conflicts remained unresolved.

## THE NEW AND RECURRENT THREATS AND CHALLENGES TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE UNSC AGENDA

The following text briefly overviews some of the new or recurrent threats which have evolved, or are growing new and more dangerous forms, respectively. There is a strong probability that sooner or later they will be included in the UNSC agenda in a concrete way if they have not already been included.

In the first place this refers to climate change and the demographic trends. In the upcoming decades, the world population will grow by two or three billion. The vast majority are in the less developed regions of Africa and Asia where problems caused by climate change – notably desertification, lack of water resources, and consequently reduction of arable land – have already deteriorated existing living conditions. The need for natural resources, including water, keeps growing, while the supplies or their accessibility diminishes. Even now, certain conflicts in Africa can be characterized as a fight for resources and living space, even though their roots may not always rest in climate change. However, they pose serious difficulties to, alternatively make impossible, the solution of these conflicts. The seriousness of the situation was recognized also by the Security Council which, from the initiative of the British Presidency in April 2007, organized the first thematic debate on the impact of the climate change on

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Article No. 138 of the "Concluding Document of the UNGA High-Level Plenary Session on September 15, 2005", any individual state has the responsibility to protect its population against genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity, see "UNGA Resolution", No. 60/1, A/Res/60/1 (September 15, 2005).

global and regional security.<sup>2</sup> The Belgian Presidency in June 2007 featured a thematic discussion on the role of natural resources in conflict situations.<sup>3</sup>

Other existing threats taking on a global configuration are, for example, organized crime and terrorism. Illegal armed groups often obstruct peace efforts in order to preserve their access to mineral resources and black arms markets. Small and light hand weapons, for example in Africa, are becoming weapons of mass destruction. The so-called non-state actors come to represent threats that were formerly associated exclusively with state entities. In this regard, it can be argued that the links between the threat of terrorism and the threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction is a phenomenon which, in case it is not addressed effectively by the international community, may lead to the fulfillment of catastrophic scenarios – which we, until now, witnessed only in fictional action movies – with hard consequences for the security of this planet.

The third group of growing threats is the phenomenon which existed also in the past, but as a result from not being addressed efficiently and the accessibility of new military technologies takes on a new dimension. It is the phenomenon of regional rivalry which is connected to the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Such rivalry can lead to uncontrollable regional escalation of tensions with unimaginable global impact unless the current trends are reversed, inter alia also through reinforcement of the existing mechanisms of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, restoration of the dynamics of negotiations on nonproliferation and disarmament, and prevention of illegal trade and spread of technologies and material for the development and production of weapons of mass destruction and their carriers.

Apart from that, one of the new and recurrent threats is also the problem of internal tension and uncertainty stemming from the presence of weak state institutions, alternatively despotic regimes, with a potential to spread the internal instability to the whole region and to link other transnational threats such as terrorism and organized crime. It is a condition which was in the recent period 'responsible' for many conflicts in Africa. Africa, however, is not the only continent which features such conflicts today. Afghanistan is an illustrative example, followed by Myanmar and Zimbabwe. A similar development cannot be excluded in certain Latin American states and other regions.

These are only the most notable examples. This is no way an exhausting overview of the new and recurrent threats. Yet, it suffices to realize the seriousness of the situation and the inevitability of seeking new and, especially, effective multilateral solutions. At the same time, it is necessary to realize that no corner of the world is immune against these threats.

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<sup>2</sup> "Climate Change", UNSC Session (April 17, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> "Peace and Security: Natural Resources and Conflict", UNSC Session (June 25, 2007).

## DEALING WITH THE NEW THREATS AND THE REFORM OF THE UNSC

The Security Council has started to deal – albeit until now quite cautiously – with the afore-mentioned new and recurrent threats. The opinions on the seriousness of these phenomena as well as the perception of the various risks and threats within the Security Council and among other UN members, nevertheless, significantly differ from and even contradict each other. This also applies also to the role which the UNSC should play in the prevention and preemption of conflicts stemming from the new threats.

Things will not move the right way without a more serious debate on these problems. Hence, it is high time for debate on UN system reform to develop also in this context. The first step in this direction was the *Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change – A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* from late 2004<sup>4</sup>, which contains a conceptual framework for reaching a new security consensus. The consensus is based on linking the issues of development, security, and human rights. However, since its publication and the 2005 UN world summit drawing on its conclusions, its implementation has in many ways not made a lot of progress. On the contrary, even the agreed measures, including the practical realization of the principle of the responsibility to protect are only very slowly translated into the real life, alternatively they slide into oblivion.

We are left to hope that we will not need a new 'wake-up call' similar to the disaster from September 11, 2001 for the entire international community to start acting more decisively. The upcoming 63<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly offers a good opportunity and an appropriate moment for the revitalization of the debate on these issues. But this moment has to be used appropriately. In this regard, it is important to realize that the international community finds itself in a race against time. Many new challenges in combination with the problems and conflicts which the Security Council has addressed since the end of the last century can – as long as the UN system does not find more effective ways to reach a durable and sustainable solution – become unmanageable. To this end, nevertheless, the mobilization of financial and human resources does not suffice.<sup>5</sup> In the first place, it is necessary to make key changes in the system of international relations, including the changes in the operation of the Security Council and other bodies of the UN system,

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<sup>4</sup> *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change.* (The United Nations, 2004); <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>.

<sup>5</sup> Currently, the UN has over 100 thousand peace-makers in peace missions which cost it almost 8 billion USD.



build new mechanisms, and exploit new methods of resolution of international security challenges and conflicts, drawing on the principles of effective multilateralism and global partnership of all players who are concerned about the sustainable, harmonic, and peaceful development of this planet. Equally, the question of effective resolution of the primary causes of conflicts may not be neglected.

Many events from the recent past clearly demonstrated that in the field of human and international security no country is capable of dealing with threats and existing challenges alone. On the other hand, it is evident that the UN system must work more effectively so that the individual members of the international community do not attempt to seek unilateral solutions in areas where the system clearly fails and declines to meet their needs.

## THE SLOVAK INITIATIVES FOR THE SUPPORT OF UNSC REFORM

During its membership in the Security Council, the Slovak Republic actively participated not only in the discussions in the UNSC reform and the new threats, but also

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concretely contributed with its own initiatives and activities to searching for solutions. Slovakia belongs to the active promoters of the reform of the UN and its bodies, which deal with the questions of peace and security, in both the UN General Assembly as well as the UN Security Council. Thanks to our Chairmanship in the Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions as well as the UNSC Committee on Mandate Review, where we held the function of the co-chairs together with the United States and South Africa, we contributed

to a significant increase in the activity of the discussion on the reform and efficacy of UNSC's working methods. We intend to actively work in various informal groupings and initiatives of UN member states supporting the reform within the upcoming 63<sup>rd</sup> session of the UN General Assembly even after our UNSC membership has been over.

At the same time we are and will be contributing to the development of the debate on the new threats. This topic dominated in the speeches of President of the SR Ivan Gašparovič in the general debate of the UNGA as well as at the Security Council summit on September 25, 2007 on the issues of Africa. The initiation of the debate on the Security Sector Reform in post-conflict situations in the Security Council is another of our specific contributions. Successful realization of these reforms is one of the key factors in insuring durable and sustainable peace consolidation of post-conflict countries and one of the basic elements of the so-called exit strategy of UN forces. We also successfully introduced this topic to the General Assembly. The seminar on the issue we organized together with South Africa in Cape Town in November 2007 helped us



in this regard considerably.<sup>6</sup> Our leadership in the position of president of the UNSC 1540 Committee<sup>7</sup> on prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by so-called non-state actors was appreciated as well. As mentioned before, it is one of today's most acute security challenges. Slovakia managed to reinvigorate the process of implementation of requirements of the UNSC 1540 and 1673 Resolutions on a global scale also through intensification of the Committee's work in relation to the various world regions and increase of awareness about the reality of the threat and the necessity of realization of effective legal and practical measures to avoid the spread of technologies and material linked to development and production of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.

Our successes in this position include also linking the activities of specialized international organizations – such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, and the World Customs Organization –, and the regional, national and non-governmental organizations for the support of 1540 Resolution implementation. The historically first open debate on the role of international organizations in the 1540 Resolution implementation organized during our Security Council Presidency contributed to that achievement. Hence, the build-up of a complex global system of protection and prevention against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, which is the only way to effectively address the threat, has also been launched thanks to our contribution.

Within this model of division of labor between the UN and specialized functional and regional organizations, it is possible to also search for more effective solutions to other security challenges. The UN and the African Union have already started building such cooperation in the field of resolution of crisis situations and conflicts on the African continent. The European Union and NATO have cooperated in such a way already for several years (while it is not much discussed on the UN grounds) and have demonstrated important capacities to deal with crisis and conflict situations, which no other organizations, including the UN have at their disposal so far. The synergy and compatibility of the organizations' operations in dealing with crisis situations, however, must be necessarily strengthened.

The Slovak presidency in the North Korea Sanctions Committee in 2006 can be also mentioned as an example of our contribution to the fight against new and recurrent threats.<sup>8</sup> During the Slovak presidency, the committee's operation was successfully launched and also thanks to the Slovak contribution, North Korea's attitude swayed in a positive direction on the question of the restoration of its cooperation with the international community in the liquidation of North Korea's military nuclear program as well.

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<sup>6</sup> "Enhancing United Nations Support for Security Sector Reform in Africa: Towards an African Perspective", Seminar, Cape Town, South Africa, November 7-8, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> A UNSC subsidiary body established pursuant "UNSC Resolution", No. 1540/2004.

<sup>8</sup> A UNSC assistant body established pursuant the "UNSC Resolution", No. 1718/2006.

## **A VALUE-BASED FOREIGN POLICY AND SLOVAKIA'S PERFORMANCE IN THE UNSC**

Slovakia's successful performance in the Security Council can be attributed also to correctly setting priorities and principles which we pursued during our membership. We primarily focused on areas where we could bring something unique to the UNSC – a new perspective concerning the solution of problems on the agenda of the Security Council – or enrich the debate. That is exactly why our priorities included the Western Balkans, Cyprus, the frozen conflicts in the Caucasus, and the Middle East, where our traditional engagement supported by the presence of our units in the peacekeeping operations (KFOR, UNFICYP, UNDOF, Iraq, Afghanistan) added Slovakia's arguments and positions presented in the UNSC an extra value, strength, and respect.

The SR could, thanks to the afore-mentioned factors, more effectively assert itself in the preparation of various resolutions regarding, for example, the Western Balkans,

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the situation in Georgia and so on. We played a crucial role in the discussions seeking an objective solution to the issue of Kosovo, which would take into account the objective reality as well as the concerns and interests of both sides. We did not fear to advocate in a rigorous, yet a constructive manner the principles of resolution, drawing on our national views and interests.

Besides, our transition experience and value-oriented positions helped us to aptly find our way in questions that had not belonged to our foreign policy priorities in the past. The SR was actively contributing to the discussions on practically all UNSC agenda issues, in which we, to the maximum

possible extent, always remained consistent and transparent. Apart from the afore-mentioned priorities, the SR dedicated a special attention to the resolution of conflicts in Darfur, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Somalia. It should be added that these questions are also in the centre of the European Union's attention and engagement.

In the UN Security Council, the SR was recognized as an advocate of rights of civilians in armed conflicts, especially women and children and actively engaged also in the issue of the protection of journalists covering crisis situations and conflicts. Our other cross-cutting priorities included rule of law, prevention of impunity for the war crimes and crimes against humanity, and the application of the responsibility to protect principle. In this respect Slovakia promoted also the reinforcement of the role of the International Criminal Tribunal in the situations when governments are unable to grant their citizens appropriate protection and justice. Last but not least Slovakia advocated the strengthening of the UNSC's proactive role in conflict prevention and early reaction to emerging conflicts and situations (such as in Zimbabwe and Myanmar).

Slovakia's basic asset was and still is that it is perceived by partners as a country which, through its positions and attitudes, contributes to consensus-building even in the most sensitive questions. This was confirmed during our presidency in the Security Council.

## UNSC PRESIDENCY OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

The presidency in the UN Security Council is one of the most demanding and most significant positions in multilateral diplomacy. On the basis of monthly rotation of the Security Council members, the presiding country manages the activities of this key UN body responsible for the maintenance of global peace and security, prepares the program of its sessions, leads the negotiations, and acts in its name in relation to other UN bodies and member states.

The performance of a country in this position becomes an object of focused attention and interest of not only the partners in the Security Council, but also other UN members and especially of media. Slovakia was given the historically first opportunity to try out the president's seat in the UNSC in February 2007 and, already with the first attempt, earned words of appreciation for an excellent professional performance in the position, which would not put to shame even the foreign services with much longer-term traditions and experience.

The execution of the UNSC presidency function is for any country – be it a UNSC permanent or a non-permanent member – an exceptional challenge. Despite the fact that the UNSC presidency lasts 'only' for a month, its superior and professional performance is a loading test for the whole foreign service of any state, including the superpowers. It is impossible to prepare for the presidency a hundred percent since life, and especially the evolution of the security situation in the world brings unexpected breaking points and situations. Nevertheless, a long-term and universal command of the subject, including the often complicated and not totally clarified UNSC procedural rules, is the basic prerequisite for a standard handling of the tasks and competences claimed by the presidency post. Slovak diplomacy had been aware of the exceptionally demanding assignment and responsibility since the start of its term in the Security Council. In this regard, it had launched the preparation for the presidency already in the beginning of its membership. We realized that a chance for another try might come in twenty to thirty years at the earliest.

The basic forms of our preparation included the standard operation during the preceding thirteen months and the practically everyday participation in the Security Council, when the country builds up a standing and authority namely through its actions. Through its previous engagement and performance in the UNSC, lasting for more than a year, Slovakia had built up credit as a reliable and trustworthy partner. It proved that it is a valid member of the Council, who is – through its balanced attitudes – capable of contributing to consensus-building and also to concrete and functional solutions to difficult problems in the UNSC agenda. We had always tried to constructively communicate with and listen to all stakeholders, even though our opinions had

not always exactly matched. This was the credo of our actions in the UNSC and this won us natural respect from our colleagues.

Such credit becomes even more precious when, from the post of the UNSC president, you attempt to promote a certain solution and compromise between two opinion camps in the Council. During our presidency, the position and good reputation of an honest player many times helped us bridge the seemingly unbridgeable differences and reach an agreement among the UNSC members, for example in the adopting UNSC presidential and press statements or resolutions (for example regarding Lebanon, Iraq and so on).

Our counterparts appreciated also our deliberate, long-term, and systematic preparation for the so-called thematic debates during our presidency. It needs to be clarified here

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*Under our leadership, the UNSC passed 4 resolutions, 2 presidential statements, 8 statements for the press, 3 very important open debates took place (on the Middle East and our two themes), 1 public meeting of the Security Council on Timor-Leste, 8 closed-door consultations, 4 votes on drafts of resolutions, 2 working lunches, and 1 dinner of the UNSC members with UN SG Ban Ki-moon.*

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that although the UNSC president's competences in the preparation of the program of the sessions and selection of subjects of the talks are not unlimited, the presiding country can initiatively establish or promote certain so-called own themes and priorities which fall under the UNSC agenda, but due to certain objective as well as subjective reasons the UNSC had not dealt with or solved them sufficiently. Slovakia decided to promote a cross-cutting issue of Security Sector Reform. Based on the analysis of the current development and in the context of discussions on conflict resolution in the UNSC, we came to the conclusion that the problem was not being dealt with comprehensively and systematically enough, which in many cases resulted into the country's slipping back to the conflict situation and often lead to

the defeat of attempts for a peaceful solution. Examples of such development were the crisis in Timor-Leste, the renewal of the conflict in Haiti, or the escalation of tensions and violence in Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire).

We were aware of the differing opinions among the UN member countries on the issue, its solution, and the role of the UN in the process. Hence, by way of seminars in Bratislava and New York we launched a highly inclusive discussion through which we managed to earn the attention and consequently also the support of other UNSC members, other UN member countries, and representatives of the UN Secretariat, including both secretaries-general – Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-moon, for a universal solution to the problem involving all key UN bodies and institutions, as well as the regional, sub-regional, and other international organizations. In consequence, already during our presidency, for the first time ever on the UNSC grounds, we had managed to bring to one table (during the debate on the Security Sector Reform) the UN Secretary-General, President of the General Assembly, President of the Economic and Social Council, and the President of the Organizational Committee of Peace-Building Commission. The interest of other UN members in the debate in the UN Security Council, as well as the strong and comprehensive UNSC presidential statement on the Security Sector

Reform passed at the end of the debate, too, testify that by the choice of the subject and its 'grasp' on the UNSC grounds we scored a bull's eye.

Another factor of our superior readiness for the presidency was the successful performance and experience gained during our presidency in the so-called UNSC subsidiary bodies, especially the Chairmanship in the committee established pursuant the 1540 Resolution (2004) for the questions of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but also in other important committees – UNSC mandate review ad hoc Committee and for North Korea sanctions committee. It was our presidency in the 1540 Committee that enabled us to push ahead another important thematic debate on the cooperation of the UNSC with international organizations in the fight against the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction with participation of representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, and the World Customs Organization.

In the adopted presidential statement on the subject drafted by the Slovak Republic, the UNSC reaffirmed an unambiguous support for the implementation of Resolutions No. 1540 and 1673 towards the reinforcement of the global system of prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the deepening of the cooperation between the international organizations in this field.

The statistic proving that the program of the Security Council talks during our presidency was literally packed with important meetings, but also decisions in the form of resolutions and declarations, may be of some interest. Under our leadership, the UNSC passed four resolutions, the two already mentioned presidential statements, eight statements for the press (on Somalia, Congo, the incident on the Blue Line, the terrorist attacks in Lebanon, on Cote d'Ivoire, and the terrorist attacks in Iran and India), three very important open debates took place (on the Middle East and our two themes lead by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš), one public meeting of the Security Council on Timor-Leste with participation of the then Prime Minister of East Timor José Ramos-Horta, eight closed-door consultations (once in the presence of UN Secretary-General of the UN Ban Ki-moon), four votes on drafts of resolutions, two working lunches, and one dinner of the UNSC members with UN SG Ban Ki-moon. Apart from that, many other individual audiences, talks, and press conferences of the UNSC president took place.

## CONCLUSION

As illustrated by the above review of activities, Slovakia left behind in the UN concrete results in the form of themes which it initiated and elaborated, as well as in the form of a new perspective on the solution of problems in the UNSC and UN General Assembly. In the upcoming period, this credit (and, of course, the themes) require and need to be appropriately exploited, developed and strengthened on the grounds of the UNSC as well as other international organizations, especially to help reinvigorate and strengthen the representation of the SR in the various bodies and institutions.

We have already managed to achieve this great extent. Earlier this year, the SR was elected to the position of the Vice-President of the Executive Board of the UN Development Program (UNDP). The Slovak Republic also decisively won the elections to the UN Human Rights Council (May 16, 2008). In fall 2009, it will run for a seat in the UN Economic and Social Council (next to the UNSC, both Councils belong exceptionally important bodies of the UN system).

The SR joins new initiatives, too. The common initiative of Switzerland, Slovakia, Japan, Turkey, and Costa Rica for the support of the application of the UN strategy of the fight against terrorism and for the preparation of its upcoming revision in September 2008 is the latest example in this regard. Here, too, the SR uses its experience from the performance in the UNSC.

Current priorities include also strengthening the presence of agencies and institutions of the UN system in the SR. After the successful establishment of the UNDP

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*The Slovak precious and unique experience stemming from our performance in the UNSC needs to be used adequately while raising the quality and efficacy of our foreign service as well as Slovakia's performance in the world in various fields.*

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Regional Center in Bratislava, Slovak diplomacy pursues the transfer of the UN Population Fund Regional Center to Bratislava in order to expand the cooperation with the UN and provide professional opportunities for our experts in the missions and programs of the important UN development agencies for the Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Maybe it would be appropriate to add that the precious and unique experience stemming from our performance in the UNSC needs to be used adequately while raising the quality and efficacy of our foreign service as well as Slovakia's performance in the world in various fields: political, economic, and social. Often it is the small states capable of offering a solution where the big countries may not do so well. Slovakia achieved that on a number of occasions also in the position of an elected member of the UNSC. Our diplomacy needs such successes and experience; they make it more mature and stronger.

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# THE SECURITY POLICY OF SLOVAKIA IN 2007

TOMÁŠ VALÁŠEK

It has become a certain cliché to describe the security situation of Slovakia and Europe as relatively calm but at the same time changeable and hardly predictable. However this cliché is based on reality. It is true that Slovakia is not facing an existential threat. However on the other hand, Europe is being periodically startled by new forms of vulnerabilities which make the entire concept of security much more complex: cyber-attacks – for example those which targeted Estonian servers in 2007 or the threat to energy security posed by interruptions in natural gas supplies like in Ukraine in 2006 (and again in 2008). Furthermore we can observe the growing doubts about the development in Russia whose foreign policy can probably be best described as a ‘soft’ confrontation with the West. In Russia’s closest neighborhood, for example Georgia, Moscow has already used military force against an independent state.

## A COMMON APPROACH IS NECESSARY

How was Slovakia insured against this combination of complexity and unpredictability in 2007? Slovakia’s security policy builds upon the fact that it’s too late to counter threats on our borders; state borders today are far too permeable for such an approach.<sup>1</sup> Threats

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<sup>1</sup> “The Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic”, (Bratislava Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, 2005); [http://www.mosr.sk/dokumenty/bezp\\_strategia\\_2005.pdf](http://www.mosr.sk/dokumenty/bezp_strategia_2005.pdf).

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such as traditional terrorism or cyber-terrorism travel freely just like bank transactions or tourists. In addition, four out of five state borders of the SR opened up completely upon our entry into the Schengen area. Strengthening Slovakia's security thus mainly means the strengthening of the outer defense layer – NATO and the EU security component. These structures offer an early warning of possible threats (for example by supplying intelligence information on time) as well as serve as a platform for non-military and military reactions to those threats – no EU member state could by itself organize for example a blockade of Iranian banks funding terrorists or a military strike in Afghanistan. In both cases common approaches are the only viable alternative.

As in the past few years, in 2007 NATO also struggled with problems. One of the key responses to new threats – the rebuilding of states that have failed or are about to fail – seems to be much more complex than expected. International forces intervened in Afghanistan in 2001 to prevent Islamic rebels from using the country for attacks abroad. However 7 years after the intervention Afghanistan is still not under control;

one third of the country is still de facto a theatre of war between the NATO units and local resistance forces.<sup>2</sup>

Problems in Afghanistan stirred up disaccords in the Alliance itself. They weakened the sense of solidarity between allies. And for Slovakia, who relies on NATO as its security guarantor, this poses a real threat.

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*The strength of NATO does not stem from charters or treaties but from the sense of solidarity which is a result of the real distribution of labor among member states.*

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The NATO member countries disagreed on two main issues: who should reinforce the NATO military presence, especially in the dangerous south and east of Afghanistan and how should the NATO reconstruction strategy for this country look. The USA accused Germany of avoiding military operations in the country<sup>3</sup> (Germany has a large contingent in Afghanistan but most of its troops are far away from the main combat theatres). Furthermore the Alliance spent most of the year 2007 discussing the faults of its operation in Afghanistan and the objectives of the mission – for example whether it would be better to combat the drug production in the country or to partially ignore the production of heroin and focus on the fight against the Taliban.<sup>4</sup>

It is also up to Slovakia to help the Alliance overcome the internal crisis brought on by these disputes. As in every international organization, the strength of NATO does not stem from charters or treaties but from the sense of solidarity which is a result of the real distribution of labor among member states. In Afghanistan however the dominant portion of combat was left to a relatively small group of countries, mainly

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<sup>2</sup> NATO is currently the largest stabilization force in Afghanistan. In July 2007 its mission had 8,000 soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> "US Demands More German Troops at Taliban Front", *Spiegel Online International* (February 1, 2008); <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,532476,00.html>.

<sup>4</sup> A new complex NATO strategy for Afghanistan was finally adopted at the Bucharest Summit in 2008.



the Netherlands, Canada and Great Britain. Their objections that the rest of the allies are only starting to act after a long delay are justified. The sense of solidarity in NATO has weakened to a dangerous extent.

Slovakia can strengthen the trust of its allies mainly through the deployment of a greater number of troops and civil experts to NATO missions. As a full-fledged member we cannot continue to survive on the fact that we have a flag in every mission; after years of membership we are expected to supply a real contribution.

## SLOVAKIA'S INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT

The government has made two significant changes for the better in this respect. The strengthening of Slovakia's contribution to the mission in Afghanistan was the first: Slovak engineers were transported to the south of Afghanistan where they are needed more. We also deployed medics to the Czech field hospital at the Kabul airport; joined the Netherland reconstruction team and deployed our troops to the operational training team at the air base Tarin Kowt in the Uruzgan province. In the year 2008 the Slovak contingent in Afghanistan gained more troops.<sup>5</sup> The 'Afghan mission' is the most important NATO operation and the extended Slovak contribution is clear evidence that we realize the significance of the commitment to our allies.

The second positive development is in the effort to reduce the number of operations with Slovakia's participation and focus on deploying larger and better contingents to a smaller number of countries. In the year 2007, after an agreement with Croatia, the Slovak Government decided to withdraw its contingent from the Golan Heights<sup>6</sup> which was then replaced by Croatian units. The decision stirred certain controversy because the involvement in the Middle East meant foreign policy prestige for the Slovak Republic. Furthermore the withdrawal from an operation – any operation – may at first sight seem like an irresponsible step towards the international community.

However the fact is that Slovakia is only capable of deploying a limited number of troops abroad. If this number is then divided into a large quantity of countries and Slovakia's contribution to individual operations is thus very low, Slovaks will not be able to achieve the higher ranking command posts abroad. This is how an entire segment – the category of higher ranking officers – loses the opportunity to fully participate in operations. These are the people who will partake in the formulation of the future

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<sup>5</sup> "The Proposal for the Change of the Mandate, the Change in the Size of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic and the Conclusion of the Tour of Duty of the Healthcare Team of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in the ISAF Operation in Afghanistan", Proposal of the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic approved by the Government of the SR (June 11, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> "The Proposal to Terminate the Activities of Members of the Slovak Armed Forces in the UNDOF Mission in the Golan Heights", Proposal of the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic approved by the Government of the SR (December 12, 2007).

form and direction of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic. They should therefore have more opportunities to gain experience in the field of international crisis management operations so that they can benefit from it in the formation of the future shape of the Armed Forces of the SR. In this context we can perceive the withdrawal from the Golan Heights as a positive step; all the more because it was followed by a decision to strengthen Slovakia's contribution in Afghanistan.

## CIVIL CONTRIBUTION

The year 2007 was less positive in some other areas of Slovakia's security policy. We are not successful in improving the cooperation between soldiers and civilian experts in crisis environments. This is not a problem of the year 2007 but a long-term issue.

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*None of Slovakia's partners in NATO or the EU know exactly how to ideally adjust the civil-military cooperation in foreign operations. It's a new challenge for all European countries.*

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If Slovakia wishes to improve NATO's performance in Afghanistan and strengthen solidarity among the allies, deploying more troops to foreign missions will not be enough. A better contribution to the reconstruction of the country is necessary so that the war torn regions can get back on their feet and take care of their own security and stability. The military part of the operations in Kosovo, Afghanistan or Bosnia and Herzegovina surpassed

positive expectations but the international community was less successful in the following reconstruction phase. This is often caused by the lack of understanding for the local context. Besides the international community often unnecessarily ties its own hands by disregarding the complementation of military units by an adequate number of civilians or by insufficient communication between the military and civilian components of the missions which leads to the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing.

None of Slovakia's partners in NATO or the EU know exactly how to ideally adjust the civil-military cooperation in foreign operations. It's a new challenge for all European countries. However some simple ideas have already emerged in practice: for example in Great Britain the Minister of Defense, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Chief of the Development Agency meet every week to inform each other on the work of their respective ministries in individual foreign missions. Afterwards they attempt to direct their departments to mutually complement each other. Slovakia lacked similar cooperation throughout the year 2007. We rarely deploy civil personnel (policemen, judges) to EU and NATO missions. We don't even have a mechanism to link the operation of Slovakia's Armed Forces in missions to the economic dimension. In Slovakia NATO and EU missions are perceived as the domain of soldiers and the Ministry of Defense. The real involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice or the Ministry of Economy is absent.

The same is true for the cooperation between the government and non-governmental organizations (NGO). Slovakia has a substantial bonus in its very active third sector. Many NGOs are already operating in the most vulnerable countries, such as Afghanistan. They would know for example how to contribute to the work of the provincial reconstruction teams in which the Armed Forces of the SR are currently participating.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Slovak Republic should enter into EU and NATO missions with a clearer goal definition. When planning Slovakia's participation in foreign operations we should automatically think about how Slovakia can help the given country in a long-term horizon, beyond the time span of the reconstruction itself. Too often have we encountered the situation where we deploy troops at the cost of billions of crowns and after a few years nothing tangible is left from Slovakia's contribution. If possible there should be a school built, a generation of pupils educated or a unit of policemen trained in every location of Slovakia's operation.

Finally it is necessary to mention one more relative weakness of Slovakia's security policy. It lies in something which we can call the insufficient tolerance of the Slovak public towards individual threats as well as towards an overall sense of insecurity and unpredictability. It is impossible to completely exclude all risks: sometimes attacks take place and casualties are incurred whether in Slovakia or in foreign operations.

That is why the public must be prepared for crisis situations. The government must communicate with the people and make it clear that it has plans and concepts on how to ensure the defense of the SR and how to adapt NATO and the EU military dimension to the needs of the Slovak Republic. The government would thus send the public a signal of competence and professionalism which would in turn create a sense of greater security and stability within the public. This does not mean public relations campaigns but simple forms of addresses: for example an occasional article of the Minister of Defense or the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the newspaper.

It is also necessary to permanently and more visibly discuss foreign operations: Why is it important for Slovakia to deploy troops into EU and NATO operations? How does this strengthen Slovakia's defense? Why are we in Afghanistan? This communication prepares the basis for maintaining clear judgment in times of crisis, for example when our troops lose their lives in foreign missions. It is very important that in these moments the public already knows why we went to the given country, why the operation was important as well as why the lives of our troops or civilians were not lost in vain.

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*The government must communicate with the people and make it clear that it has plans and concepts on how to ensure the defense of the SR and how to adapt NATO and the EU military dimension to the needs of the Slovak Republic.*

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However, the rhetoric of the current government is directed elsewhere: it emphasizes that we are indeed deploying soldiers, but that nothing can happen to them because we are not letting them fight or take risks.<sup>7</sup> We should aim for the exact opposite: to say that security is a value in which we must invest and that we have commitments to our allies whose fulfillment is in our own interest. Every government will make efforts to eliminate the risks for the military and civilian personnel of the SR in foreign missions as much as possible. At the same time, however, it should openly tell the public that deployment in crisis regions is not a walk through the park and the public must be aware of this fact. Such an approach would boost the morale of the soldiers in the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic and strengthen public tolerance to potential casualties.

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<sup>7</sup> See, for example: “Premiér nechce dávať armáde viac peňazí z rozpočtu ani posielat’ von bojové jednotky”, *Sme* (June 10, 2008).

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# II.

## PRIORITIES OF THE SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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# THE WESTERN BALKANS: THE NEED FOR A NEW VISION AND STRATEGY

MIROSLAV LAJČÁK

In international circles, Slovakia is branded a successful and dynamic European country; especially in the region of the Western Balkans. In Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in the entire Western Balkans, Slovakia has a good reputation. It is admired for a peaceful split from former Czechoslovakia and equally for the capacity to solve big national questions by way of political compromise and agreement. The whole of the Western Balkans recognizes Slovakia also in the bigger picture of new EU members' achievements. And it is increasingly capable of distinguishing in the collective picture.

Concrete facts speak for the Slovak Republic, in particular regarding economic growth and economic reforms, or integration into the European Union and NATO, when it had to catch up with its neighbors. The integration process was for us a new, until then an unfamiliar experience, but it taught us all a lot: to behave as a responsible partner honoring his commitments. Our thinking changed, our society modernized, and our international image and standing shifted, too. Our healthy self-confidence grew accordingly. As soon as we solved our domestic problems and underwent an internal consolidation ten years ago, we started to specialize for the first time, also externally, in foreign policy issues. We agreed that the Western Balkans is of all the closest to

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The original version of the contribution was given as a speech at the Conference Reviewing the Foreign Policy of the SR in 2007 organized under the title *New Challenges and New Approaches* by the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. The conference took place on April 17, 2008 in Bratislava.

us. It is the target area of the European Union's further enlargement. We are bound to it by the geographic, historical, and linguistic proximity. Recently, good relations, personal ties, the presence of apt and competent people in the right places and in the right time helped us there. On top of that, a unique partnership of the state and non-governmental organizations followed suit, which was demonstrated by greater synergy at home, in the region, and also on the European and international levels. The public opinion polls reflected the trend. That the process of Western Balkan countries' integration into the European Union enjoys more support in our country than in most other member states is no coincidence. But that alone is not enough. The successes achieved must be reaffirmed literally on a daily basis. We need to be proud of the

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*The whole of the Western Balkans recognizes Slovakia also in the bigger picture of new EU members' achievements. And it is increasingly capable of distinguishing in the collective picture.*

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progress in our country, but simultaneously look more ahead as well as around; across the borders of Slovakia as well as the European Union. Being solely a consumer of the benefits that stem from our membership does not suffice. We are expected to actively reflect on our inputs and contributions, too. The self-confident Slovakia managed to exploit the integration into the Union and the Alliance more than its neighbors. Now, how can we contribute to

the spread of the process to other countries and regions? What is the Europe we want to have here in five or ten years? Have we clarified where we see Slovakia's mission and national interests? Where to find the juxtaposition of issues Europe will be dealing with in the next period and issues important to Slovakia? How can we most effectively find allies for fulfilling our vision?

Answers to these questions are prospectively a prerequisite for Slovakia's success image which should no more be a matter of convenient constellation, opportunities, or individual actions, but most of all a result of a long-term strategy and planning, a build-up of adequate human resources; and, especially, of the practical execution of Slovak foreign policy.

## THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

In 2008, the development in the Western Balkans again catches the headlines of newspapers in the whole world; sadly enough, most often in a negative light due to the risks of a new instability. Yet under the surface of a complicated political development the main, not an unfortunate trend in the region is being neglected. Foremost, all West Balkan countries now have a clear perspective of future EU membership. As the main coordinator of the Stability Pact, Erhard Busek, said on April 2 in the *Financial Times*, they had managed to catch the accession bus and it was moving forward. In most cases, their economies grow by a pace of 5 or 6 % per year, inflation stays in one-digit numbers, the credit rates and business environment gradually improve. Two thirds



of the countries' foreign trade flows to the European Union whose members are the leading foreign investors. The manifold bounds with Europe were strengthened even more by last year's EU enlargement by Romania and Bulgaria which turned the Western Balkans – also in the geographic sense – into our internal enclave. Consequently, even more responsibility for the development and problems of the entire region as well as its individual countries now rests on the shoulders of the European Union. At the same time, it is clear to everyone that the integration process in this region will be more demanding than in our neighborhood, Central Europe, and namely on the political level. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia in the previous decade was accompanied by a series of the greatest military conflicts on the European continent since the end of World War II. The nation-state issues in several countries remain unresolved. Local political elites fail to reach basic a consensus about the direction of the country. Since the beginning of my mandate in Sarajevo, I have stressed that the country and its leaders must make a choice between integration and isolation. The last weeks and months have sharpened up the dilemma more than ever; not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Serbia and Kosovo.

The European Union currently needs a new vision and strategy in the Western Balkans. The European soft power is here not as effective as in the previous enlargement rounds. Our policy (i.e. European Union's policy) is not consistent towards individual countries. Concessions in one crisis area immediately spill over into requests and expectations in another. The domestic players watch our steps as well as one another very carefully. In this situation, Europe needs leadership. Let us not forget that when Slovakia showed such an approach in the previous years, for example in the issues of Croatia and Montenegro, our partners usually respected it.

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*It is clear to everyone that the integration process in this region will be more demanding than in our neighborhood, Central Europe, and namely on the political level.*

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## LEGIBILITY NEEDED

One very important aspect related to the Western Balkans is our legibility in the greater international groupings, foremost as a European partner. Naturally, as any other EU and NATO member, we, too, have the right to our own opinion. But if we want to succeed with this opinion, we have to know how to speak, explain, and defend it clearly. In such case, we can expect from our partners that they will show an understanding for the Slovak positions – and we can win also other allies for them. A crucial matter, I believe, is to promote our positions externally in such a way that we help those whom we want to help without damaging our own national and state interests. In this regard, I like quoting the former Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong: "In order to be useful, you have to be relevant". And I would add that in order to be relevant for our partners – and especially in the Western Balkans – we need to be legible and clearly

specialized. The European Union and NATO are organizations based, most of all, on partnership. Slovakia will succeed in European, as well as in international politics, insofar as it will be a legible and trustworthy partner. We thus need to consider how to strengthen our position in these groupings, how to keep our long-term specialization in the Western Balkan affairs, which used to grant our opinion a careful attention from the most distinct players.

## THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REGIONAL PARTNERSHIP

In the European Union and its foreign policy, most countries with similar geographic location, history, and interests come to specialize. I refer to the Visegrad Four plus Austria and Slovenia, the so-called Regional Partnership. Certain issues we view and sense similarly. An ever closer coordination emerges, a greater solidarity and mutual assistance start to take root. I was given the mandate of the High Representative and Special Representative of the EU in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the first nominee from a new EU member state. I am being reminded that my success or failure in this distinct position is perceived in a wider context of our countries' debut in the European foreign policy. Its institutional framework will change after the ratification of the *Lisbon Treaty*. In this regard, the interests, ambitions, and capacities of the European newcomers will undergo a scrutiny.<sup>1</sup>

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the not-so-long history of Slovak foreign policy, there are enough examples proving that even a small country can make a big difference. Yet, our voice in the European Union can significantly matter only as long as we speak not just in a comprehensive, but also in a unanimous way. Let us attempt to avoid unconsidered steps that can backfire fast. For a country like Slovakia, there is – especially in foreign policy – no other prescription for success than the all-pull-together approach. In the important moments, it is crucial that relevant institutions and domestic actors of foreign policy coordinate their steps externally. That also implies further endeavor towards a better concurrence among constitutional bodies and government institutions. In this regard,

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<sup>1</sup> Merely for illustration I wish to note that when I assumed my current position on July 1, 2007, none of the 300 employees of the Office was from a new member state. That I have been changing gradually. I perceive the process in the context of the new members assuming responsibility for regional and global challenges faced by the European Union; in this case, in the neighboring post-conflict Western Balkan region.

let us mention the notorious cases of cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic, the political and economic dimensions of the foreign policy, the communication between the official diplomacy and the Slovak business sphere. Let us not hesitate to continue involving in the cooperation the non-governmental sector as well, which, for example in the Balkans, is undoubtedly our comparative advantage. Slovakia still is a success story. It remains a motivation for the Western Balkan states, not an improbable role model for our geographically and mentally close co-members of the European Union. If we want to keep being successful in promoting our state and national interests in Europe and the whole world, we have to be convincing, trustworthy, and consistent on the long term. Let us retain the dynamics, flexibility, and predictability. This is the basis on which we should build our international image – an image of a self-confident European Slovakia.

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# VISEGRAD FOUR IN 2007: REVITALIZATION AFTER THE POST- ENLARGEMENT FATIGUE

TOMÁŠ STRÁŽAY

It can be argued that after the accession to the European Union the Visegrad Four has been looking for new priorities and goals. Nevertheless, it has become obvious that it is quite difficult to find goals comparable to the EU and NATO accession. Though almost immediately after the accession the representatives of the V4 identified new priority areas for future cooperation and embodied them in the *Kroměříž Declaration*<sup>1</sup>, skeptical voices regarding the viability of the V4 regional initiative under new conditions of the EU membership could not have been overlooked. To some extent, not only the EU, but also the V4 countries were suffering from the post-enlargement fatigue and had to adapt to their new roles of EU member states. In other words, in the first years of EU accession the challenges connected with the membership overshadowed the initiatives held under the umbrella of Visegrad.

In light of the above, the year 2007 represented an important year for the V4, especially in terms of achieving some common goals and drawing new ones. Though the Visegrad countries were not speaking all the time in the same voice, last year definitely confirmed the sustainability and effectiveness of the V4 in the post-enlargement

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<sup>1</sup> "Declaration of Prime Ministers of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Poland and the Slovak Republic on Cooperation of the Visegrád Group Countries after Their Accession to the European Union (12 May 2004)"; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=942&articleID=3894&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>; "Guidelines on the Future Areas of Visegrad Cooperation"; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=941&articleID=3936&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>.

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period. Despite the (natural) competition among the V4 countries, e.g. in the case of the seat of the European Institute of Technology<sup>2</sup>, the year 2007 showed that solidarity is one of the leading principles of the Visegrad Cooperation.<sup>3</sup> For Slovakia, due to its presidency of the V4, the first half of 2007 was of particular importance. Quite successful was the fulfillment of the three main priorities of the Slovak presidency – the transformation of the V4 to a dynamic regional forum in the EU, the enforcement of coordination mechanisms and consultative instruments, and the increase of public awareness about the Visegrad Cooperation<sup>4</sup> – contributed to a large extent to positive evaluation of the presidency by other Visegrad partners<sup>5</sup>.

To achieve these goals set up by the Slovak and Czech presidencies, the V4 had not only to continue activities from the past, but to present new initiatives, too. Positive development was apparent in several areas of cooperation. The contribution of the Visegrad Four countries to the EU policies was much more significant in 2007 than in the years before, especially when European Neighborhood Policy and energy security are taken into account. The transformation of the V4 to a dynamic regional forum in the EU was even underlined by the participation of the prime ministers of EU presidency countries – Portugal and Slovenia -in the meetings of Visegrad prime ministers.<sup>6</sup> Such meetings not only allowed Visegrad prime ministers to have access to first hand information, but have certainly contributed to the further improvement of the reputation and importance of the V4 in the EU. The continuity in terms of cooperation with non-Visegrad countries in joint projects and initiatives with the V4 countries under the framework of the Visegrad Plus program can be highlighted as another important element of both the Slovak and Czech presidencies. Apart from 'traditional' partners like Austria and Slovenia, the cooperation in the V4 plus framework in 2007 encompassed also Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova and Japan. Last but not least, another important pil-

<sup>2</sup> Three out of four V4 countries – Hungary, Poland and Slovakia applied for the seat of the European Institute of Technology without reaching any kind of agreement on the Visegrad level. Slovakia even submitted the joint application with Austria.

<sup>3</sup> The support of Poland and Hungary for Czech and Slovak Republics joint application to host the European Nuclear Energy Forum in Bratislava and Prague can be mentioned as an example. Both the Czech Republic and Slovakia are well known supporters of the nuclear energy, while Poland and Hungary demonstrated that they also recognize the importance of nuclear energy as one of the important energy resources. In this field the positions of the V4 countries sharply contradict with the position of neighboring Austria, which also has an ambition to play significant, if not a leading role in Central Europe.

<sup>4</sup> "The Programme of Slovakia's V4 Presidency 2006/2007"; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=942&articleID=4095&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>.

<sup>5</sup> "Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch summitu predsedov vlád krajín Vyšehradskej skupiny (Bratislava, 18. júna 2007)"; [www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/3E846BBAC230FE5FC125730C00421E2A/\\$FILE/vlastnymat.rtf](http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/3E846BBAC230FE5FC125730C00421E2A/$FILE/vlastnymat.rtf); "Press Statement, V4 Prime Ministers Summit, Bratislava, 18 June 2007"; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=984&articleID=9618&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>.

<sup>6</sup> The first meeting with the participation of José Sócrates, Portuguese Prime Minister, was held under the Slovak Presidency of the V4 in Bratislava on June 18. The Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša took part in the meeting of Visegrad prime ministers in Ostrava on December 10, held already under the Czech presidency. See [www.visegradgroup.eu](http://www.visegradgroup.eu).

lar underpinning the Visegrad Cooperation, whose potential – despite some progress made in 2007 – is still far from being exhausted, is the enhanced cooperation with other regional initiatives, both from inside and outside the EU.<sup>7</sup>

The idea of this article, however, is neither to provide a detailed overlook of all the activities realized under the Slovak and Czech presidencies, nor to enumerate the meetings of V4 countries representatives on the national, sectoral, regional or municipal level. The forthcoming paragraphs rather highlight joint successes and mention some problem areas of the V4 countries in terms of joint initiatives – especially in the field of foreign policy – that have had an impact on the EU policies. A separate chapter is dedicated to challenges that have not been realized, however, which may improve the importance and efficiency of the V4 in the years to come.

## SUCCESSSES: SCHENGEN, ENP, ENERGY SECURITY AND IVF

The most important success of the V4 was that they managed to enter the Schengen system according to their plan, which means by the end of 2007. To a large extent this

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was truly due to a close coordination of positions of the Visegrad partners and their joint opposition to the Austrian idea to implement a four-month transition period and postpone the date of the accession to Schengen almost to the middle of 2008. The last months of 2007 found the Regional Partnership Initiative, perceived to be the Austria-led counterpart to the Visegrad strongly divided on this issue, having V4 countries and Slovenia on the one side and Austria on the other. This division only underlined the fact that due to internal coherence of participating countries on the issues of crucial importance the V4 has a stronger voice in the EU than any other regional initiative in Central Europe,

but also that Austria's unilateral steps are perceived with suspicion.

The V4 countries have demonstrated their positive attitude towards Eastern neighbors since their accession to the EU. The support for the intensification of relations between the EU and Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus has been one of the top priorities of the foreign policies of the Visegrad countries also in 2007. In this regard, Slovakia has played a significant and active role. The Slovak embassy in Minsk is serving as the

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<sup>7</sup> V4 has been cooperating mostly with the BENELUX and B3 (Baltic Three) regional initiatives, while the prospects for cooperation with the GUAM initiative were considered as well.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, A. Duleba, L. Najšlová, T. Strážay "The ENP and the EU's Eastern Policy: a Slovak Perspective"; <http://www2.hiia.hu/projects/visegrad/doc.asp>.

Local EU Presidency Embassy in Belarus, while the Slovak Embassy in Kyiv is serving as the NATO Contact Embassy in Ukraine for the period 2007-2008. During its Visegrad Presidency Slovakia initiated the adoption of the two common Visegrad political statements on the ENP, which placed an emphasis on the importance of its eastern dimension, special treatment of Ukraine, and the need to develop a regional approach for the EU in sectoral policies in the eastern neighborhood.<sup>8</sup> Apart from stressing the open door policy to any European country aspiring for EU membership – which means that the ENP should not be perceived as an alternative to the future EU membership, but rather possibly also an effective instrument to achieve this goal – the V4 countries also declared their willingness to assist the eastern neighbors in the process of implementation of necessary political and economic reforms.

Significantly lower attention was paid to the southern dimension of the ENP – when compared to the eastern one – is to a large extent understandable. Neither do the V4 countries share common borders with the countries included in the southern dimension, nor is the southern dimension a priority of their foreign policies. However, the V4 countries, being the advocates of their eastern neighbors should have stressed even more the complementarity of both dimensions of the ENP on the EU level.

The V4 countries fully recognized the importance of the issue of energy security. Since all of the V4 countries are – though to a different extent – dependent on foreign energy resources, the coordination of their positions in the field of energy security is a natural step. The issue of energy security was discussed at various occasions, including the June and December meetings of the Visegrad prime ministers.<sup>9</sup> However, mainly due to different energetic mixes in the V4 countries it has been difficult to find a common strategy that would fulfill the expectations of all members.

The International Visegrad Fund (IVF) remained to be the only institution in the Visegrad framework. The increase of the IVF budget to 5 million EUR can be mentioned as an important step towards the future improvement of the *Visegrad Cooperation* through numerous projects, both approved and adopted. However, due to the importance of education and academic exchange, the role of the Visegrad scholarship program, which offers scholarships to students from non-Visegrad countries, especially Ukraine, is to be underlined. The students from other Eastern European countries and the Western Balkans have an opportunity to apply for scholarships through the Visegrad scholarship program too.<sup>10</sup> It can be argued that the Visegrad Scholarship Program not only enables the promotion of the Visegrad idea in a very effective way,

<sup>9</sup> “Statement of the 5th meeting of the European Union Affairs Committees of the National Parliaments of the Visegrad Group Countries, Krakow 15-16 January, 2007”; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=859&articleID=6899&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>; “Press Statement, V4 Prime Ministers Summit, Bratislava, 18 June 2007”; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=984&articleID=9618&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>; “Joint Statement, V4 + Slovenia Prime Ministers’ Meeting, Ostrava (CZ) December 9-10, 2007”; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=984&articleID=13009&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>.

<sup>10</sup> For more details see *Visegrad Fund – Annual Report 2007*. [www.visegradfund.org](http://www.visegradfund.org).



but helps students from non-EU countries to study at the universities in the EU member countries, which in fact contributes to the spread of European values.

Though the IVF has remained one of the most important successes of the V4, there are also some important problems that should not be overlooked. For instance, the number of scholarships given to the students from Eastern Europe – with the exception of the Ukraine – and particularly the Western Balkans, is still ridiculously low. The creation of a specific category of V4/Western Balkan scholarships might be a good idea for how to enable students from the Western Balkan countries to visit V4 universities. Another problem is that the grant scheme suffers from the lack of flexibility. It can be demonstrated through the fact that all applicants of the grants are required to pay all the expenses related to their projects, while the reimbursement takes place only weeks after the event or the whole project is finished. This rule is applied to all applicants, regardless of their financial situation. The reconsideration of the grant scheme and rules applied, together with the increase in number of scholarships given to the Western Balkan students, may be therefore one of the challenges for the future V4 presidencies.

## **PROBLEM AREAS: EU REFORM TREATY, ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM, KOSOVO**

One of the most important successes of the Visegrad Cooperation in the post-enlargement period was that neither development on domestic political scenes nor problems in bilateral relations had a negative impact on the functioning of the V4 or even the intensification of cooperation in the Visegrad format. It also turned out that there will naturally appear cases in which the V4 countries will not be able to speak in one voice or perhaps will be even far away from reaching a compromise. When summarizing the year 2007, it turned out that the most controversial issues splitting the Visegrad partners were the attitudes towards the EU reform treaty and anti-missile defense system, not forgetting divergent positions towards the issue of Kosovo's independence.

In the issues of the EU reform treaty and anti-missile defense systems the V4 was divided in two equal parts. While in the case of the reform treaty the Czech Republic and Poland were presenting rather negative attitudes, Slovakia and Hungary were quite strongly in favor of the adoption of the treaty, arguing that the EU needs a new institutional background. Even though there occurred some changes in the Czech and especially Polish positions, the V4 countries did not reach any joint position towards this issue.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In the case of Poland the issue of the EU reform treaty became an instrument used by domestic political actors for their own purposes. It only highlighted the attitudinal gap between the president Lech Kaczyński and Prime Minister Donald Tusk.



The Czech Republic and Poland were both addressed by the United States to build parts of the anti-missile defense system on their territories. In both countries the governments had to face opposing political attitudes and pressure of public opinion. Moreover, the establishment of the anti-missile defense system on the territories of two Visegrad countries was perceived rather negatively by the representatives of Slovakia and Hungary. The official positions of both Hungarian and Slovak diplomacies, however, showed that neither Hungary nor Slovakia were going to occupy the roles of troublemakers and in fact accepted the status quo.

In the issue of Kosovo's independence, the most vocal opponent was Slovakia. While the position of Poland remained unchanged and was pretty much in favor of Kosovo's independence, and the same was true also for Hungary, the representatives of the Czech Republic were rather hesitating to take such a strong position. Nevertheless, the December meeting of the Visegrad prime ministers in Ostrava showed that Slovakia was left alone with her anti-independence attitude. The official position of the Slovak government was that not all possibilities for a compromise were exhausted and the representatives of the Serbs and Kosovo Albanians should continue a dialogue on the status issue. In the light of later development, the Slovak diplomacy preferred to keep the door open to any solution, referring to a further and more detailed analysis of the situation on the ground, saying neither a clear 'yes' nor 'no'.

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## OLD/NEW CHALLENGE: THE WESTERN BALKANS

Although the above mentioned *Kroměříž Declaration* included the support to both Eastern European and Western Balkan countries' integration ambitions, the V4 as such was more East European than Balkan-oriented.<sup>12</sup> This was true also in 2007, even though the V4 countries declared significant support for Croatia to become an EU member and despite the fact that the Western Balkans as such occupied a significant part of the Visegrad and Slovenia prime ministers meeting in Ostrava.<sup>13</sup> Due to the V4 orientation eastwards, the Western Balkan agenda became a priority for another Cen-

<sup>12</sup> A widely spread argument explaining the exclusion of the Western Balkans from the top priorities of the Visegrad Group was that Eastern neighbors are geographically closer to the V4 than the Western Balkan countries. This attitude was pursued especially by Poland. Apart from geopolitical arguments, Polish diplomacy also stressed the role of cultural and linguistic closeness, as well as the importance of economic factors.

<sup>13</sup> "Joint Statement, V4 + Slovenia Prime Ministers' Meeting, Ostrava (CZ) December 9-10, 2007"; <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/main.php?folderID=984&articleID=13009&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>.

tral European regional initiative – Regional Partnership. In the forthcoming paragraphs I will argue that such a deal has been disadvantageous for the Visegrad – since the V4 as a trademark almost disappeared from the Balkans, and that the V4 should start rediscovering the Balkans – the sooner, the better.

Basically, there has always been a consensus among the V4 countries that the EU's door should remain open and that the Western Balkan countries are the most advanced candidates for EU membership. The support for the open door policy is the basic precondition for developing the Western Balkan agenda in the Visegrad framework. The recognition of the Western Balkan countries as the most probable candidates for accession does not contradict the potential EU membership for countries from the Eastern neighborhood, such as Ukraine or Moldova.

Another important factor opening the space for the Western Balkan dimension of Visegrad to develop is the changing orientation of the Polish foreign policy. After long years of the orientation solely to the East, the Polish foreign policy has realized

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that a country like Poland cannot stay apart from the developments in the Balkans if it has ambitions to shape the EU's foreign policy. The first step in this regard was made already by the previous foreign minister Anna Fotyga, while the program manifesto of the Donald Tusk government continues to mention the Western Balkans as one of the priorities of Polish foreign policy. It seems that the Polish government and diplomacy realized that the intensification of the Polish foreign policy towards the Western Balkans is not in contradiction with its eastern policy and will not disqualify Poland from the role of pivotal player in terms of eastern neighborhood. On the contrary, the strengthening

of the Balkan dimension of the Polish foreign policy will be fully complementary with the Eastern dimension.

Another favorable circumstance is that the remaining three Visegrad countries – the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia – consider the Western Balkans to be one of the key priorities of their foreign policies, too. It is, however, true that economic presence of these three countries – not speaking about Poland – on the Western Balkan markets is far from being satisfactory. In other words, the developing markets of the Western Balkan countries and ongoing processes of privatization offer a huge opportunity for the V4 countries to employ more economic diplomacy in the region. Regardless of natural competition among the V4 countries in the field of trade and investment, certain coordination of their economic strategies in the Western Balkan region may be advantageous for all of them.

The focus of the EU on the Western Balkans should not be forgotten. The Western Balkans represents one of the key priorities of the EU foreign policy and the target region for the EU's enlargement policy. The V4 countries, being EU members, should

not only passively follow the EU mainstream but should contribute with their own initiatives and ideas to shape actively the EU policies towards the region.

In light of the above, the V4 countries should exploit more their comparative advantages in the process of developing the EU's policies towards the Western Balkans. The unique experience from the processes of transition to democracy and free market economy building, as well as from the negotiation process, can be of the added value for the Western Balkan countries facing similar challenges of transformation. The instruments of twinning and experience sharing could be exploited more effectively if the V4 countries coordinate more their activities in this field and divide the labor. The division of roles in the Regional Partnership Initiative can be a valuable inspiration for developing adequate frameworks for the functioning under the Visegrad umbrella.

Apart from experiences of individual countries, the Visegrad as a model of regional initiative is unique as such and its experiences can be also used also in the Western Balkans. There already exists a successful 'export' of know-how from one region to another. The V4 countries were the founding members of the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), which is now being established in the Western Balkans under the same name. There are no doubts that the importance of the creation of regional free trade has enabled the V4 countries to cope better with the challenges posed by the single market of the EU. The Western Balkan countries do not hide that their goal is the same – to prepare their economies for the joining of the European single market.

There are some other fields where the V4 can serve as a model for the development of similar regional initiatives in the Western Balkans. The coordination of political positions and attitudes, as well as effective sharing with experience and know-how are just some among the many areas in which the V4 can be an example. In this regard, Visegrad finds itself in a very positive momentum. The Western Balkans is now experiencing the creation of a new regional initiative – Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) – which is an indigenous initiative encompassing all countries in the region. The recently established Regional Cooperation Council is not just a successor of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, but prospectively the most effective and viable regional initiative in the Western Balkans. Moreover, there exist clear signs from the side of RCC that the experience of Visegrad is considered to be very interesting and direct involvement of the V4 will be appreciated.<sup>14</sup>

The V4 should not miss the momentum to be present – as significantly as possible – in the process of developing the agenda for the new regional initiative in the Western Balkans. Apart from political support, the establishment of a joint consultative body created from the representatives of the RCC and V4 (or International Visegrad

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<sup>14</sup> See "Strategic Outlook at the Priority Areas of Cooperation in South Eastern Europe", (Pomorie: Regional Cooperation Council, 2008); [http://www.rcc.int/index.php?action=doc\\_detail&id=43](http://www.rcc.int/index.php?action=doc_detail&id=43); "Strategic Work Programme of the Regional Cooperation Council, 2008-2009", (Pomorie: Regional Cooperation Council, 2008); [http://www.rcc.int/index.php?action=doc\\_detail&id=39](http://www.rcc.int/index.php?action=doc_detail&id=39). In the interview with the author the RCC Deputy Secretary General Jelica Minić mentioned V4 as one of the most perspective partners for cooperation with the RCC. In her words, the RCC will welcome any suggestions concerning concrete areas of cooperation from the V4.

Fund) can be mentioned as one of the possible ways leading to the development of cooperation between the two initiatives.

The higher involvement of the V4 in cooperation with the RCC will be profitable for both – Visegrad will have at least an opportunity to definitely overcome the post-enlargement fatigue of its members and shortage of ideas. Last not but not least, it should be stressed that by no means would the orientation towards RCC weaken the capacity of the V4 to cooperate closely with other regional initiatives either within the EU borders or beyond.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The year 2007 can be considered to be one of the turning points in the development of Visegrad cooperation, especially when the post-enlargement period is taken into account.

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Not only the V4 countries managed to continue their cooperation in many fields (ENP, activities of the Visegrad Fund, etc.) and fulfilled the Visegrad agenda with new content (e.g. the importance of energy security), but paved a way for the further intensification of the Visegrad cooperation. On the other hand, some of the challenges have not been met and wait for the discovery, or better said, rediscovery. Without any doubts this refers to the Western

Balkan agenda, and especially the ongoing building of the Regional Cooperation Council. Not only can V4 contribute to the development of the latter, but with the transfer of know-how related to institution building, instruments of cooperation or values, it can further legitimize its existence in the post-enlargement period. The forthcoming Polish presidency of the V4 and next year Czech EU presidency<sup>15</sup> present good opportunities to push the Visegrad-Balkan agenda forward and assign the V4 a more significant role in the development of the EU's policies.

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<sup>15</sup> See "Prioritní oblasti předsednictví České republiky v Radě Evropské unie v prvním pololetí roku 2009", (Prague: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs of the Czech Republic, 2007), [http://www.businessinfo.cz/files/2008/UV\\_prioritnioblasticzpredsednictvi.pdf](http://www.businessinfo.cz/files/2008/UV_prioritnioblasticzpredsednictvi.pdf); "Program przewodnictwa RP w Grupie Wyszehradzkiej lipiec 2008 – czerwiec 2009", (Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 2008); <http://www.msz.gov.pl/Polska,na,czele,Gru py,Wyszehradzkiej,19033.html>.

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# RELATIONS WITH THE EASTERN NEIGHBORS IN 2007

ALEXANDER DULEBA

The Slovak government, which was formed after the June 2006 parliamentary elections, made a commitment in its *Manifesto* to intensify the economic dimension of Slovak diplomacy.<sup>1</sup> Prime Minister Robert Fico specified that the diplomacy's economic dimension would concern mainly the further development of Slovakia's relations with Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. He stated that he would personally advocate for the improvement of Slovak-Russian relations, which until now, had been, as to his view, downgraded by Slovak diplomacy. According to him, the relations with Russia will be stimulated, because the new cabinet will provide significantly more support to the economic dimension of foreign policy including countries such as Russia, Ukraine, and China.<sup>2</sup>

Further on, the text attempts to review the development of the political as well as the economic agenda of the Slovak Republic's (SR) relations with the eastern neighbors in 2007 including the fulfillment of the foreign policy's new priority.

## RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The highlight of the 2007 Slovak-Russian relations was the official visit of the Prime Minister of the SR R. Fico to the Russian Federation (RF) on May 4. The prime minister

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<sup>1</sup> "The Manifesto of the Government of the Slovak Republic", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2006); <http://www-8.vlada.gov.sk/index.php?ID=1672>.

<sup>2</sup> ČTK (July 6, 2007); TASR (July 27, 2007).

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was accompanied by four members of the government – Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR Ján Kubiš, Minister of Economy of the SR, Ľubomír Jahnátek, Minister of Transport, Posts, and Telecommunications of the SR Ľubomír Vážny, and Minister of Defense of the SR František Kašický. The Slovak government delegation was received by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, and subsequently held talks with Prime Minister of the Government of the Russian Federation Mikhail Fradkov. Putin received the Slovak government delegation in his Novo-Ogaryovo residence near Moscow, not in the Kremlin, which – in the language of Russian diplomatic customs – is an expression of a special honor for a foreign guest. The subject of the talks was, foremost, the questions of economic cooperation, although the talks dealt also with three issues within the foreign policy domain:

- the positions of the two sides on the construction of the elements of the American anti-missile defense envisaged in the Czech Republic (radar) and Poland (base of missile interceptors);
- the solution of Kosovo's final status; and
- the questions of further development of military-technical cooperation.

Before and during the talks with the Russian president, Slovakia's prime minister declared that he understood Russia's concern about the construction of the elements of the U.S. National Missile Defense (NMD) in the Czech Republic and Poland and stressed that he personally would have never agreed to such installations on the territory of the SR. The Russian President highly appreciated the Slovak prime minister's position on the issue of NMD. According to Putin, if the NMD constructions in the Czech Republic and Poland along with the constructions of the new American military bases on the territories of Romania and Bulgaria go ahead, Russia will have to take retaliatory measures including the suspension of the implementation of the *Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe* and pointing of missiles at the NMD facilities and military infrastructure in Central Europe.<sup>3</sup> A discrepancy unfolded on the issue of NMD and Russia's announced retaliatory measures between the position of the prime minister of the SR on one hand and Slovak diplomacy, including President of the SR Ivan Gašparovič, on the other since Slovakia as a member state of NATO co-signed the *Bucharest Summit Declaration* in April – before the Slovak prime minister's visit to Moscow – whose article 37 contains the recognition by all NATO's member states that the construction of the elements of

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*A discrepancy unfolded on the issue of NMD and Russia's announced retaliatory measures between the position of the prime minister of the SR on one hand and Slovak diplomacy, including President of the SR Ivan Gašparovič, on the other.*

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<sup>3</sup> "Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch oficiálnej návštevy predsedu vlády Slovenskej republiky Roberta Fica v Ruskej federácii dňa 4. mája 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); "Načalo rossijsko-slovackých peregovorov, 4 mája 2007 goda, Novo-Ogarevo", The Official Web Site of President of the Russian Federation; www.kremlin.ru; "Rossijsko-slovackije otnošenija", (Embassy of the Russian Federation to Slovakia, 2007).



the American NMD in Europe is a contribution to the security of all members of the Alliance. The position of the prime minister of the SR provoked critical comments by representatives of the Czech and Polish governments.<sup>4</sup>

The Slovak prime minister and the Russian president also agreed on the solution of Kosovo's final status. Putin notified Fico that "if Serbia does not agree with the decision on Kosovo, Russia is ready to defend (Serbia) in the UN SC and shall not support a resolution which would be against (Serbia's) intentions". If Kosovo's independence is declared unilaterally, Russia will apply the same attitude in the solution of frozen conflicts in the post-Soviet space. Fico notified Putin about the resolution passed by the National Council of the SR refusing a unilateral solution of Kosovo's status. He added, however, that "the SR will not be more Serbian than the Serbs themselves".<sup>5</sup> In two crucial issues of the international security agenda which caused tensions in 2007 between the majority of NATO and EU countries on one side and Russia on

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*After the talks with the Russian officials, the Slovak prime minister declared: "The government I preside over is not afraid of arms production in Slovakia."*

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the other, the position of the Slovak prime minister was identical with that of Russia. Compared to the previous period, Slovakia's foreign policy overcame a significant shift and so did the perception of Slovakia as a foreign policy actor within the Alliance and the Union.

Another issue with an international dimension featuring the Slovak-Russian talks on the highest level in Moscow was that of further development of military-technical cooperation between Slovakia and Russia. The Russian president pointed out that the major problem in this domain of bilateral relations is the solution of the issue of Soviet arms licenses from the years 1951 – 1989 for arms production in Slovakia. If this issue is solved, Russia is ready for the execution of joint projects with Slovakia in third countries, particularly in Asia and the Arab states. After the talks with the Russian officials, the Slovak prime minister declared: "The government I preside over is not afraid of arms production in Slovakia." At the same time, however, he reassured the Russian president that no military gear subjected to foreign licenses is currently produced in Slovakia.<sup>6</sup> The Moscow talks confirmed Fico's words that "there are no sensitive political topics arising between our countries and henceforth we can focus on a good and mutually beneficial economic cooperation." Based on the analysis of the attitude towards the development of relations with Russia, the independent European Council for Foreign

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<sup>4</sup> "Bucharest Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Bucharest on 3 April 2008", *NATO Press Release* 2008(049); For more see: "Topolánek a Fico sa na radare nezhodli", *TASR* (November 18, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> "Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch oficiálnej návštevy predsedu vlády Slovenskej republiky Roberta Fica v Ruskej federácii dňa 4. mája 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2A5FC6BB35397F74C12572EA0047DC18?OpenDocument>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*; See also "Fico: Nebojíme sa výroby zbraní", *Sme* (May 4, 2007); J. Čarnogurský, "Najdôležitejšia návšteva premiéra", *Pravda* (May 10, 2007).

Relations included Slovakia in the group of EU member states therein designated as 'Friendly Pragmatists' in the relations with Russia.<sup>7</sup>

Economic diplomacy in SR-RF relations had two highlights in 2007. The first was the 12<sup>th</sup> session of the Intergovernmental Slovak-Russian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Moscow in February 2007. Fico's government resumed the work of the Committee interrupted in 2002. The session of the Committee was attended by the economy minister Jahnátek who underlined the fact that the trade between the two countries had a growing tendency. According to Russian statistics, the overall trade between Slovakia and RF in 2006 reached a record worth of USD 5.7 billion. This trend continued in 2007 – according to the data of the Statistical Office and Ministry of Economy of the SR, trade with Russia exceeded SKK 167 billion in 2007. The growing value of bilateral trade was determined primarily by two factors: the falling rate of the US dollar and the growing prices of crude oil and natural gas on the global market, i.e. the main commodities imported by Slovakia from Russia.<sup>8</sup>

The other highlight of the economic diplomacy in the Slovak-Russian relations was associated with the above-mentioned visit of R. Fico to Moscow in May 2007. During the visit, a Slovak-Russian business forum took place in Moscow and was attended by 17 businesses from Slovakia and 60 Russian guests – representatives of business as well as RF's regional and state administrations. At the end of the forum, *The Protocol on the Creation of the Slovak-Russian Business Council* was signed by Ľudovít Černák, the former economy minister, on behalf of the Slovak side, and by Sergey Shmatko, president of the firm Atomstroyexport dealing with construction of nuclear power plants, on behalf of the Russian side. Another document signed during the visit of the Slovak government delegation to Moscow was *The Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Transport, Posts, and Telecommunications of the SR and the Russian Railways*. The memorandum was signed by transport minister Ľ. Vážny on behalf of the Slovak side and President of the Russian Railways Vladimir Yakunin on behalf of the Russian side.<sup>9</sup>

The confidential 'rail memorandum' initiated a big debate in the SR about the construction of the broad-gauge railways through Slovakia's territory and further on to Austria on the route Košice – Bratislava – Vienna. At the talks with R. Fico, V. Putin speaking about the broad-gauge railways through SR's territory declared that this project had a Europe-wide significance and should have been joined also by other

<sup>7</sup> M. Leonard, N. Popescu, "A Power Audit of EU – Russia Relations", *European Council on Foreign Relations*, EFCR/02 (November 2007); [http://ecfr.3cdn.net/1ef82b3f011e075853\\_0fm6bphgw.pdf](http://ecfr.3cdn.net/1ef82b3f011e075853_0fm6bphgw.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> "12. zasadnutie Medzivládnej slovensko-ruskej komisie pre hospodársku a vedecko-technickú spoluprácu v Moskve", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, February 19, 2007); "Zahraničný obchod SR – január až december 2007", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, 2008); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/index/go.php?id=4034>.

<sup>9</sup> "Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch oficiálnej návštevy predsedu vlády Slovenskej republiky Roberta Fica v Ruskej federácii dňa 4. mája 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2A5FC6BB35397F74C12572EA0047DC18?OpenDocument>.

European countries, particularly Austria and Germany. The two sides agreed to create a joint working group tasked with elaborating a feasibility study of the project.<sup>10</sup> According to the calculations of Lubomír Palčák, director of the Transport Research Institute, the construction of a broad-gauge railway from Bratislava to Košice would cost approximately SKK 80 billion and it would be profitable only in the case that 30 train sets are used in transporting 35-45 billion tons of goods per year. In other words, the demand for goods currently transported on the broad-gauge railway from Ukraine to Slovakia would have to increase approximately by 15 times.<sup>11</sup> The above-mentioned facts threw doubt on the optimistic expectations of the highest-ranking officials of both Russia and Slovakia and raised completely justified questions about the meaningfulness of the whole project.

Prime Minister Fico declared energy cooperation the main objective of his official visit to Moscow in May 2007. "The government of the SR is favorable of nuclear energy," he said at the Slovak-Russian business forum.

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*The construction of a broad-gauge railway from Bratislava to Košice would cost approximately SKK 80 billion and it would be profitable only in the case that 30 train sets are used in transporting 35-45 billion tons of goods per year.*

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During the talks with the Slovak prime minister, President Putin stressed that Russia wanted not only to supply the SR with nuclear fuel, but also to participate in the modernization and completion of the construction of the Mochovec nuclear power plant's (NPP) 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> bloc. R. Fico expressed an interest in Atomstroyexport, the Russian firm building previously NPPs in Slovakia, participating in the finishing of the construction of NPP Mochovec's two reactors and taking part in the tender for the

buildup of new reactors in NPP Jaslovské Bohunice.<sup>12</sup> *The Strategy of Energy Security of the SR* with a perspective until 2030 elaborated by the economy ministry (published on September 24, 2007) defines 13 priorities assuming the realization of 28 projects with investments worth SKK 464 billion. A major priority is the completion of the construction of NPP Mochovec's 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> blocs and, in the future, V3 Jaslovské Bohunice and NPP Kečerovce.<sup>13</sup>

Negotiating the best possible prices of natural gas from 2009 on is the Slovak government's priority in relations with Russia, since "the price of gas has a major impact on the socio-economic situation in the country." The current contract about the supply and transport of natural gas is valid until 2008.<sup>14</sup> The hope that Slovakia will continue to

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See: V. Fidlušová, "Moskva utajila memorandum", *Sme* (July 6, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> "Fico: Nebojíme sa výroby zbraní", *Sme* (May 4, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> "Stratégia energetickej bezpečnosti SR do roku 2030" ("The Strategy of Energy Security of the SR until 2030"), (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, 2007); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/index/go.php?id=3167>.

<sup>14</sup> "Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch oficiálnej návštevy predsedu vlády Slovenskej republiky Roberta Fica v Ruskej federácii dňa 4. mája 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2A5FC6BB35397F74C12572EA0047DC18?OpenDocument>.

have 'decent gas prices' was expressed by economy minister L. Jahnátek during talks with Gazprom's deputy director Valery Golubev and Gazpromneft's president Alexander Dyukov. Gazprom's representatives reminded minister Jahnátek that the price of natural gas for Slovakia would eventually depend on the talks between Gazprom and Slovak Gas Industry (SPP). The Slovak hopes for 'good prices' of natural gas were undermined by the information of Gazprom's boss Alexey Miller from June 2008 saying that the price of Russian natural gas for the EU at the end of 2008, i.e. by the time when the price for Slovakia for the upcoming years will be known, was originally estimated at USD 400 per 1,000 m<sup>3</sup> while it has already reached USD 410 in mid-2008. According to Miller, the price of crude oil will reach USD 250 per barrel and the price of natural gas USD 500 per 1000 m<sup>3</sup> in the 'near future'.<sup>15</sup> This estimate complicates the Slovak-Russian natural gas contract, because in the time of dramatic rise of crude oil and natural gas prices, Gazprom has no reason to rush with the contract or commit to lower natural gas prices for Slovakia. On the other hand, the Slovak government is pressed to make the deal by the date of Slovakia's accession to the Eurozone – January 1, 2009. The price of natural gas for Slovakia will determine one of the main grades on the success or failure of the economic dimension of the Slovak diplomacy during R. Fico's government in relations with Russia.

One of the main subjects of 2007 Slovak-Russian economic relations was the issue of solution of the fate of a 49%-stock share in Transpetrol, a. s., which in 2002 was gained through the privatization by the Russian crude oil company Yukos. During the talks with president Putin and Prime Minister Fradkov, Prime Minister Fico expressed interest in a "timely solution to the situation in Transpetrol, a.s." Putin pledged help to the Slovak government in this issue. Following the talks with Putin, Fico did not rule out that "the solution could not only be the buyout by Slovakia of 49% of stocks, but that the share in Transpetrol could be also gained by a different Russian firm".<sup>16</sup> In the second half of 2007, an interesting development evolved around the cause of the fate of Yukos' 49% of Transpetrol stocks. In August, the Yukos receiver Eduard Rebgun organized an auction of the Dutch subsidiary Yukos Finance B. V. which owns the Transpetrol stocks. Yukos' foreign assets including the Transpetrol share were gained on the auction by the Russian crude oil company Promneftstroy, the subsidiary of the state crude oil giant Rosneft. Yukos Finance B. V.'s spokeswoman Clair Davidson declared the auction a farce: "It was an elaborated farce. Eduard Rebgun could have as well sold the Statue of Liberty to the participators of today's auction, since he has the same right to the monument as to the sale of Yukos Finance B. V. – that is none."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "Minister Jahnátek rokoval s Gazpromom o cene plynu", SITA (February 19, 2007); S. Kulikov, "Gazprom nanosí preventívny údar", *Nezavisimaja gazeta* (June 11, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> "Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch oficiálnej návštevy predsedu vlády Slovenskej republiky Roberta Fica v Ruskej federácii dňa 4. mája 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2A5FC6BB35397F74C12572EA0047DC18?OpenDocument>.

<sup>17</sup> "MH nespochybňuje výsledok dražby Yukos Finance", SITA (August 15, 2007); "Rosneft v aukcii vydražil Transpetrol", *eTrend* (August 15, 2007).

On October 31, 2007, a first-degree court in Amsterdam ruled that executive directors Bruce Misamore and David Godfrey were legitimate representatives of Yukos Finance B. V., all shareholder decisions taken by E. Regbun as the Yukos receiver were invalid, and that Yukos was deprived of the right to a fair trial in Russia.<sup>18</sup> The October 2007 ruling by the Dutch court is a significant turn in the cause to the advantage to Yukos Finance B. V.'s original owners and simultaneously a clear signal to the Slovak government that if it seeks a solution to the fate of the 49% share in Transpetrol, a. s., it has to seek it primarily in an entirely different place.

Using the growth of bilateral trade between the SR and Russia as the point of departure, we can assert that the Slovak government strengthened the economic dimension in its 2007 relations with Russia. It is questionable, however, to what extent the growth of bilateral trade can be accredited to the Slovak diplomacy and to what extent it was determined by objective factors: Slovakia's own economic growth, particularly the rise in automobile exports to Russia, the falling exchange rate of the U.S. Dollar, and the growing prices of crude oil and natural gas imported from Russia. Although Slovak exports to Russia in 2007 grew by 59% compared to 2006, the adverse balance of the trade with Russia still exceeds SKK 100 billion and is the biggest amongst all Slovakia's relevant trade partners.<sup>19</sup> The major interest of the government led by R. Fico is in relation to Russia concerns energy policy. Considering the goals embedded in the government's Manifesto, Russia is an important partner mainly in the issue of nuclear technologies – it supplies the nuclear fuel and Russian companies can participate on the completion of the construction of the Mochovce nuclear power plant, and possibly also on the construction of the other two production facilities projected by *The Strategy of Energy Security of the SR*. The Slovak government's other priority is to achieve the lowest possible prices of natural gas starting in 2009 due to the two main reasons: impact on the socio-economic situation of the population and the accession to the Eurozone. Due to the fact that Slovakia – just after Holland – has the second most developed gas supply and distribution network in the EU, natural gas price has a big impact on the socio-economic conditions of Slovakia's population and the fulfillment of the government's *Manifesto*. A sharp rise of crude oil and natural gas prices in 2008 and 2009 could complicate Slovakia's accommodation in the Eurozone, regarding particularly the rise of inflation risks.

## UKRAINE

Compared to previous years, 2007 was an exceptionally rich year for the Slovak-Ukrainian relations in terms of both substance and intensity of contacts on the official as well as

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<sup>18</sup> "Ruský správca konkurznej podstaty Yukos Oil Company nie je oprávnený odvolať manažment spoločnosti Yukos Finance B. V.", Press Release of Yukos Finance B. V., (October 31, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> "Zahraničný obchod SR – január až december 2007", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, 2008); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/index/go.php?id=4034>.



the unofficial level. Paradoxically, this was the case even though Ukraine found itself in a long-lasting political crisis resulting in early parliamentary elections in 2007. The year was marked by two meetings of Slovakia and Ukraine's prime ministers Robert Fico and Victor Yanukovich respectively, the Ukrainian President Victor Yushchenko paid an official visit to Bratislava, the Ukrainian Parliament's Speaker Oleksandr Moroz participated in the talks of the speakers of the parliaments of the EU member states in Bratislava, the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Industrial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation resumed, and there were two sessions of the intergovernmental committee for cross-border cooperation. The political agenda of the bilateral relations was dominated by Slovakia's support for Ukraine's European integration and the activity of the Slovak Embassy in Kyiv as the NATO Contact Point Embassy during 2007-2008.

In relations with Ukraine, the Slovak government stressed two main subjects: securing the protection of the border with Ukraine to the extent sufficient for Slovakia's fulfilling the technical criteria for the accession to the Schengen zone, and import of electric energy with the goal to cover the deficit on the domestic market which will appear after the envisaged turn-off of NPP Jaslovské Bohunice's second bloc in 2009. More intensely than before, the Ukrainian side raised the question of cooperation in transporting the Caspian oil through the Slovak segment of the Družba pipeline.

On February 26, 2008, Prime Minister R. Fico paid an official visit to Ukraine. The government delegation featured Foreign Minister J. Kubiš, Economic Minister Ľ. Jahnátek and Slovak Ambassador to Ukraine Urban Rusnák. The Prime Minister was received by President V. Yushchenko, and he met Prime Minister V. Yanukovich and Speaker of the Parliament O. Moroz. The meeting of the prime ministers resulted into an agreement restoring the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Industrial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which was interrupted in 2002. A political agreement about the electric energy supplies from Ukraine to Slovakia can be regarded as the main outcome of the visit. The three following agreements were signed during the visit: an agreement on the support and mutual protection of investments, an agreement on international combined traffic and *The Plan of Slovak-Ukrainian Cooperation in the Implementation of the EU-Ukraine Action Plan for 2007*.<sup>20</sup> The following meeting of R. Fico and V. Yanukovich took place on August 28 in Užhorod. R. Fico was accompanied on his trip by Deputy Prime Minister Robert Kaliňák, Foreign Minister J. Kubiš, and Economic Minister Ľ. Jahnátek. The Užhorod meeting was dedicated to electricity imports from Ukraine, Slovakia's accession to the Schengen space and cooperation on the common border, drafting of the agreement on small border contact, facilitation of visa regime, and cross-border cooperation.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Správa o priebehu a výsledkoch cesty delegácie vedenej predsedom vlády Slovenskej republiky Robertom Ficom na Ukrajinu 26. 2. 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/407A7A1125C59685C12572AE004435FA?OpenDocument>; M. Siruk, "Dynamizácia dialohu. Ukrajina i Slovaččyna intesyfikujú vidnosyny", *Deň*, No. 36 (February 28, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> "Predseda vlády SR Robert Fico v utorok 28. augusta 2007 na zahraničnej pracovnej ceste v ukrajinskom Užhorode", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); [http://www.government.gov.sk/aktuality\\_start.php3?id\\_ele=7308](http://www.government.gov.sk/aktuality_start.php3?id_ele=7308).

The chain of high-level diplomatic events in 2007 Slovak-Ukrainian relations was topped by president Yushchenko's official visit to Slovakia on October 10– 11. Ukraine's president held talks with the Slovak President Ivan Gašparovič, Prime Minister Robert Fico, and speaker of the parliament Pavol Paška, and held a public lecture on the grounds of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association. Two intergovernmental agreements were signed during his visit: an agreement on the construction and opening of the land border crossing Čierna nad Tisou – Solomonovo and an amended agreement on social security.<sup>22</sup>

It is possible to conclude that in relations with Ukraine, the Slovak government led by R. Fico continues with the activities started earlier by Dzurinda's government after entry into NATO and the EU in 2004. February 2007 featured the signature of *The Plan of Slovak-Ukrainian Cooperation in the Implementation of the EU-Ukraine Action Plan for 2007* which provides a framework for Slovakia's assistance to Ukraine in its European integration. State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Volodymyr Ohryzko was appointed to conduct the talks on behalf of the ministry with

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the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR J. Kubiš in February 2007 in Kyiv, expressed an interest in regular consultations with the Slovak partners in the preparation for negotiations on a strengthened EU-Ukraine agreement after the implementation of the Action Plan until the end of 2007. During the February 2007 talks of the government delegations in Kyiv, Prime Minister Yanukovich – similarly to his predecessor Yuriy Yekhanurov – highly appreciated the Slovak support and assistance in the advance-

ment of relations with the EU.<sup>23</sup> The Slovak Embassy in Kyiv became the NATO Contact Point Embassy in Ukraine for 2007 – 2008. For the first time ever in the history of Slovak diplomacy during NATO membership, the Slovak Republic was assigned to represent the CPE in a NATO partner country. The embassy is tasked with supporting the dialogue between Ukraine and the Alliance and presenting NATO in Ukraine, i.e. activities aimed at raising the awareness of the Ukrainian public. The embassy in Kyiv administers a special grant scheme that allows it to award small grants to Ukrainian organizations dedicated to the public debate on NATO and Ukraine's security policy.

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<sup>22</sup> "Ukrajina i Slovákija podpisali 2 dvuchstoronnych dokumenta. In: Korrespondent, 11. 10. 2007; Juščenko: Ukrajina zainteresovaná v priamom členstve v JeS i NATO", *Korrespondent* (October 11, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> "Správa o priebehu a výsledkoch cesty delegácie vedenej predsedom vlády Slovenskej republiky Robertom Ficom na Ukrajinu 26. 2. 2007", (Bratislava: Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/407A7A1125C59685C12572AE004435FA?OpenDocument>; "Informácia o plnení návrhu pomoci Slovenskej republiky Ukrajinu pri plnení cieľov Akčného plánu EÚ – Ukrajina 2006", (Bratislava: Office of the Government of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/FC0D3BB5E8E8B4AEC1257275002B1C56?OpenDocument>.



In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR (MFA SR) supported four projects in 2007 aimed at raising the awareness of the Ukrainian public about NATO.<sup>24</sup>

One of the main political issues of 2007 Slovak-Ukrainian relations was the preparation of the SR for entry into the Schengen space including the strengthening of the cooperation of police and customs bureaus on the Slovak-Ukrainian border and, simultaneously, the effort of both sides to reduce the negative impact on cross-border cooperation. This was one of the reasons why the August 2007 meeting of the governments of Slovakia and Ukraine took place in the border city of Užhorod. Ukraine was interested in signing an agreement on small border contact, which would enable the population in the border municipalities to cross the border more easily. The Schengen rules allow for a special visa regime for the inhabitants of the municipalities on the Schengen space's outer border located a maximum 50 km from the border. The Slovak side proposed that the signature of the agreement be coordinated with Poland and Hungary.<sup>25</sup>

Further advancement of cross-border cooperation in regards to Slovakia's entry into the Schengen space was the subject of the 6<sup>th</sup> session of the intergovernmental committee for cross-border cooperation taking place on December 13-14, 2007 in the Zakarpattia Oblast. The committee recommended to both governments to continue in the construction of new border crossings Čierna nad Tisou – Solomonovo and Ulič – Zabrod, to sign the agreement on small border contact, to draft an agreement on the organization of the common border and customs control on the border crossings, and other measures.<sup>26</sup>

On the occasion of his October 2007 visit to Slovakia, president Yushchenko called on Slovak officials to join a group of 14 countries which recognized the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine as an ethnic genocide of the Ukrainian nation. On December 12, the National Council of the SR discussed a declaration originally sponsored by a group of deputies from the Christian-Democrat Movement (KDH) recognizing the famine as an ethnic genocide of the Ukrainian nation. The discussion resulted into the passage of an amended draft of the declaration of the National Council of the SR, which designates the famine of the 1930s as a slaughter and a crime of Stalin's regime, but declines to designate it as an ethnic genocide of the Ukrainian nation.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Pôsobenie SR na poste Kontaktného veľvyslanectva NATO pre Ukrajinu", (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, Ministry of Defense of the SR, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> "Kaliňák: Od júna budeme pripravení zabezpečiť Schengen", ČTK (March 14, 2007); "Slovensko uvažuje o malom pohraničnom styku s Ukrajinou", ČTK (August 28, 2007); "Viktor Janukovyč vvažuje, ščo Ukrajina i Slovaččyna možuť vže u veresni pidpisaty uhodu pro sproščenna vizovoho režymu", *Press-sluzhba Kabminu Ukrainy* (August 28, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> "Protokol zo šiesteho zasadnutia Slovensko-ukrajinskej (Ukrajinsko-slovenskej) medzivládnej komisie pre cezhraničnú spoluprácu", Ukraine, Zakarpattia Oblast, Antalovci, Bogoljvar (December 13-14, 2007); [http://195.49.189.66/p17\\_2008-2/p17-c02-2008-16.shtm](http://195.49.189.66/p17_2008-2/p17-c02-2008-16.shtm).

<sup>27</sup> "NR SR: Prijali deklaráciu k hladomoru v bývalom Sovietskom zväze", SITA (December 13, 2007).

The turnover of the bilateral trade between Slovakia and Ukraine in 2006 exceeded USD 1 billion (SKK 32 billion). In 2003-2005, Slovakia had a significantly adverse trade balance with Ukraine. 2007 was the first year when, after a longer period, Slovakia reported a positive trade balance of SKK 4 billion with Ukraine.<sup>28</sup>

The main issue of bilateral economic cooperation raised by the Slovak side in 2007, was the interest in importing electric energy from the Burshtyn power plant, which is the only Ukrainian power plant compatible with the European electric energy distribution and transit system UCTE. The Slovak government expressed an interest to importing two to four terawatt hours of electricity per year from Ukraine during the period of 10 years with the goal to compensate the deficit on the domestic market, which will be generated in 2009 after the turn-off of NPP Jaslovské Bohunice's second bloc. The electricity imports from Ukraine are conditioned by the construction of connections between the distribution networks of Ukraine and Slovakia and the arrangements of quota and take-off amounts through UCTE. The Ukrainian side welcomed the opportunity to export energy to the SR and the connection of national networks, because then it could supply also other European countries with electric energy.<sup>29</sup>

On May 29-30, 2007, the first session of the restored Intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Industrial, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation took place in Kyiv. The Committee was presided over by – due to their positions – the economic ministers of both countries Ľ. Jahnátek and – at that time on behalf of the Ukrainian side – A. Kinakh. The first session discussed and passed *The Charter of the Intergovernmental Committee* and formed 10 working groups, which would be dedicated to specific areas of economic cooperation. Next to the issue of electric energy imports, the Committee also dealt with other prospective areas of bilateral cooperation – biofuels production in Ukraine, storage of natural gas, crude oil transit through the Druzhba pipeline, the finishing of the construction of Kirovovzhshki Exploitation and Repair Factory (KERF), transportation, engineering, chemical industry, agriculture, tourism, and the like. The Slovak side suggested that the Ukrainian side consider the option of a buyout of the Slovak share in KERF through electric energy supplies in the respective cost.<sup>30</sup>

On every bilateral meeting about economic cooperation in 2007 (meetings of the governments in Kyiv and Užhorod, the visit of Ukraine's president to Slovakia, the first session of the intergovernmental economic committee etc.), the Ukrainian side raised the issue of cooperation with Slovakia in the transportation of Caspian crude oil to

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<sup>28</sup> "Zahraničný obchod SR – január až december 2007", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, 2008); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/index/go.php?id=4034>.

<sup>29</sup> "V Kyjeve dominovala energetika", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, February 26, 2007); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/index/go.php?id=8&idm=0&prm1=1&prm2=666&rok=2007&mesiac=0&den=0>; "Janukovyč a Fico prijali politické rozhodnutie ohľadne dodávok elektriny", *Sme* (February 26, 2007).

<sup>30</sup> "Informácia z 1. zasadnutia Medzivládnej komisie pre hospodársku, priemyselnú a vedecko-technickú spoluprácu medzi Slovenskou republikou a Ukrajinou", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the SR, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/32A93C681645C4AFC125730D004575FE?OpenDocument>.

the European markets via the terminal Yuzhnyy – Brody – the Slovak segment of the Druzhba pipeline. The Ukrainian president invited Prime Minister Fico to an energy summit, which took place in May 2008 in Kyiv. The objective of the summit was to focus on the interest of transit countries in the context of increasing Europe's energy security and the development of the EU's common energy policy. Ukraine and Slovakia share a key transit infrastructure for the transportation of natural gas and crude oil from Russia to the EU markets, which is a fact calling on both sides for a closer cooperation and coordination of steps on the international level. The Slovak response to the Ukrainian offer is still unclear and at the Kyiv energy summit, Slovakia was eventually represented by the foreign minister, not by the prime minister or the president of the SR. The SR also did not sign the Kyiv declaration *On the Principles of Global Energy Security*, which emphasizes the position, significance, and interests of transit countries for Europe's energy security.<sup>31</sup>

Concerning the intensity of contacts and cooperation in Slovak-Ukrainian relations, 2007 was an exceptional year. This statement is remarkable particularly because Ukraine was suffering a serious political crisis. Nevertheless, it turned out that Ukraine is a strategic partner linked to Slovakia by its key interests – Slovakia's membership in the EU and NATO, a common border, cooperation in energy policy and other areas, and the fact that the agenda of bilateral relations is important to both sides regardless the current composition of governments or internal political situations.

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## BELARUS

With respect to the frozen political relations between the EU and Belarus, there have been no high-level meetings in bilateral relations since 1996. The year 2007 was no exception; there were only two bilateral meetings on the expert and working levels. In March 2007, consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of Slovakia and Belarus on the level of General Director of the Political Section of MFA SR Miroslav Lajčák and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus Valery Voronetski. The other diplomatic event in Slovak-Belarusian relations stemmed from the decision of the Slovak government to resume the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee for Trade-Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation

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<sup>31</sup> V. Socor, "Slovak Detour Would Defeat Odessa-Brody Oil Transport Project", *Eurasia Daily Monitor* (February 28, 2007); [http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article\\_id=2371953](http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2371953); "Participants in Kyiv Energy Summit Declare Energy Cannot Be Used as Political Lever", *Interfax Ukrajina* (May 23, 2008).

between Slovakia and Belarus which was accepted by the Belarusian side. The 8<sup>th</sup> session of the Intergovernmental Committee took place on December 13, 2007 in Minsk. The Slovak delegation to the meeting was led by Economic State Secretary Peter Žiga and the Belarusian delegation by deputy foreign minister Valery Voronetski.<sup>32</sup>

Having in mind the above-mentioned situation in political relations between the two countries, the main agenda of bilateral relations is represented by foreign trade and economic cooperation. According to the records of the Ministry of Economy of the SR, mutual trade turnover between Slovakia and Belarus reached USD 176.2 million in 2007 and grew by 29.9% against 2006. In 2007, for the first time in the last seven years, Slovakia reported an active foreign trade balance with Belarus worth USD 27.6 million. The shift emerged mainly thanks to the new commodity in the Slovak exports – personal automobiles produced by Slovakia (Tuareg, Peugeot 207, and Kia) which represented a share of 25% on the overall exports of Slovakia to Belarus in 2007.<sup>33</sup> Next

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to the development of economic relations, Slovakia dedicated a big part of its activities towards Belarus in supporting civil society and democracy promotion on that place, mostly through the instrument of official development assistance (SlovakAid), allocating funds worth SKK 8.7 million for Belarus<sup>34</sup>. Thanks to this support as well as the support of other foreign partners in 2007, projects by Pontis Foundation, ETP Slovakia, and the Institute of International Relations and Approximation of Law at the Faculty of Law of Comenius University were executed there. The projects focused on capacity-building in the sphere of public policy (Pontis),

regional development (ETP), and development of education in line with democratic values at Belarusian universities (FL).

Regarding Slovakia's diplomatic activities concerning Belarus on the multilateral level, it is important to mention two facts. During the Portuguese Presidency of the EU in the second half of 2007, Slovakia's embassy in Minsk served as the local representation of the EU Presidency since Portugal does not have its own embassy in Minsk. The agreement of member countries to choose the Slovak embassy indicates a recognition of the Slovak diplomacy in the agenda of the development of relations between the EU and the eastern neighbors.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2008. <http://www.mzv.sk>.

<sup>33</sup> "Bieloruská republika. Základná informácia o teritóriu", (Minsk: Slovakia's Diplomatic Mission to Minsk, 2007); <http://www.privatiz.gov.sk/index/go.php?id=3206>.

<sup>34</sup> "Schválené projekty pre krajiny 3. a 4. výzvy a projekty humanitárnej pomoci pre Moldavsko", <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/289/1/7/>.

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. M. Havran jr., "Predchádzajúca vláda sa orientovala na USA, táto na EÚ", Interview with J. Kubiš for the Internet portal [www.JeToTak.sk](http://www.JeToTak.sk) (March 11, 2007).

For the period of mid-November 2007 to mid-May 2008, Slovakia had for the first time held the Presidency in the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. Among the priorities of its presidency, Slovakia also included the objective that "the European states that have so far not shared the common values of the organization reconsider their positions. The only European state that has not yet met the membership criteria and has no official relations with the Council of Europe is Belarus. The Slovak presidency will be interested to carry out activities which could help change the attitudes of Belarus towards meeting the criteria for its membership in the Council of Europe."<sup>36</sup> This was, undoubtedly, the most ambitious goal of Slovakia's presidency in the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

A positive initiative which in the meantime has come to be reproduced in 2008, was the cooperation between Slovak non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the diplomacy, when on June 13, 2007, Pontis Foundation together with the Permanent Representation of the SR to the EU and MFA SR organized a briefing on Belarus with the participation of Belarusian experts for the members of the working group for Eastern Europe and Central Asia within the Council (COEST) and other representatives of EU member states. Through these and other events (e.g. a roundtable of MFA SR and Slovak NGOs on Belarus organized by the ministry in April 2007 or a presentation by Pontis Foundation on the trends in Belarus for representatives of the V4 countries, Slovenia, and Germany) Slovakia upholds its commitment to carry on with the cooperation with the non-governmental sector. Simultaneously, through its activities, it managed to profile as one of the main agents of the EU's policy towards Belarus on the European level.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In 2007, the activity of intergovernmental committees for economic cooperation of Slovakia with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus was resumed. This fact can be regarded as the main result of the Slovak government's effort to fulfill its intention in the *Manifesto* to strengthen the diplomacy's economic dimension in relations with the eastern neighbors. The activity of the intergovernmental committees on economic and trade cooperation with the eastern neighbors was suspended by the previous government – in most cases it happened in 2002 in connection to Slovakia's EU-accession process. Membership in the EU implies that Slovakia – as a participant in the EU single market – may not negotiate or conclude agreements on conditions of foreign trade with third, i.e. non-member countries. The only competent body representing all EU member states in the trade relations with third countries including their missions to the World

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<sup>36</sup> "Priority predsedníctva SR vo Výbore ministrov Rady Európy", "Uznesenie vlády SR č. 256" (March 14, 2007); <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B19B674BF4FA38C2C125729100314B16?OpenDocument>.

Trade Organization is the Commission. As opposed to the bilateral intergovernmental committees of Slovakia with eastern neighbors prior to 2002, whose agenda had been precisely the development of trade relations, the intergovernmental committees with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus restored by Fico's government in 2007 may not negotiate conditions of a trade regime with Slovakia. On one hand, resuming their activities testifies about the Slovak government's effort to meet the priority of the *Manifesto* to strengthen the economic dimension of the diplomacy, on the other hand it is too early to evaluate the effectiveness of this renewed instrument, since the conditions of bilateral trade may not be the subject of their agenda. Intergovernmental committees can deal with common projects of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, but not with conditions of trade.

The year 2007 was a turning point in the development of Slovakia's foreign trade with the eastern neighbors. For the first time in a long period Slovakia has reported an active balance of trade with Ukraine and Belarus and simultaneously, the passive balance of trade with Russia dropped. The main cause is the rapid boost of Slovak exports, particularly the automobile industry products which drove Slovakia's fast economic growth in 2007. This factor is the result of the development of the automobile

industry in Slovakia in the last few years and is of an objective nature, i.e. it is not subjected to political decisions taken in 2007.

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*In order to grant its long-term interests towards the eastern neighbors, Slovakia can currently achieve in Brussels at least as much as in Moscow, Kyiv, or Minsk.*

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The main point of departure for Slovakia's policy towards the three East-European countries is the fact that all three function in a different international regime than Slovakia. Slovakia's entry into NATO and especially the EU in 2004 reduced the opportunities for a bilateral policy towards the eastern neighbors

and simultaneously brought opportunities for Slovakia to work within NATO and the EU with the goal of participating in the formulation of policies of the Alliance and the Union that most suit Slovakia's interests. If we talk about economic diplomacy, the goal of which should be the support of foreign trade, the priority of the Slovak diplomacy should be the membership of eastern neighbors in the WTO being the condition for further liberalization of foreign trade with the EU. In the next phase, the priority of the Slovak economic diplomacy should be the liberalization of the EU's trade with the eastern neighbors, i.e. the signing of trade liberalization agreements, which would factor in Slovakia's economic and trade interests to the most possible extent. Simultaneously, it is in Slovakia's interest that the EU's policies – notably within the EU-Russia Common Spaces and the European Neighborhood Policy in relation to Ukraine and sooner or later also to Belarus – evolve in the direction fit to Slovakia's long-term interests. In order to grant its long-term interests towards the eastern neighbors, Slovakia can currently achieve in Brussels at least as much as in Moscow, Kyiv, or Minsk.



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# THE EXTERNAL ENERGY SECURITY OF SLOVAKIA – REFLECTION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MFA SR

JÁN ŠOTH

The tension on the global energy markets grew gradually throughout the year 2007 as a result of the steep increase in oil and natural gas prices as well as due to the fear of an impending lack of energy. Even renowned expert institutions throughout the world published studies and prognoses<sup>1</sup> which state that, among the other global threats we must prepare to face, the following decade will dramatically increase the pressure on the stable delivery of energy resources and the pressure of the great powers focused on the control over the world's key production regions. Many perceive this as a direct consequence (among others) of the modernization and the fast economic growth of multiple large and until recently – developing countries like India, China or Brazil. The evident depletion of European deposits of energy resources is the second serious cause.

## THE ENERGY (IN)SECURITY OF THE EU

Energy – its long-term accessibility and the sustainability of economic development are becoming the key strategic issues of global politics as they stand behind the obvious geopolitical movements. It is a real threat that “the economy of countries and regions which do not adapt to the ever more demanding functioning conditions of the world economy and ignore or underestimate the potential threats in energy supply will face

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<sup>1</sup> *World Energy Outlook 2007*. (International Energy Agency, 2007); <http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org>.

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the destabilization of their political and economic systems. We cannot exclude alterations of traditional power structures, partnerships and alliances".<sup>2</sup> According to the International Energy Agency (IEA) the trends in energy consumption, energy supply and the utilization of coal and natural gas are currently deteriorating. If development continues down this path, by 2030 we can expect a 50% increase in world energy consumption. According to the IEA all governments must adopt immediate and focused measures.<sup>3</sup>

The European Union as one of the largest world importers of oil, natural gas and coal is a significant actor in the international energy market.<sup>4</sup> Unfavorable development on the world markets and the vulnerability of energy resources supplies forces the EU to formulate its own common foreign energy policy. The fact that the structures and power of the operating energy entities in each member country are different remains a problem. This is why every member country requires an individual package of solutions, which are financially demanding and linked with politics thus making it difficult to agree on a hierarchy of priorities on the communitarian level.

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The energy security of Europe has thus become a long-term acute problem for the EU. Expert estimates confirm that the dependency of EU member states upon energy imports will continue to grow. *The EC Green Paper – A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy* outlines a pessimistic image of the EU energy situation. If no steps are taken it assumes that the energy dependency of the Union will grow from 50% in the year 2000 to 70% in the year 2030. The current natural gas import structure is following: 40% of European

consumption is supplied from Russia, 30% from Algeria and 25% from Norway. The estimate for 2030 assumes 60% of natural gas will be imported from Russia.<sup>5</sup> All Union member states agree with this prognosis and call for the search for common solutions and approaches. In March 2007 the European Council adopted the conclusions of the European Council presidency and the *European Council Action Plan (2007-2009) – An Energy Policy for Europe*<sup>6</sup>, containing 5 priorities:

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<sup>2</sup> "Draft Energy Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic, 2007); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/files/Energetika/SEB/SEB.doc>.

<sup>3</sup> *World Energy Outlook 2007*. (International Energy Agency, 2007); <http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org>.

<sup>4</sup> "Oil and Natural Gas – Geopolitical Aspects", *Euractiv.sk* (April 12, 2007); [http://www.euractiv.sk/energetika/zoznam\\_liniek/ropa-a-zemny-plyn-geopoliticke-aspekty](http://www.euractiv.sk/energetika/zoznam_liniek/ropa-a-zemny-plyn-geopoliticke-aspekty).

<sup>5</sup> "The EC Green Paper – A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy"; [http://ec.europa.eu/energy/green-paper-energy/doc/2006\\_03\\_08\\_gp\\_document\\_sk.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/energy/green-paper-energy/doc/2006_03_08_gp_document_sk.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> "An Energy Policy for Europe, European Council Action Plan (2007-2009)"; [http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BA99BEC34F0BEE4DC12572BA002C2C62/\\$FILE/Zdroj.html](http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BA99BEC34F0BEE4DC12572BA002C2C62/$FILE/Zdroj.html).

1. Internal Energy Market for Gas and Electricity;
2. Security of Supplies;
3. International Energy Policy;
4. Energy Efficiency and Energy from Renewable Sources; and
5. Energy Technologies.

The countries of Western Europe faced a similar problem in the past during the 1950s. In that time they faced the need to coordinate their coal and steel policies. The European Coal and Steel Community was formed and successfully solved the distribution of resources and production. A thought thus occurs that if Europe is successful in creating a healthy basis for a common EU energy policy this could have a similar effect on the progress of European integration like the common coal and steel policy 50 years ago and may as well become the foundation of a truly effective Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU. This solution isn't of course an issue of the nearest perspectives.

## IS SLOVAKIA ENERGETICALLY VULNERABLE?

There are currently very few countries in the world that can ensure their full and long-term self-sufficiency in various forms of energy resources. For most states in the world energy security thus bears a significant external, foreign dimension, demonstrated by greater or lesser dependency of national energy models upon external suppliers and factors. In the case of Slovakia the level of our external unilateral dependency upon energy resources is extremely high which increases the vulnerability of the positive economic development in the country in the future and can threaten the long-term sustainability of our growth trend.

Slovak energy security is not directly threatened but due to its unilateral dependencies Slovakia is vulnerable. Slovakia's membership in the European Union and specialized organizations such as the OECD International Energy Agency is a comparative although still a relative advantage in the struggle for stable energy supplies. Despite several years of efforts to form its own foreign energy policy the Union is not yet capable of ensuring the energy security of its members. Even though recent measures adopted to increase energy security are heading in the right direction, they alone cannot substantially improve the energy security of every member state.

In the situation when energy security was becoming one of the crucial issues of international politics the Slovak Foreign Service could not react differently but commence searching for a more responsible distribution of tasks on the state administration level in evaluating and assessing the external factors of Slovakia's energy security. That does not mean that the Ministry was inactive before, but there was no functional mechanism for the regular and systematic exchange of information and joint progress assessment with other actors of the Slovak energy scene. As of 2007 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (had and still) has the ambition to be the initiator of the joint internal

Slovak search for information and solutions in the field of the strategic and practical energy security issues. The Ministry wishes to engage in a permanent dialogue on these issues with all important Slovak energy actors in the state, private and non-governmental sectors.

The MFA SR also finds a firm basis for its approach to the energy agenda in the current *Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic*<sup>7</sup> of 2005 which states that among the vital security interests of the country is the need to “create prerequisites for sustainable economic, social, environmental, and cultural development of the society” and to “reduce negative consequences of dependence on vital raw material resources by reducing energy and raw material intensity of its economy, through the diversification of these resources, ecological exploitation of natural resources, better use of renewable resources, and also through its concrete participation in improving the security and stability of the regions and countries that extract and transport such commodities.” According to the *Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic* “High dependency on steady supplies of raw materials, energies, non-renewable resources and their transport may jeopardize not only economic prosperity and stability of the state, but also its security. Competition for these resources and raw materials may lead even to armed conflicts.”

## STANDING WORK GROUP ON EXTERNAL ENERGY SECURITY

On the initiative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Ján Kubiš in the summer of 2007 (at the time when the Ministry of Economy of the SR was formulating its *Energy Security Strategy until 2030*) the Standing Work Group on External Energy Security<sup>8</sup> was established as an internal flexible structure utilizing the existing information and analytic capacities of the MFA SR and its headquarters’ departments as well as the Slovak diplomatic missions abroad.

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*The Ministry and its Work Group wish to compare and evaluate Slovakia’s real position in the international competition for the long-term provision of energy resources and the reduction of unilateral dependencies on energy supplies.*

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Its main tasks are to process, analyze and evaluate the data from Slovak diplomatic missions as well as other information regarding the issue of external energy security, to establish and maintain contacts with partners at home and abroad, to apply experience from other countries and to prepare analytic and information outputs for the MFA SR management. The Ministry and its Work Group wish to compare and evaluate Slovakia’s real position in the international competition for the long-term provision of

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<sup>7</sup> “The Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic”, (Bratislava: Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, 2005); [http://www.mosr.sk/dokumenty/bezp\\_strategia\\_2005.pdf](http://www.mosr.sk/dokumenty/bezp_strategia_2005.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> SPS VEB – Stála pracovná skupina pre vonkajšiu energetickú bezpečnosť.

energy resources and the reduction of unilateral dependencies on energy supplies. In cooperation with the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic the MFA intends to analyze development trends which could influence Slovakia's energy security, identify risks linked to the current procurement system of energy resources for the SR, formulate draft positions of the SR on issues related to external energy security which are being discussed on international forums, but most of all the Ministry intends to stimulate the much needed internal Slovak dialogue between institutions and experts on the issue of energy security in all of its complexity. From the very start the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was well aware of the fact that the formulation of Slovak energy policy is completely in the competence of the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic. It has never been the intention of the MFA SR to interfere in the competences of the Ministry of Economy. However on the other hand it has always been clear that the energy security of the country is an integral and indivisible part of Slovakia's national security<sup>9</sup> and its foreign-policy dimension is undeniable and cannot be marginalized. The MFA SR thus wants to partake in the formulation of the goals and interests of Slovakia's external energy security as well as in their implementation and it has already started to work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and other governmental departments.

At the end of 2007 Slovakia's Ministry of Economy submitted the draft of the extensive *Energy Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic* to the Government of the SR.<sup>10</sup> This material should have significant impact on the perspective of Slovak energy security; it reflects the crucial challenges of our time (climate change and its impact, energy efficiency, utilization of renewable energy sources, import dependency, the need to ensure the stability of supplies the necessity to implement research and development in the energy sector and the forming EU energy policy). By its continuous and necessary analysis of the foreign policy aspects of Slovakia's energy security the MFA SR wishes to contribute to the broadening of the given perception of the energy security issue in the present globalizing world and supplement and update this strategy in that sense.

The primary role of the MFA SR in this agenda is to reflect the energy interests of the SR in the formulation of long-term foreign policy concepts, in the setting of foreign policy priorities, in the formulation of the long-term vision and in the particular operation of the Foreign Service in bilateral relations as well as in the integration structures where the SR is a member. The Ministry believes that without permanent analysis and dialogue among all Slovak actors as well as selected foreign partners the results of our efforts to increase our energy security would be futile or at least much harder to achieve.

We can say with satisfaction that our partners at the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic, the Slovak Information Service at the Research Center of the Slovak

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<sup>9</sup> "The Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic", (Bratislava: Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, 2005); [http://www.mosr.sk/dokumenty/bezp\\_strategia\\_2005.pdf](http://www.mosr.sk/dokumenty/bezp_strategia_2005.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> "Draft Energy Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic", (Bratislava: Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic, 2007); <http://www.economy.gov.sk/files/Energetika/SEB/SEB.doc>.

Foreign Policy Association have correctly comprehended this challenge. In 2007 a truly mutually beneficial dialogue has been initiated between these organizations<sup>11</sup> – although in the first phase discussion has been more intensive with the institutional partners of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Standing Work Group on External Energy Security is not concerned by the technical details of possible solutions for individual problems in resource supplying. The focus of its work is in the analysis of the international multilateral and bilateral

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context of the issue and the possibilities of ‘energy diplomacy’. It also intends to consider the modalities of further cooperation with countries which are considered to have a transit character from Slovakia’s point of view and manners in which Slovakia should develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region of Central Europe in order to create a transparent regional energy market, better connect the natural gas and oil pipelines as well as the electrical networks in our region, strengthen the internal dialogue on the common EU energy policy and evaluate the utilization of energy from renewable sources based on

broader experience from particular countries – potential partners for cooperation with the SR.

## THE FIRST POSITIVE STEPS

The outcome of the year 2007 is encouraging. A decent expert basis for the analysis and development of particular issues of Slovakia’s external energy security has been established. During the first phase of its operation at the end of the year 2007 the Standing Work Group on External Energy Security formulated, for the needs of the Ministry and to inform selective central bodies of the state administration and Slovak embassies abroad, the *Preliminary Analysis of the Energy Security Situation of the Slovak Republic in Relation to the External Environment* and the analysis *Evaluation of the Energy Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020 from the Point of View of Ensuring the Needs of the Slovak Republic*. The analysis of the Russian energy strat-

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<sup>11</sup> The Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in Slovakia and the MFA SR organized the international conference *The Common EU Energy Policy and the Energy Security of Slovakia* in Bratislava on November 14-15, 2007, which gained a very positive response from its participants and its second round will be held in autumn 2008.



egy has been especially important for the better understanding of the political and economic context of Russia's actions in the 'European Energy Area' where, much like in other zones of Russia's interest, we can see the implementation of Russia's concept of using energy policy as an instrument of its foreign policy to increase Russian influence in world politics.<sup>12</sup>

The informational survey *Energy Policies of Selected World Countries in 2007* has been formulated mainly on the basis of materials provided by Slovakia's diplomatic missions around the world. This document is a rather schematic but broad mosaic of experience, approaches and trends in the energy policies of different countries which portrays the dynamic and challenging character of the external environment which the Slovak energy industry must face and where Slovak politics, economics and Foreign Service must operate. These informational outputs did not remain hidden in the offices of the ministry but were instead distributed to all our institutional partners in the state administration as well as to the offices of our highest political representatives.

The interest of the Slovak diplomacy to exchange information and consult issues of regional energy security with foreign countries made positive progress in the beginning of 2008 when the dialogue with our foreign partners was initiated. The first phase began with neighboring countries. These contacts confirmed the interest in mutual communication and the will to search for common solutions where possible.

The external energy security of the Slovak Republic is a complex issue and it poses many challenges in all of our energy sectors. Slovak diplomacy considers as its greatest challenge in the energy agenda to achieve improvement of communication with the actors in Slovakia's energy security and its institutionalization<sup>13</sup>; following this basic element the challenges are as follows: the formulation of national positions and their unified presentation to bilateral contacts as well as at all relevant international forums; establishing alliances and partnerships and systematic engagement in favor of regional energy cooperation and within the common EU energy policy. Slovakia's progress is evidently in the beginning stages and cannot be compared yet to the Czech model of dealing with the energy security agenda.

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<sup>12</sup> The opening text of the Russian energy strategy states that „Russia possesses great energy resources and a powerful fuel and energy complex, which is the basis of economic development and the instrument of carrying the internal and external policy. The role of the country on world energy markets is in many ways determined by its geopolitical influence“. Source: „The Summary of the Energy Strategy of Russia for the Period of up to 2020“, (Moscow: Ministry of Energy of the Russian Federation, 2003); [http://www.ec.europa.eu/energy/russia/events/doc/2003\\_strategy\\_2020\\_en.pdf](http://www.ec.europa.eu/energy/russia/events/doc/2003_strategy_2020_en.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> So far mainly informal expert meetings have been held in the auspices of the MFA SR.



## THE CZECH EXAMPLE

Czech diplomacy has established the position of Ambassador-at-Large for Energy Security Affairs of the CR who is directly subordinate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and from the nature of his post formulates documents, information and recommendations for the National Security Council and its Committee for Foreign Security Policy Coordination which is chaired by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. This committee regularly deliberates on energy security issues including the MFA CR communiqués on future approaches to ensuring the energy security of the state. The Ambassador-at-Large for Energy Security Affairs is also a member of the Independent Expert Commission on the Energy Issues of the Czech Republic (the so-called Pačes Commission). The institutional significance of the Ambassador-at-Large for Energy Security Affairs at the National Security Council meetings as well as in other institutions is very high and his cooperation with other competent departments has a very highly regarded systemic character. He has permanent access to all important information and unlimited space for contacts with foreign partners; he is constantly consulting the management of the ministries and institutions in questions both on an expert and political level.

The Slovak reality significantly differs from the Czech – the Standing Work Group on External Energy Security is at a much lower rank in the hierarchy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is an informal internal ministry unit which communicates with those experts from other departments who are willing to cooperate. The Standing work group was established under the Directorate General for Economic Cooperation and only its Head is more continuously and deeply active in the energy security agenda, building on information from the Slovak diplomatic missions abroad and publicly accessible documents. In Slovak conditions the institutional coverage of inter-departmental communication in the energy security agenda is truly in a ‘prenatal’ stage, although the good part is that the initiative towards an expert dialogue already exists.

## IN CONCLUSION

If we would like to sum up the energy mission statement of Slovak diplomacy or Slovak energy diplomacy into one sentence its optimal function would be to direct attention to main world trends and risks based on the analysis of phenomenon in the world energy developments; assist in activities to make the Slovak energy mix more progressive based on the experience of other countries; contribute to the promotion of Slovakia’s energy security interests and positions in European institutions and other international forums as well as in bilateral relations; and in cooperation with other departments assist in the gradual decreasing of our current unilateral dependencies on the import of energy resources which will help diversify their suppliers and routes but at the same time doesn’t threaten our relations with the present partners and supplies.

We believe that world trends in the energy security agenda confirm the correctness of the selected approach to the issue at the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the adequacy of a cooperative and synergic forward approach in the promotion of the vision of Slovakia's energy diplomacy. It is important not to fall behind. The global developments forces us to start changing the 'energy paradigm' (the overall perception of the issue, our projections, prejudices and positions towards it) in our minds, our actions and our activities in international organizations. It implies a new – more rational and sensitive perception of the role, significance and value of energy in the positive future development of society. Due to its burden of energy dependencies as well as a member of the group of economically developed European and world countries Slovakia should become a part of the more progressive group of states, which reflect and look beyond the horizon of the year 2030.

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## **III.** INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOOLS

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# MODERNIZATION OF THE SLOVAK FOREIGN SERVICE

MARCEL PEŠKO

The globalization processes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century are fundamentally transforming the conditions of Slovakia's interaction with other countries and cultures as well as the promotion of our interests in the international arena. In the global world diplomacy is expected to also be capable of maneuvering in the environment of many informal and non-governmental structures which supersede national borders. Since diplomacy is becoming a management tool for the regulation of globalization processes in favor of national interests it must be modernized to be prepared to respond even more flexibly to new trends and events. However the modernization of management is a challenge not only for the Foreign Service but also for the entire public sector. Today all elements of public administration are more and more confronted by the pressure to improve their performance and effectiveness.

In this context the modernization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic (MFA SR, MFA) is not a question of the will of the current Ministry management but an objective necessity. If the MFA stagnated and ignored the current demands of the era it would, sooner or later, face systemic problems and be confronted by the inability to deal with a growing number of tasks professionally and on time as well as the inability to fulfill its competences with the economical utilization of its allocated resources. The MFA would thus gradually lose its relevancy in the eyes of domestic and foreign partners.

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*The modernization of the MFA SR is not a question of the will of the current Ministry management but an objective necessity.*

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## TREFA – SYSTEMATIC CHANGES PROJECT AT THE MFA SR

The recipe on how to cope with these processes is in the systemic modernization of the MFA. The current management of the Ministry has approached this demanding task from a complex and systematic angle.

Today few would contest the thesis that the MFA needs to continue in the strengthening of its ability to ever more flexibly react to new developments and cope with new tasks. However it is less known that the department of foreign affairs operates in an environment of growing pressure on the limitation of budgetary expenses and on the reduction of the number of employees. According to the Government Manifesto the MFA SR should among other things strengthen the economic dimension of diplomacy and put greater emphasis than hitherto on the economic interests of the country through the unification of the Foreign Service and its central management.

The government also wishes to improve its services to the citizens, protect their interests first of all in emergency situations, intensify the support for the expatriate community, support the deepening of the EU integration and consolidation process, and last but not least ensure the connection of official development assistance with the foreign policy and business-economic interests of Slovakia. Growing requirements on increasing the effectiveness of a coordinated and united approach abroad as well as the task of formulating a draft act on the Foreign Service, which our Foreign Service after 15 years of independence not only deserves but desperately needs for the effectiveness of its activities in the international environment, are both linked to the previous goals.

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*The complex analysis activities of the Ministry will result in the proposal of a new procedural, organizational, functional and informational model of the ministry based on an approved timetable of subsequent steps towards the achievement of the defined final state.*

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Based on the aforementioned reasons the current management of the MFA headed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs Ján Kubiš decided to carry out a complex reevaluation of the Ministry's activities and create systemic conditions for the initialization and long-term sustainability of procedural and organizational changes. It is necessary to emphasize that the main challenge in this regard does not lie in the determination of adopting radical political decisions but most of all in the ability to convince the key managers and the majority of the Ministry's employees of the fact that these changes are inevitable and meaningful. It is no secret that the Foreign Service is conservative and resists changes whether knowingly or subconsciously as it is also distrustful of any innovations. Not to mention the resistance towards any external assistance where MFA personnel argues that the Ministry is such a specific organization that even the most renowned external consultant cannot understand it. It is also a majority belief that the specific characteristics of the foreign department are blocking the implementation of standard managerial approaches in management, approaches which have been successful in the reform of other organizations.



Despite a certain not surprising internal resistance at the end of 2006 the management of the Ministry decided on the realization of the project of Ministry changes which became known under the name TREFA – *TRvalá Efektivita riadeníA* (Permanent Effectiveness of Management). First practical outputs in the form of systemic measures are expected in the latter half of the year 2008. The complex analysis activities of the Ministry will result in the proposal of a new procedural, organizational, functional and informational model of the ministry based on an approved timetable of subsequent steps towards the achievement of the defined final state. At the very beginning of the project it was already obvious that the implementation of some systemic measures (for example in the area of strategic planning and procedural management) will not be restricted by the horizon of the year 2008. The declared ambition of the project is to, first of all, initialize changes based on thorough procedural analysis and adopt systemic measures for their long-term implementation and sustainability in order to transform the MFA into a 'live' organization with developed internal mechanisms and capacities for the realization of continual changes and improvement of management quality.

The fundamental framework for the rationalization of the modernization measures did not lie in the formal realization of change just for change itself but in a broader vision of the future functioning of the MFA which was defined as follows:

- So that the MFA does what is expected of it for the state, the president, parliament, government, citizens, business entities and the entire society.
- So that the financial and human resources allocated to the MFA are primarily utilized for the fulfillment of strategic goals and active diplomacy in the sense of the principle 'less administrative – more diplomacy'.
- So that the MFA employees are dominantly focused on the outputs rather than the inputs.
- So that the MFA has a properly motivated and professional team of employees at its disposal which is in the right place with the right competences.
- So that the MFA has the instruments necessary for the improvement of management quality, effectiveness and professionalism of the provided services with a higher added value.
- So that the MFA is dominated by a culture of change, openness, innovation and a willingness to take risks which would reduce the amount of alibism.
- So that the MFA operates in a simpler manner and thus better and cheaper.
- So that the MFA continues to strengthen the potential to influence global trends and challenges in favor of Slovakia and the potential of regulating internal political affairs.
- So that the MFA can contribute even more to the strengthening of the international image of the Slovak Republic.

After careful consideration the MFA has decided that this demanding project will be realized in cooperation with an external consultant company. From various candidates the MFA, while respecting the Act on public procurement, chose the company *Centire s.r.o.* Due to the non-existing experience in similar projects the preparation of the procurement procedure was also done in cooperation with an external partner.

From the beginning of the project the MFA declared that this project will require minimal financial inputs and should be limited by a schedule of two years for the implementation of significant changes. In order to ensure that the specifics of the Ministry are taken into account and to maintain full control over the project as well as to minimize financial requirements it has been decided that the project will be realized by the Ministry itself with the methodological and expert support of an external consultant. This support has naturally been stronger in the initial phases and is gradually decreasing. It was clearly stated up front that the leadership will remain in the hands of the MFA which will have control over the key decision-making processes.

Consultations with partner ministries of foreign affairs from countries which have already passed through similar reform processes or are currently realizing them (Denmark, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Norway and the Czech Republic) were a part of the preparation.

## **ORGANIZATIONAL PROVISION**

In the initial phase it was necessary to adopt organizational measures and allocate the necessary human, financial and material resources in order to ensure the internal realization of the project. A coordination committee of the TREFA project was established which is responsible for the strategic direction and decisions within the project. The committee is chaired by the Minister and its members are both State Secretaries, the Secretary General, General Directors of individual sections and the Directors of selected departments. The operative leadership of the project was delegated to the Secretary General who established a project team consisting of a project manager and other experts from the personnel of the Ministry. The role of the project manager was to ensure the initial phase, prepare preliminary materials for the selection of the external consultant, propose solutions and later coordinate and manage the project in cooperation with the project team of the consultant. The financing of the project has been covered by the MFA budget chapter for the year 2007 and 2008 while stating that the overall expenses of its realization over the 2 years cannot exceed 20 million SKK.

## **TREFA RISK FACTORS**

Due to the complexity of the project which will substantially influence the future functioning of the Ministry it has been clear from the start that the success of its realization depends on a great number of risks which need to be identified in time in order to minimize their negative potential. To this end all relevant materials and measures were realized with regard to the following risks:

- ambiguous and divided support for the project on the part of the Ministry management

- vague definition of the project goals;
- vague definition of those measures which will be realized in the implementation phase of the project and their effective communication to the employees;
- insufficient support for the implementation of the project measures and the lack of faith in its success on the part of the Ministry management;
- inability of the management to convince the majority of employees on the significance of the project in the interest of achieving necessary changes at the Ministry;
- insufficient and irregular communication with the employees of the Ministry;
- insufficient involvement of management personnel in the project as factors and bearers of change, taking into account their frequent rotation;
- allocation of insufficient human, financial and material resources for the project solution;
- failure to use the results of the procedural audit to implement a system of long-term management quality improvement;
- absence of continuous quality control of the consultative services in the preparation and realization of the project by an independent third party;
- failure to meet the approved schedule and project expenses;
- ignoring the need for regular evaluation of potential risks and the adoption of adequate measures to eliminate them.

## INTENSIVE COMMUNICATION AND THE PARTICIPATION OF EMPLOYEES

It is obvious that even the best intended changes evoke concerns and negative reactions among the employees and management personnel. The communication plan of the TREFA project was adopted to address and clear those concerns. The employees are informed of all the prepared and realized changes, plans, intentions and findings. From the start all the documents related to the project are accessible on the MFA intranet which was established in the summer of 2007. Employees working at the diplomatic missions abroad are also regularly informed of the relevant documents. Feedback is facilitated by the employee suggestion box which is located in the premise of the Ministry. The survey of employee and partner opinions realized in the autumn of 2007 was also a part of the communication strategy.

The decision to establish work and analysis groups was a key internal measure for the gradual involvement of employees in the project. From the start of the project 100 out of almost 470 headquarters' employees have participated in their work. Immediately after the launch of the project the goal was to convince the management and other employees that this is our project and that its success is first and foremost our success in our favor. The progress of the realization has confirmed the correctness of this approach although like at every change doubts, questions and prejudices still arise. With the goal of formulating the objectives of the project into particular measures the Secretary General decided on the establishment of 6 Working Groups (*Processes; Strategies; Hu-*

man Resources; Financial Management; Information Technologies; Communication) and appointed experienced employees to their chairs.

The main role of the working groups was to evaluate the findings of the procedural analysis and propose solutions. Employees of the entire Ministry actively participated in the operation of the WG and their activities were methodologically supported by the representatives of the consultant. The establishment and operation of the WG not only contributed to the fact that the proposed solutions reflect, first of all, the opinions of the employees themselves but also to the elimination of suspicions towards the external consultants, to the significant involvement of employees in the project and to an overall appropriation of reform on the part of the Ministry. The WG proved to be the most important communication channel on the progress and intentions of the project between the management and the

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employees. Fifteen selected diplomatic missions of various size and expertise were also involved in the procedural analysis and the discussion on proposed solutions.

During the transition between individual phases, the Secretary General held presentations on the status and plans of the project for all Ministry employees as well as the heads of diplomatic missions. With the goal of informing the public about the

TREFA project the Chief of Staff published several articles in Slovak periodicals and specialized magazines and the Minister continually informed on its status at press conferences.

## THE DEFINITION OF GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS

Even though preparations for the TREFA project started in the end of the 2006, the project only gained momentum during the course of the year 2007. The preliminary analysis based on interviews with the management and other employees of the Ministry was realized in the preparation phase (January – September 2007). This analysis identified various problematic areas in the management of the organization, the development of human resources, the management of financial administration processes and the management of information and communication technologies. The analysis confirmed that the project must be formulated as a package of measures in the form of a visible and complex change which will affect the entire department and ensure the long-term sustainability of the improvement of the quality and efficiency of the organization's management. To this end the project was divided into the preparation (January – September 2007), analysis (October 2007 – April 2008) and implementation phase (May – December 2008). It was stated that during the transition between the phases the management of the Ministry will evaluate the fulfillment of given tasks,

approve the priorities of the following period and decide on the manner of implementation of those recommendations which it finds viable.

In November 2006 the management of the Ministry adopted the material *Proposal on the Realization of a Procedural, Economic, Organizational, Functional, Personal and Informational Audit for the Implementation of a System of Permanent Effectiveness Improvement of the MFA SR*. This material justified the legitimacy of the project, defined the main goals of the complex department status evaluation and the steps necessary for their achievement. At the same time at the very beginning of the project the material clearly set the main dimensions, fields of analysis and the expected outcomes in the strategic and procedural areas as well as the areas of human and financial resources management and the area of information and communication technologies management.

## THE ANALYSIS CONFIRMED THE NECESSITY OF REFORM

The realization of the project was initiated after the selection of an external consultant in August 2007 in the form of a procedural analysis of the Ministry's activities as well as an analysis of the personal policy, financial and administrative analysis, information and communication technologies audit, survey of the employees' opinions, and a survey of the satisfaction of our partners. The analysis phase confirmed multiple systemic deficiencies in the work of the MFA which can be summarized as follows.

## STRATEGIC AREA

Foreign policy and the conditions of its development and the improvement of the MFA department effectiveness are defined by the framework of strategic documents. The procedural analysis realized in the summer of 2007, suggests that the MFA still lacks a finished transparent system which would allow the formulation and updating of its strategy, the consistency of the link between strategy and tasks and financial and human resources as well as the continual evaluation of the fulfillment of strategic priorities and tasks set within those priorities to the level of individual units, diplomatic missions and employees. Also the MFA only partially applies the procedural approach to management and lacks a system which would support the permanent improvement of the quality of management and implementation processes. The employees, despite their quality and proficiency, cannot make full use of their potential due to the absence of the emphasis on performance and direct connection between the achieved results and rewarding as well as the further progress of employees.

The MFA lacks a more explicit definition of its mission and pays little attention to the adequate emphasis of its legitimacy and added value in front of foreign partners, the public and its own employees. The Ministry still lacks a modern concept of strategic management and activity planning including the evaluation of the strategy fulfillment process and its updating when the external environment changes. There are no clearly set criteria which could serve as objective benchmarks for the evaluation of the activities of individual units, diplomatic missions or employees. The existing management system of diplomatic missions is too formal, expensive and administratively demanding. The Ministry does not have a performance management system which would allow a transparent evaluation system of employee work performance and provide the managing personnel with an effective instrument for the management of their subordinates. The internal audit established by law is perceived as a control body and the employees do not fully understand its preventive function in the organization.

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The review process is not functioning optimally either. Even though management personnel do reviews they make minimal use of their potential to improve the quality of procedures. In the entire time of its existence the MFA has not done a managerial audit to identify the true management potential of leading employees and configure the system of management education.

Despite an objective positive trend in the past years horizontal, upward, and downward communication does not always function optimally. To a certain extent the employees lack feedback from management personnel. Problems persist in cooperation on the horizontal level in communication between individual units as well as correspondents which hinders the preparation process of outputs and expert positions. Despite many informal links the work system is still too bureaucratic and administratively demanding.

Internal management directives are not transparent and often too detailed which isn't necessary for a directive in the time of modern management and requirements for the delegation of competences to the lowest possible levels.

The Ministry still has not fully implemented project management despite the fact that the management of diplomatic missions and the organizational administration of cross-section agendas at the headquarters often have all the characteristics of a project. More and more often the MFA solves cross-section and short-term goal oriented tasks by establishing work groups and ad hoc teams. Management personnel generally lack the abilities necessary for the effective handling of project management, project roles are often vaguely defined and the employees working on the project often find no replacement for the fulfillment of their line of duty.

The circulation of documents remains in the form of correspondents which is manually demanding and time-consuming. E-mail communication is wide-spread but not formalized and still considered secondary or unofficial. Diplomatic missions have to cope with the administrative load linked to various reports, forms, and accounts for the needs of the supporting bodies of the Ministry. Some of the



activities at the MFA are still done manually despite the fact that they are automated in other organizations (e.g. accounting) which makes the Ministry's operation more expensive and binds resources which could be used for its main function and active diplomacy.

## PROCEDURAL AREA

Procedural management as a management system of an organization has not found its way into the MFA as of yet. This system does not only consist of the modeling of a procedural model or the ad hoc modification of the organizational structure but of continual and methodical monitoring of work processes. Their periodical evaluation and optimization would provide the Ministry with quality, effectiveness, permanent development, in the regard of work and management organization, as well as ensuring that the Ministry stays up-to-date.

Even though the main mission of the MFA is political the procedural analysis showed that the support activities (information technologies, administrative and services, management of human resources, financing and accounting, public procurement and purchasing, legal services, and asset maintenance) are occupying more than 50% of the Ministry's employee capacities. The ratio in diplomatic missions is higher than 60% while the smaller the mission the more capacities are allocated to 'maintenance' activities. In other words the analysis confirmed that the MFA is dedicating too many capacities to its operation and administrative and too few to diplomacy itself.

After the accession to the EU and NATO which brought a dramatic increase in the agenda and forced the MFA to internally rearrange its resources in favor of its priorities the mission of the MFA changed. Most of the employees are already fully aware of the fact that the MFA will probably never have an ideal organizational structure which would perfectly and clearly reflect the current strategic priorities and take into account the needs of the Ministry. On the other hand, also thanks to the TREFA project, rational realization has started to prevail on the fact that the continual optimization of organizational structure which would react to new challenges and priorities is necessary. The analysis also showed that the four-level management of the Ministry is unsubstantiated. The units within political departments which do not serve as individually managed organizational units were found as redundant management intermediaries.

## AREA OF HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

The strategic management of human resources according to modern managerial methods is still not a wide-spread practice within the MFA. The current personal management is lagging behind the management of a modern organization. The Person-



nel Office of the MFA does not serve as an institution which actively coordinates the development of human resources in connection to the Ministry's priorities as of yet. The MFA has not formulated a long-term strategy of human resources development. The relatively high quality and professionalism of its current personnel is a result of the MFA attractiveness as an employer rather than a long-term strategy and intentional steps directed at hiring the best in the labor market. At the same time we must admit that during the past years due to the dynamic growth of the Slovak economy, the expanded opportunities of travelling and acquiring a job abroad as well as the relatively low financial rewarding of state administrative employees the MFA has lost some of its employer attractiveness. In the labor market the MFA must compete for high quality and educated people with organizations which can offer job applicants more interesting financial conditions, guarantees of career progress and a system of lifelong education. Naturally the MFA still has many applicants mainly for diplomatic positions. On the

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other hand during the past years the quality and readiness of the candidates has visibly decreased and some specialized positions are facing a lack of qualified applicants. An endangered group which has a much higher tendency of looking for new job opportunities is identifiable in the medium-level diplomatic staff after the return from their first assignment abroad. After acquiring unique work experience and good financial compensation for their work abroad they start to more clearly realize

their competitive advantages in the labor market and the relative easiness of finding a financially much more attractive job. The performance of the Ministry as a whole depends exactly on these employees due to their adequate education, abilities and experience in middle management.

The existing rotation system which assigns employees to diplomatic missions abroad and then returns them to the headquarters after 3-4 years is not ideal. The employees are often assigned to positions for which they lack the necessary expert prerequisites or for which they are on the contrary 'overqualified'. The most visible deficiency is in the fact that individual positions at the headquarters and abroad do not have clearly defined competences and responsibilities, qualification criteria and necessary skills for the fulfillment of the agenda.

Career progress is not systemic and lacks a connection to the diplomatic career progress. Young and talented employees have trouble getting into management positions based on their performance and skills. The service evaluation system meets the formal requirements of the Civil service act but is too formal, subjective and in the end demotivating. Because the MFA does not have a generally applied performance management system, which would allow an objective evaluation of work performance, the objectivity of service evaluations is often contested.

During its existence the MFA still hasn't realized a survey of the educational needs of all employees; it hasn't formulated an education system for expert skills, communication and management abilities as well as an education system for foreign languages.

The employees do not have an individual educational plan for their positions which would reflect their needs as well as the requirements of the organization.

The MFA has not formulated an employee motivation system. Up until now it has not realized a survey on what exactly motivates the employees to work at the department of foreign affairs. Many employees have stated the possibility of travelling to a diplomatic mission abroad as their sole motivation for work at the MFA but at the same time find the existing rotation system demotivating. The difference between the financial rewarding for work at a diplomatic mission abroad and work at the headquarters is still unbearably great even though it has been reduced in the past few years. The currently valid rewarding system insufficiently reflects the performance of the employee. It does not take the priority of the employee's agenda into account and lacks a system of goal rewards for the fulfillment of particular tasks. The problem of stabilizing employees persists in some support bodies due to the unbalanced rewarding system. The pre-assignment training of employees is also considered inadequate in terms of available time and the quality of the training.

## **AREA OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT**

Due to the complexity of the MFA budget program structure the utilization of budget resources is not transparent and administratively demanding. The program budgeting system has too many formal aspects without a direct connection of individual budget programs to the current strategic priorities and goals of the Ministry. The realization of expenses related to the given program is decided by the budget managers often without the knowledge of the corresponding program manager which leads to the unnecessary investment of financial resources and the loss of identification of primary responsibility.

## **AREA OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES MANAGEMENT (ICT)**

The MFA does not have an elaborated concept on the development of ICT which would define the future structure of the ICT architecture on a strategic level, identify its key elements and determine a plan of steps for their achievement. Despite the resources invested in the information systems of the MFA the Ministry still lacks data storage and an electronic database of documents which would be accessible to all employees. Change requirements on the ICT are not realized in compliance with a long-term concept based on their analysis, their solution and impact on the entire system. There is no system for the prioritization of requests, a guaranteed repair time or a hotline for

reporting problems. There is also a persisting problem in the solution of issues related to system and data security which cannot be supported by the formulated concept on information security.

The aforementioned findings of the procedural analysis have been confirmed by the mentioned survey of employee opinions. In an anonymous survey attended by more than 2/3 of Ministry personnel, the employees negatively evaluated mainly the planning and organizing, the quality of management, upward communication, rewarding and the overall concept of human resources development. The survey of MFA partner satisfaction realized in November 2007 on one hand confirmed the high satisfaction with the quality of provided services or the value of MFA outputs (67% of respondents evaluated the quality of provided services and the value of MFA outputs by the mark: very good) which proved that, despite certain deficiencies, the MFA is able to fulfill its tasks professionally and in desired quality. On the other hand the survey revealed a long-term weakness of the MFA in the inability of effectively 'selling' the results of its work.

## PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

The intensive work of the work groups and active communication with the consultant resulted in an entire range of recommendations for the realization of modernization and systemic measures. In the end of the year 2007 these were formulated into action plans (visions) with regard to the fact that during the year 2008 they will be elaborated into particular implementation projects with implementation schedules ending in the year 2008 or during the first half of the year 2009. Action plans and related implementation projects are a tangible response to the deficiencies revealed by the procedural analysis and the survey of employee opinions.

## ACTION PLAN ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIC PLANNING AND PROJECT MANAGEMENT

The goal of the implementation of strategic management is in the application of the method *Balance ScoreCard* as the main planning and management instrument throughout the entire Ministry. The objective is in the implementation of a determination and evaluation system of the fulfillment of the Ministry's strategic goals, the planned concentration of its resources on the fulfillment of priorities and the achievement of a more flexible reaction to the changes in the international and domestic environment. It is also the objective of this action plan to connect the fulfillment of strategic goals with budget drafting, the evaluation of employees and a transparent and understandable communication activity of the MFA towards the

public and external entities. The main prerequisite for its successful realization lies within the definition of the Ministry's mission, its strategic priorities and subsequent strategic goals which will be elaborated in a downward cascade to the level of individual goals for particular units, diplomatic missions, and employees. Proprietors from management personnel will be assigned to individual strategic goals that will then formulate action steps and their measurable attributes. The implementation of strategic planning at the MFA will correlate with the budget cycle and be supported by a software instrument.

The adoption of a new Ministry organizational structure which would copy the strategic priorities of the MFA more realistically including greater emphasis on the economic dimension of diplomacy, public diplomacy and the clear division of main and support processes is an integral part of the plan.

An introductory internal discussion on the definition of the mission and strategic priorities of the MFA was held in the year 2007. In the end of the year a new proposal on the mission and medium-term strategy of the MFA was formulated in cooperation with addressed non-governmental organizations involved in the field of foreign policy under the working name *A successful Slovakia in a secure world*. Within this strategy the following strategic priorities of the MFA were defined: *Slovakia in a Secure and Democratic World; A Prospering Slovakia and Sustainable Development; The Interests of Slovakia in an Effective EU; Service to the Citizens and Slovakia Open to the World; Modern Slovak Diplomacy*. In the course of the year 2008 these priorities will be elaborated into updated strategic goals and action steps with assigned measurable attributes.

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## **ACTION PLAN ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROCEDURAL MANAGEMENT AND A SYSTEM OF QUALITY MANAGEMENT BASED ON THE EFQM EXCELLENCE MODEL**

The goal of the plan is to strengthen the internal capacity of the ministry towards the permanent monitoring of main and support processes and their continual improvement based on the defined criteria. In the course of 2008 a validated process model will be implemented, responsible employees will be educated on the methods of mapping and designing projects, the software instruments for the administration of the process model will be installed along with the quality management system based on the EQFM Excellence model<sup>1</sup>.

The optimization of internal directives through the implementation of a simple, standardized, transparent and complete system based on the categorization of directives and the configuration of rules for their processing and updating is a part of the procedural management implementation plan.

## STRATEGY OF HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

The basic component of the strategy is the implementation of a work performance management system for all employees which would be connected to the given tasks through the BSC method. The formulation of evaluation criteria and the implementation of an evaluation system based on service evaluation, project teamwork assessment, and performance evaluation are being planned simultaneously.

The configuration of a modern professional education and employee training system which would reflect their needs in coordination with the needs of the Ministry is

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*The education and training of employees should be connected to the evaluation process which could identify the education needs.*

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another priority project in this area. The education and training of employees should be connected to the evaluation process which could identify the education needs. The objective of the strategy is also in the configuration of a dynamic reward system through a transparent mechanism of financial and non-financial motivations in which the unbounded part of the salary would be linked to the evaluation

criteria taking into account the performance and quality of work. The configuration of a training system for the employees aspiring for managerial positions or already working in those positions is also being planned. The strategy is also expecting the implementation of a new employee rotation and personal planning system which will be based on the rotation of employees between diplomatic missions and headquarters in a way which allows them to continually develop their primary and secondary specialization. Last but not least the implementation of a new hiring and selection system is expected including the application of a personal marketing system.

The planned changes in the management of human resources are closely tied to the formulation and adoption of new key legislative and internal management acts. In the year 2008 in accordance with the Government Manifesto the Ministry will finish the draft act on the Foreign Service as a *lex specialis* of the *Civil Service Act*. The Ministry will also formulate complex career and personal regulations which will among other things determine clear career rules and reflect the planned systemic changes in the area of human resources management.

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<sup>1</sup> The essence of the EQFM model is in the regular self-assessment cycle of the organization based on 9 criteria (leadership, policy and strategy, people, partnerships and resources, processes, customer results, people results, society results and key performance results) and 32 sub criteria.

## **ACTION PLAN ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES**

Along with the aforementioned implementation of a new program structure, the ministry is planning the introduction of a functional system of intradepartmental accounting as an instrument which would increase efficiency and improve the rational utilization of allocated resources. A new system of burden centers and monitoring of the effectiveness of used resources will be established. A new managerial position of the head of administrative that will be responsible for the performance of all support activities of the given diplomatic mission will be established at selected missions in order to lighten the administrative load of the diplomatic missions and prevent duplicity. A manual on the economic management of a diplomatic mission will be formulated for the support of his activity.

## **ACTION PLAN ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ICT**

Systemic measures in the area of ICT will be an integral part of the planned organizational changes. One of the substantial proposed changes is the intention of establishing cooperation in the further strategic development of ICT with an external supplier – consultant for systemic integration – who will ensure the long-term expert approach to the development of ICT and take over the responsibility for the quality and compatibility of subcontractors. A concept on the development of MFA information systems will be formulated at the same time in relation to the government concept of the ISGS development as well as identified service which the MFA will provide electronically along with the definition of electronic connections to other entities and services.

By the end of the year 2008 the Ministry expects the implementation of a robust managerial information system as an instrument for the fast and effective decision-making of the top and middle management based on transparent accounting and analytical data outputs. The development of ICT also expects the implementation of a functional helpdesk with a database of solutions and manuals as well as an accessible analysis of the types of requests and reaction time.

## **CHANGE AS A NEVER-ENDING PROCESS**

In the year 2007 besides the aforementioned action plans and strategies of the TREFA project the Ministry also worked on other projects which react to the changing environment and requirements. Basic principles for the development of public diplomacy were formulated for the conditions of the MFA including new communication media such as *fluid boxes* and *e-newsletters*.

In June 2008, as a part of the new approach to the public, the operation of the MFA Center for Assistance and Services to Citizens (MFA Call Center) was launched in order to ensure complex and prompt solutions to the requests of Slovak citizens in the area of consular services, including emergency situations as well as provide information in compliance with the freedom of information act.

Instead of a conclusion it is necessary to once again emphasize that the ambition of the TREFA project is not to solve all the systemic deficiencies of the MFA in two years. Its primary objective is to establish a mechanism for the systemic revealing and

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solution of the MFA's weak spots and to start reform processes in the key areas of the organization's management. A lot of work has been done during the year 2007 and we were able to clearly define, based on thorough analysis, what needs to be done in order for the MFA to join the managerially most advanced organizations of the state administrative in Slovakia and in that regard become one of the best departments of foreign affairs in the EU.

The key precondition for the success of the TREFA project is the recognition of the fact that the change of an organization is a never-ending process which cannot be dependent upon the political

cycle. The achievement of change and a transformation in the minds of the employees towards innovation and reforms requires a systemic approach, the leadership of the Minister and his closest colleagues as well as the political support from above and involvement from below.



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# SLOVAKIA'S OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN 2007

EVA HAVELKOVÁ, NORA BEŇÁKOVÁ

The Official Development Assistance (ODA) is an important pillar of the Slovak foreign policy. Its importance is still growing; therefore an attempt should be made to expand its scope in the years to come. The year 2007 can be marked as a significant one for the development assistance. This article analyzes mainly the institutional and the legislative changes in the Slovak ODA and compares the territorial and sectoral focus of bilateral projects in the periods before and after these changes took effect.

According to the document *Slovakia's Foreign Policy Orientation 2007*<sup>1</sup>, the development assistance is an important part of the foreign policy of the European Union (EU) and its member states. Slovakia provides its official development assistance on the basis of principles of international development policy, including the EU development policy, and in line with the foreign and economic policy priorities of the Slovak Republic (SR).

The goal of the Slovak ODA is to contribute to the accomplishment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the key areas, including alleviation of poverty and hunger, achievement of universal elementary education, support of gender equality, reduction of infant mortality rate, focus on the struggle against the HIV/AIDS and relief of global environmental problems.

Besides the assistance itself, the bilateral development projects help to strengthen the bonds of these countries with the SR, support establishment of Slovak actors (institutions, businesses) abroad, create institutional and expert capacities in the SR and influence the public opinion.

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<sup>1</sup> "Slovakia's Foreign Policy Orientation 2007", (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2007), p. 22; <http://www.mzv.sk>.

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## THE CHANGES IN INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

With regard to the international commitments of the SR, the increase in requirements for the ODA implementation and the problems associated with exact definition of the assistance provided by Slovakia, it was necessary to make the existing system more efficient – politically, financially and also functionally. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR therefore executed a fundamental change in the ODA mechanism – on January 1, 2007 it established the Slovak Agency for International Development Assistance (SAMRS). The agency gradually became a separate unit able to administer the supervision of the ODA. It replaced the previous mechanism of two

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*In 2007 the Agency had a budget SKK 173 million, with SKK 163.5 million of these resources allocated for projects of the official development assistance, humanitarian assistance and for the development education projects and, the remaining SKK 9.5 million spent for running the agency.*

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administrative and contracting units – Bratislava-Belgrade Fund and the UNDP Trust Fund. The mission of the Agency is to implement official development assistance of the SR, supervise and administer project cycles, carry out educational and awareness raising activities and cooperate with other organizations active in the sphere of development assistance. In 2007 it had 11 employees and a budget of SKK 173 million, with SKK 163.5 million of these resources used for projects of official development and humanitarian assist-

ance and the development education projects. The remaining SKK 9.5 million was used for running the agency.<sup>2</sup>

An important step from the legislative point of view was the creation of *Act on Official Development Assistance*. The Act was approved by the National Council of the SR on December 5, 2007 and it entered into force in January 1, 2008. The Act created a legal framework for the provision of official development assistance of the SR and the conditions for fulfillment of international commitments of the SR in the sphere of official development assistance.<sup>3</sup> By the end of 2007, the MFA started to prepare the second medium-term strategy of the Slovak ODA for years to come, that should replace the current *Medium-Term Strategy for Official Development Assistance: 2003-2008*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> "Výročná správa Slovenskej agentúry pre medzinárodnú rozvojovú spoluprácu" ("Annual Report of the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation"), p. 15. <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/326/1/1/>.

<sup>3</sup> The full-text (unofficial translation) of the Act see: <http://www.slovakaid.mfa.sk/en/index.php/article/articleview/95/1/2/>.

<sup>4</sup> *Medium-Term Strategy for Official Development Assistance: 2003-2008*. (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2003). [www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/filemanager/download/90/konceptcia\\_en.pdf](http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/filemanager/download/90/konceptcia_en.pdf).

## THE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN NUMBERS

The increase in development assistance of the SR and performance of international obligations of the SR concerning the volume of the provided assistance still remain a problem. Slovakia as a new EU member state and a UN member state has committed itself to try to increase the volume of financial resources for development assistance to 0.17% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) until 2010 and 0.33% of GDP until 2015.

The total volume of financial resources provided for ODA of the SR for 2007 was SKK 1.652 billion, which represents 0.093% of the country's GDP. Smaller ratio of resources for ODA to GDP in comparison with the previous year (0.103%) is a consequence of the fast growth of GDP but also the stagnation of final resources allocated for ODA. According to the MFA, it is mainly with regard to the need for fulfillment of convergence criteria for adoption of the euro as a currency. The volume of financial resources was however in both absolute and relative numbers in 2007 lower than in 2005.<sup>5</sup>

The MFA report on development assistance in 2007 further informs that out of the total SKK 1.652 billion allocated for development assistance, SKK 169 million was aimed for projects of bilateral development assistance. In 2007 a total of 36 development assistance projects were approved, two projects of post-humanitarian assistance and 14 projects of development education and raising of public awareness. The remainder of almost 90% of resources was used to pay SR's contribution to multilateral organizations, mainly the UN agencies.<sup>6</sup>

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*The smaller the volume of assistance provided for bilateral projects, the bigger emphasis should be laid on the choice of priority sectors and countries, which should be recipients of this assistance. The selection should take into account the needs of the specific countries as well as foreign policy priorities of the SR, the European Union or the international community as a whole.*

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## BILATERAL PROJECTS FOR ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Since the 2004, the amount of financial resources allocated for bilateral development projects has not changed significantly.<sup>7</sup> Its share in the whole development assistance represents on average of 10%. In traditional donor countries, the share of bilateral

<sup>5</sup> To find out more, see table 1 in the appendices to this text.

<sup>6</sup> A more detailed structure can be found in Graph 1 and Graph 2 in the appendix.

<sup>7</sup> Overview of the amount of ODA resources provided to fund the bilateral projects in absolute numbers can be found in table 2 in the appendix.

assistance in ODA is much higher. For example, Ireland has allocated a total amount EUR 813 million assistance in 2006, out of which EUR 501 million was used for bilateral aid, making it a 60% share.

It is exactly the bilateral projects that offer space for building capacities of the Slovak organizations and their experts who work in developing countries. The use of financial resources for implementation of specific projects is important for communication with the wider public. The smaller the volume of assistance provided for bilateral projects, the bigger emphasis should be laid on the choice of priority sectors and countries, which should be recipients of this assistance. The selection should take into account the needs of the specific countries as well as foreign policy priorities of the SR, the European Union or the international community as a whole. The case of Bosnia can be listed as an example: Bosnia belongs to the foreign policy priorities of the SR, but only one approved development assistance project targeted the country in 2007.

## TERRITORIAL AND SECTORAL PRIORITIES IN 2007

While the quantity of the ODA is a crucial factor, it is only one side of the coin. The second one is the use of the allocated resources. In this context it is important to underline, that the MFA deals in its annual report on development assistance in 2007 primarily with the amount of resources invested, while it does not mention anywhere how exactly were these resources used from the viewpoint of the recipient countries or the recipients of the assistance. Slovak Official Development Assistance as a whole does not have a mechanism of evaluation and control over the 'meaningfulness' of the resources used.

Since the SR has officially declared its commitment to the UN Millennium Development Goals, the report should include information about how Slovakia progressed in fulfilling this commitment. Also the MFA's approach to the economic dimension of the Slovak development projects can be disputed. The strategic document, *Slovakia's Foreign Policy Orientation 2007*, states that "in the framework of the allocated development assistance, the target solution is to pursue an economic dimension of the Slovak development projects",<sup>8</sup> while the *Medium-Term Strategy for Official Development Assistance: 2003-2008* defines the development of economic cooperation with developing countries only as a consequence of the development activities in the given country<sup>9</sup>, not as a primary goal.

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<sup>8</sup> "Slovakia's Foreign Policy Orientation 2007", (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2007), p. 22; <http://www.mzv.sk>.

<sup>9</sup> *Medium-Term Strategy for Official Development Assistance: 2003-2008*. (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2003), p. 8; [www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/filemanager/download/90/koncepcia\\_en.pdf](http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/filemanager/download/90/koncepcia_en.pdf).

## PROGRAM COUNTRIES OF THE SLOVAK ODA

More detailed sectoral and territorial priorities are defined every year in the so called *National program of the ODA*, proposed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR. In accordance with the priorities of the foreign policy of the SR, the program countries of the Slovak ODA for 2007 were Serbia and Montenegro, to which over SKK 71 million was allocated. This volume represents almost half of financial resources intended for bilateral projects. Serbia and Montenegro have been program countries since 2004. The National Program defines for both countries the following sectoral priorities:

- Civil Society (social revitalization, regional development, educational programs);
- Entrepreneurial Activities and Technical Infrastructure;
- Assistance in Integration to the EU, WTO.

While the projects approved in the period 2004-2006, when the process was administered by the Civil Society Development Foundation (NPOA) in the framework of the Bratislava-Belgrade Fund, targeted primarily the first priority – support of civil society (regional development, educational programs and development of human capital), in 2007 the majority of projects and resources were used to fund the building of technical infrastructure. The interest of Slovak applicants specifically in this priority is perhaps also determined by the increase in the maximum budget allowed for infrastructural projects from SKK 3.5 million to SKK 7 million in 2007. The maximum budget for projects within the priorities civil society and integration remained unchanged – SKK 3.5 million.

The data provided by SAMRS shows that the lowest success rate in 2007 had the projects of non-governmental organizations that were, apart from the development of infrastructure and entrepreneurship, also oriented on development of civil society, know-how transfer and integration to European structures. At the same time, the interest of the recipient parties was in every project documented by the interest of the local partner organization and its participation in the project, so one can hardly speak about the decrease in demand for these kinds of projects from the side of the recipients. It is also interesting to note, that projects that deal with economic development and development of entrepreneurship in Serbia are proposed only by non-governmental organizations or state organizations.<sup>10</sup>

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*The lowest success rate in 2007 had the projects of non-governmental organizations that were, apart from the development of infrastructure and entrepreneurship, also oriented on development of civil society, know-how transfer and integration to European structures.*

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<sup>10</sup> For comparison of the results of the calls for grant proposals for Serbia and Montenegro on the basis of sectoral priorities and the type of proposing organization see in appendix in the tables P 3, 4 a 5. For types of approved projects see Box 1.

## PROJECT COUNTRIES OF THE SLOVAK ODA

Except for the program countries, Serbia and Montenegro, the Slovak bilateral aid is provided also for 12 other countries: Afghanistan, Belarus, Ukraine, Kenya, Bosnia, Kazakhstan, Sudan, Mozambique, Albania, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Due to the stagnating total amount for bilateral projects in the situation when the share of financial resources for program countries Serbia and Montenegro was growing (SKK 50 million in 2006, SKK 72 million in 2007), it was only possible to approve a significantly smaller amount for projects for the group of these 12 countries in 2007 – altogether 16 projects. For some countries (Albania, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) no project was approved in 2007.

For countries that are strategic from the perspective of foreign policy priorities of the SR, such as Bosnia and Afghanistan, one project was approved. Only Ukraine and Belarus maintained a more significant position, in which projects were approved in the line with the ODA National Program – focusing mainly on building of the civil society, education and sharing of experience from transition. Even though Slovakia subscribes to the support of the UN Millennium Development Goals, focusing on the reduction of the poverty, and these priorities are also included in the *Act on Official Development Assistance of the SR*, adopted in 2007, the number of projects that target the least developed countries of Africa and Asia significantly decreased in 2007 as compared to the previous period. Even though the projects approved in 2007 were useful in fight against the HIV/AIDS and other diseases, fight against poverty and securing supply of drinking water in four projects was not enough.<sup>11</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In case the volume of financial resources aimed at bilateral development assistance in the foreseeable future does not change, there is no reason for Slovak aid to target 14 countries. Slovakia should, except for selected countries of the Western Balkans and neighboring countries such as Ukraine and Belarus, keep in mind that it has committed itself to UN MDGs (commitment present also in the *Act on Development Assistance*) and among its main goals put appropriate emphasis also on the least developed countries of Asia and Africa.

Not only should the number of project countries be subject to discussion, but also the content of projects and their efficiency. Efficiency and content scope for the given

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<sup>11</sup> Tables 6, 7 and 8 show comparison of the number of projects aimed at the group of 12 project countries approved in 2007 (under administration of the new SAMRS agency) with the period 2004-2006, when the UNDP Regional Office in Bratislava was the project contracting unit. Types of the projects approved in 2007 according to sectoral priorities can be found in the box 2. (Appendix).

country should be based on the needs of the country, and on the specific foreign policy priorities of international community. For example to secure stability in Serbia (which is also a foreign policy priority) it was been important to focus, in the long run, on integration of the country to the EU, on improvement of the economic situation and on the creation of new job opportunities. Therefore, projects aimed at the motivation of the citizens to enter the EU should be prioritized; preparation of the institutions for pre-accession negotiations; and of course exchange visits of young people, since almost 70 percent of them have never traveled to the EU countries.

On the other hand, useful projects focused on creation of new job opportunities, provision of micro-loans for start of small entrepreneurship, increase in qualifications and development of trade between our countries (instead of number of small infrastructure projects focused on electrical and water networks and building of small bridges) can improve the quality of life in Serbian villages and small towns, but all of these are activities, that can be funded by the European resources present in Serbia.

For Slovakia as an EU member state, the development assistance and the efficiency of the EU's policy towards the developing states should be an important goal. The development policy should be one of the foreign policy priorities, since in today's globally interconnected world; the alleviation of poverty is not only an issue of morality, but even of stability and safety.

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*The development policy should be one of the foreign policy priorities, since in today's globally interconnected world, the alleviation of poverty is not only an issue of morality, but even of stability and safety.*

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- Medium-Term Strategy for Official Development Assistance: 2003-2008.* (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2003). [www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/filemanager/download/90/koncepcia\\_en.pdf](http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/filemanager/download/90/koncepcia_en.pdf).
- "Slovakia's Foreign Policy Orientation 2007", (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2007); <http://www.mzv.sk>.
- "Výročná správa Slovenskej agentúry pre medzinárodnú rozvojovú spoluprácu" ("Annual Report of the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation"), p. 15. <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/326/1/1/>.



## APPENDICES

**Table 1:** ODA SR since 2002 with expected development in 2010 and in 2015 in Sk (at expected 5% annual growth of GDP)

year	in absolute numbers	% ODA/GNP
2002	257 mil.	0.024
2003	553 mil.	0.048
2004	910 mil.	0.072
2005	1.739 bil.	0.120
2006	1.638 bil.	0.103
2007	1.652 bil.	0.093
target year 2010	3.200 bil.	0.17
target year 2015	7.800 bil.	0.33

Source: National Programme of Official Development Assistance for 2008. (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2008); <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/319/1/2>.

**Table 2:** Overview of the volume of ODA provided for bilateral projects in absolute numbers

2004	160 mil. SKK
2005	160 mil. SKK
2006	160 mil. SKK
2007	169 mil. SKK
2008	166 mil. SKK

Source: National Programme of Official Development Assistance for 2008. (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2008); <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/319/1/2>.

**Table 3:** Projects approved in the framework of Bratislava-Belgrade Fund (2004-2006)

Priorities listed in the call for project proposals	2004	2005	2006	Total number of projects	Share
1. civil society (social revitalization, regional development, educational programs)	9	8	8	25	41%
2. entrepreneurial activities and technical infrastructure	5	10	9	24	39%
3. assistance in integration to EU, WTO,...	4	4	4	12	20%
<b>total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>61</b>	

Source: Civil Society Development Foundation; <http://www.npoa.sk/fixed/proj.php?lang=sk>.

Table 4: Projects approved within the framework of the new agency SAMRS for Serbia and Montenegro (2007)

Priorities	Number of projects	Share
1. civil society (social revitalization, regional development, educational programs)	1	5%
2. technical infrastructure and entrepreneurial activities	15	75%
3. assistance in integration to the EU, WTO,...	4	20%
<b>total</b>	<b>20</b>	

Source: Slovak Agency for International Development Assistance; <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/280/1/7/>.

Table 5: Overview of results of the SAMRS call for grant proposals in 2007 according to type of proposing institution

	Nongovernmental organizations	Share	State institutions and local administration	Share	Businesses	Share
number of proposed projects	31	54%	12	21%	14	25%
number of approved projects	6	35%	4	24%	7	41%
success rate		19%		33%		50%

Source: Slovak Agency for International Development Assistance; <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/280/1/7/>.

Table 6: Comparison of results of the call for proposals for the project countries

	UNDP Trust Fund 2004	UNDP Trust Fund 2005	UNDP Trust Fund 2006	SAMRS 2007
number of approved projects	33	29	35	16

Source: UNDP Trust Fund ([www.undp.sk](http://www.undp.sk)) and the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation ([www.slovakaid.sk](http://www.slovakaid.sk)).

Table 7: Least Developed Countries

	2004	2005	2006	2007
Kenya	1	4	3	1
Sudan	0	2	5	1
Mozambique	0	1	3	1
Afghanistan	1	4	3	1
Cambodia	1	0	2	0
Mongolia	3	4	3	0

Source: UNDP Trust Fund ([www.undp.sk](http://www.undp.sk)) and the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation ([www.slovakaid.sk](http://www.slovakaid.sk)).

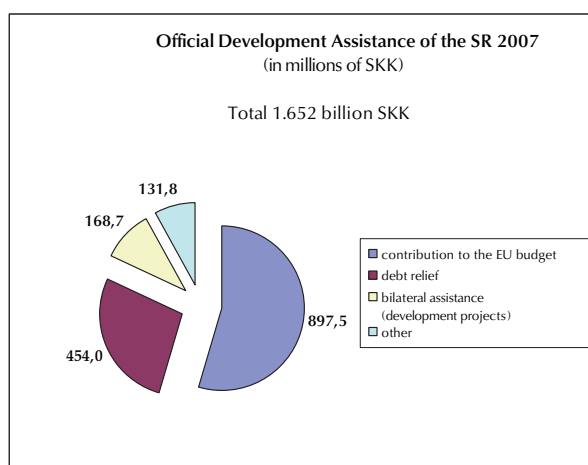
*Slovakia's Official Development Assistance in 2007*

**Table 8:** *The remaining countries*

	2004	2005	2006	2007
Belarus	2	0	3	3
Ukraine	4	0	5	3
Bosnia	4	3	1	1
Albania	1	0	0	0
Macedonia	3	0	2	2
Kazachstan	4	5	4	2
Kyrgyzstan	4	5	4	1
Tajikistan	1	0	0	0
Uzbekistan	4	1	0	0

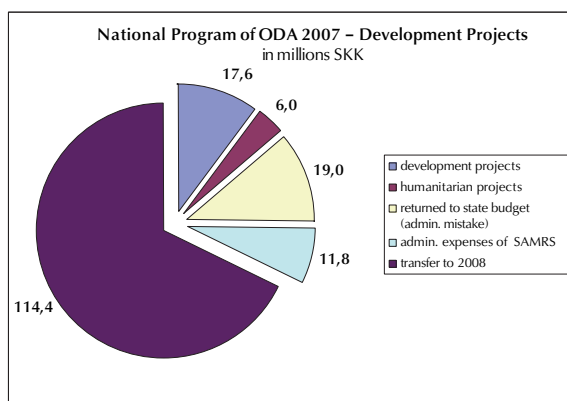
Source: UNDP Trust Fund ([www.undp.sk](http://www.undp.sk)) and the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation ([www.slovakaid.sk](http://www.slovakaid.sk)).

**Graph 1:** *Official Development Assistance of the SR in 2007*



Source: *National National Programme of Official Development Assistance for 2008*. (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2008); <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/319/1/2>.

Graph 2: National Program of ODA 2007 – development projects



Source: National Programme of Official Development Assistance for 2008. (Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, 2008); <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/319/1/2>.

Box 1: Types of approved projects in Serbia and Montenegro in 2007 according to sectoral focus

*Priority 1: Assistance to Civil Society*

- Support of development and establishment of local administration in Montenegro – Regional environmental centre (SKK 3,127,470)

*Priority 2:*

*Development of Infrastructure*

- Development and modernization of infrastructure through renewable sources of energy – wind power plants – Gramont, s. r. o. (SKK 6,992,712)
- Sewer system for Jánošík – Mesto Myjava (SKK 6,995,980)
- Sewage system network for Novo Miloševo – Oslany municipality (SKK 6,295,200)
- Construction of bridge of Bailey type in Babušnica – Civic association of Serbian-Slovak friendship (SKK 2,998,895)
- Central progressive heating system with use of renewable sources of energy – EKOSAL Trading, s.r.o. (SKK 6,998,533)
- Reconstruction of plumbing system in Báč district – AISA, s.r.o. (SKK 6,994,790)
- Solar energy for hospitals in Vojvodina – Thermosolar, s.r.o. (SKK 6,654,584)
- Expansion of network of meteorological and radiation stations of data collection system and climatological databank – Faculty of mathematics, physics and information science UK (SKK 7,000,000)
- Reconstruction of infrastructure – distance heating system – Pipeco Slovakia, s.r.o. (SKK 6,995,981),
- Reconstruction of elementary school in Stara Pazove – OZ Bovap (SKK 6,994,400)
- Media Center in Kovačica – Local Media Institute (SKK 6,419,952)
- Reconstruction of thermal infrastructure – Zvarmont, s.r.o. (SKK 6,993,537)

*and Development of Entrepreneurship*

- Creation of entrepreneurial and innovation center for development of entrepreneurship – Association of development for Horná Nitra region (SKK 6,308,436)
- Farming opportunities in Babušnica – ADRA (SKK 7,000,000)
- Education and support of ecological agriculture and production of ecological foodstuffs – Institute for the protection of biodiversity and biological safety SPU Nitra (SKK 3,300,000)

*Priority 3: Integration of Serbia and Montenegro into the EU*

- Strengthening of capacities for implementation of EU directive on pollution of water environment – Dekonta, s.r.o. (SKK 3,500,000)
- Information on EU for Serbia (creation of info newsletter) – Research center of the SFPA (SKK 2,919,923)
- Know-how transfer in integration of Montenegro to international organizations of WTO and the EU – SOPK Košice (SKK 1,829,206)
- Improvement of access to information on EU in agricultural sector of Montenegro – Institute of science-technical information for agriculture (SKK 3,129,498)

Source: Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation, <http://www.slovakaid.sk/index.php/article/articleview/280/1/7/>

**Box 2:** Types of approved projects in 2007 according to sectoral priorities

<p><i>Priority: Support of Democratic Institutions and Market Environment</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Belarus</b> – Support of public debate on economic reforms – Pontis (SKK 2,143,363)</li> <li>• <b>Belarus</b> – Support of university education based on democratic principles and values – Institute of international relations and legal approximation UK (SKK 3,069,500)</li> <li>• <b>Ukraine</b> – Support of competitiveness of Ukrainian cross-border regions in market economy conditions– M. E. S. A. 10 (SKK 2,874,000)</li> <li>• <b>Ukraine</b> – Increase of corporate social responsibility – Slovak centre for communication and development (SKK 2,414,229)</li> <li>• <b>Ukraine</b> – Human resources development in education sector – Centre for European Policy (SKK 3,458,844)</li> <li>• <b>Kazakhstan</b> – Creation of political forum and transition experience sharing – RC SFPA (SKK 3,500,000)</li> <li>• <b>Macedonia</b> – Assistance to Macedonian regions in preparation for implementation of EU policy on employment – Regional development agency Senec – Pezinok (SKK 3,200,508)</li> </ul> <p><i>Priority: Development of Infrastructure Including the Social One</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sudan</b> – Infrastructure of small and medium enterprises: building of mill and bakery – Integra Foundation (SKK 3,491,600)</li> <li>• <b>Kyrgyzstan</b> – Model solution of supervision of mountain tourism and awareness raising about tourism – Mountain Rescue Service (SKK 6,997,876)</li> <li>• <b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b> – Reconstruction of school in Tilava – UN-VETERAN (SKK 3,500,000)</li> <li>• <b>Mozambique</b> – Improvement of life standards of population – clean water – Detone, s.r.o. (SKK 4,195,496)</li> <li>• <b>Macedonia</b> – Practical solution of sewage system – Rudný projekt, s.r.o. (SKK 6,925,784)</li> <li>• <b>Kenya</b> – Prevention, nutrition and complex assistance for children and families hit by HIV/AIDS – MAGNA Children in need (SKK 7,000,000)</li> <li>• <b>Kazakhstan</b> – Creation of infrastructure for environmental monitoring networks – Institute of Informatics SAS (SKK 7,000,000)</li> <li>• <b>Afghanistan</b> – Establishment of gastroenterological center in Kabul – Society of people of goodwill (SKK 5,365,060)</li> </ul> <p><i>Priority: Landscaping, Environmental Protection</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Belarus</b> – Renewal of the region of the Svetlogorsk sea through involvement of local population to its protection– ETP Slovakia (SKK 3,499,974)</li> </ul>
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Projects according to type of applicant organization: entrepreneurial subjects 2 projects; non-governmental organizations 11 projects; state organizations 3 projects.

The following statistics lists number of proposed projects for individual countries and the capacity and interest of Slovak organizations in various countries.

Ukraine – 11 projects	Belarus – 4 projects
Kazakhstan – 10 projects	Kenya – 4 projects
Bosnia and Hercegovina – 6 projects	Mozambique – 2 projects
Afghanistan – 6 projects	Sudan – 2 projects
Kirgizstan – 6 projects	Uzbekistan – 2 projects
Macedonia– 6 projects	Tajikistan – 1 project
Mongolia – 6 projects	Albania– 0 projects

According to the type of proposing organization, the entrepreneurial subjects submitted 20 projects; non-governmental organizations 29 projects; local administration 1 project and state organizations 16 project proposals.

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# THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF DIPLOMACY

JAROSLAV CHLEBO

One of changes the recent years have brought to the planning and implementation of the SR's foreign policy is its strong economization. This is linked not only to a permanent pressure on increasing efficiency of spending on a whole scale of activities in its execution but, in a broader sense, to the place, which the economy and its needs should occupy in the activities of constitutional actors, the government's economic ministries, and the SR's diplomatic missions abroad. Simultaneously, it is not just a matter of export support or the preparation of the legal basis for cooperation in various areas of the economy, which is the most commonly identified activity in this regard. Because we live in the era of globalization that is typified, inter alia, by a complex interconnection of all processes taking place in the economy, the needs and interests of the SR's economy abroad are determined primarily by its basic qualities and secondarily by the program priorities of the governing administration. In this regard, the insufficient size of the Slovak market, the above-standard openness of the economy, and its dependence on the export performance are worth mentioning. However, we also need to react to the gap between the sector of the economy represented by foreign car producers (lately LCD-screen producers) and the remainder – the one-time production base of the Slovak economy – with clearly drawn capacity and assortment limits, on the overall weak segment of small and medium enterprises, on the sensibly undersized capital of Slovak businesses, on the only rare achievement of a high rate of the added value and the like. In addition, we need to mention the need to recognize the real capacity of SR's economy, alternatively its individual businesses, the processes undergoing in

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the partner countries' economies, but also in the global economy. The very simplified list of areas where a more significant presence of the economic diplomacy is needed can be expanded to include the pursuit of foreign investments, the real state of which can be best shown by a comparison with the results achieved by all the surrounding countries, or the need for a thorough knowledge of our European Union partners' positions towards the EU's economic policies and a possible creation of special purpose partnerships for building our positions on them. Nevertheless, new themes come into play, too, e.g. energy security or global climate change, as themes considerably economically determined, but equally economically determining. The activities of the SR's political representation and foreign service need to be adapted to all that and, in particular, to the elimination of the current shortcomings. The substantive bulk of the economic dimension of diplomacy is formed by all this and much more regardless of the possibly varying approaches to its terminological outlining.

## ECONOMIC VS. TRADE DIPLOMACY

One of the basic problems stems from what we understand under the term economic diplomacy. We often witness attempts to mistake the terms economic and trade diplomacy. Regardless of the fact that such approach strongly reminds of the argumentation from the era when the state monopoly was the leading principle in the organization of the foreign trade activity, we need to realize that the real capacity of the term can not be limited to activities linked to the drafting, negotiation, and execution of trade contracts, hence in principle by the exchange of goods, though the framework of the trade activities is, of course, substantively more encompassing.

The adversaries of economic diplomacy, however, can be found also among the advocates of the so-called clean (i.e. political) diplomacy. In this case, the argumentation stems from the traditional post-Westphalian understanding of the role and place of diplomacy in the preservation of balance in international relations and a strict interpretation of the *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations*. The list of diplomatic representatives' activities does not include promotion of trade and other economic interests of the home country. On the contrary, article No. 31, section 1 directly excludes the activities of business nature from among the titles exempt from the host state's jurisdiction. The interpretations of the *Vienna Convention* can differ in detail, but Slovakia's qualities and our limited resources require a unity in diplomacy as well as in the practical execution of the corresponding activity. A correct identification of the substance and labor division among the participating state bodies and institutions, their strong interconnectedness and coordination are, in fact, the basic prerequisites of success.

Looking at the narrower delimitation of the term we can run into a specification that diplomacy has changed in principle, the significant changes that have occurred in the international system influenced the actors, methods, and the substance of



diplomacy and have led to the decline in the weight of ambassador's decision powers (but expanded the outreach of his competences through economic and trade diplomacy).<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the narrower sense, economic diplomacy can be expressed best as an activity featured by a complex exploitation of the entire capacity of the foreign service, engagement of all foreign policy actors, long-term preparation of conditions (contractual, political, and others) suitable for the development of a specific commercial activity, coordination of the approaches of all actors operating in the given territory and the like, in the interest of advancement of Slovak businesses and exploitation of the economic potential between the SR and the respective country.

The narrower definition, indeed, comes close to the definition of the so-called trade diplomacy, with which we can encounter in foreign academic press. According to J.A.Scholte the term trade diplomacy refers to "the work of diplomatic missions for the support of trade and financial sectors of the home country in their pursuit of economic success and general objectives of the country's economic development. It includes the support of foreign investments inflow and investment abroad, as well as the support of trade. An important aspect of a trade diplomat's job is providing information about exports and investment opportunities, and organizing assistance within the operation as a host of business missions from home" (sic).<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, the broader interpretation of economic diplomacy as a subject of our interest recognizes the complexity and complicatedness of the conditions in which economic interests of a specific country in the era of globalization are implemented, the mutual interconnectedness of politics and economy to the extent that often turns the traditional approaches and practices upside down and requires a very close synergy between all parties of the political and economic relations with foreign partners when the dividing line between the two areas vanishes on the long term and intentionally.

The Dictionary of Diplomacy definition interprets this activity as "the operations regarding the questions of economic policy, i.e. the work of delegations in the organizations determining standards, such as the World Trade Organization and the Bank for International Settlement. Economic diplomats also monitor and report the economic

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*Economic diplomacy can be expressed best as an activity featured by a complex exploitation of the entire capacity of the foreign service, engagement of all foreign policy actors, long-term preparation of conditions suitable for the development of a specific commercial activity, coordination of the approaches of all actors operating in the given territory and the like, in the interest of advancement of Slovak businesses and exploitation of the economic potential between the SR and the respective country.*

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<sup>1</sup> P. Knapík, "Commercial Diplomacy – The Economic Dimension of Diplomacy", *Journal of Economics* Vol. 48, No. 2/2000.

<sup>2</sup> J.A. Scholte, "Globalisation, Governance and Corporate Citizenship", *The Journal of Corporal Citizenship*, No. 1/2000, pp. 38-39.

policies of foreign countries and counsel to the home government how to best influence them. The economic diplomacy includes economic sources, whether as rewards or sanctions, in the accomplishment of specific objectives of foreign policy" (sic).<sup>3</sup>

### ... IN SLOVAK CONDITIONS

Although, the above-mentioned definition of the term is not exhausting from our point of view, it does, in any case, point to certain distinctions in attitudes towards the corresponding questions in the Slovak environment. The cause must be looked for, inter alia, in the disharmony between the practice of foreign policy in the promotion of SR's economic interests in the international environment and the strict theoretical synthesis of this issue by the domestic theory of international relations. It can be added that the execution of the corresponding activities by the various participating bodies (mostly the foreign and economy ministries) does not fully overlap with the above-mentioned definitions, the reality features competence inconsistencies, when e.g. the foreign ministry pursues in the long term a 'unification' of the foreign service, what is perceived by the other side as an attempt to absorb the foreign trade agenda, and the economy ministry provides for activities that in different conditions belong to the range of operations understood as traditionally diplomatic (representing SR's interests in international economic organizations), moreover in disaccord with the existing measure contained by the Act no. 575/2001 of the *Legal Codex* (the competence law).

#### **THE MISSING LEGAL MEASURES**

In order to pursue the ambition of achieving a generally acceptable definition of the term economic diplomacy, we need a much more encompassing snapshot of the issue. But if we are to speak about any model of economic diplomacy in Slovak conditions, we have to start with an analysis of its basic systemic elements. Next to the necessary legal base which lacks a compact nature, but, on the contrary, includes a lot of weak points (we can mention merely for illustration the absence of a particular regulation of the foreign service or the position of Eximbanka), the elaboration of the basic conceptual documents is one of the main quality criteria. The economy ministry, having elaborated documents dealing with issues of pro-export support and its institutional framework, has probably come the longest way.<sup>4</sup> The MFA SR so far lacks such a complex conceptual document dedicated to the economic dimension of diplomacy. That, however, only attests to the state when the economic agenda has not been a permanent and regular part of the MFA or the individual diplomatic missions abroad. Closer to reality is the statement that the economic diplomacy as presented by the MFA SR has until

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<sup>3</sup> G.A. Berridge, A. James *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*. (Hampshire: Palgrave Publ., 2001), p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> "Proexportná politika Slovenskej republiky na roky 2007 – 2013"; [http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/EC9B4010C9EB5ACDC1257305003E85E2/\\$FILE/Zdroj.html](http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/EC9B4010C9EB5ACDC1257305003E85E2/$FILE/Zdroj.html).

now been implemented intuitively rather than systematically, significantly individualized, limited by the knowledge and physical capacity of individual employees of the ministry. At the same time, it is true that a more optimal state seems to be a common approach of the foreign and economy ministries, alternatively the finance ministry, as the main partners in this regard.

#### **LACK OF INSTITUTIONAL SPECIALIZATION**

The level of institutional capacities, i.e. the structure of bodies intended for the execution of specific activities (e.g. attracting direct investments featured by a high rate of the added value of the final product or service, targeted support of science-technological cooperation and others) with a common denominator – the promotion of the SR's economic interests abroad – can be identified as another element of the functional model of economic diplomacy. Therein, it is not necessary to 're-invent the wheel'; it suffices to look around at the proven and successful models applied by our neighbors and partners, be it the Czech centers or the work of the Austrian trade chamber representatives abroad. The main problem on our side may actually not rest as much with the absence of the corresponding structures as in their insufficient equipment for the corresponding operations and the mutual detachment of their activities. We could discuss the nature of the newly created Pro-Export Council, we should, however, focus our attention on the fact to what extent this body serves as a basis for an effective engagement of businesses and exporters themselves in the decision-making process. The up-to-date experience says that their involvement in the activities of these structures has remained within the framework of formal participation. A systematic involvement of business circles representatives a lack in the planning of that part of foreign policy that immediately concerns them. And, actually, the goal should be to completely reverse the relationship and position the economic agenda in the center of attention of the constitutional actors, but also political representatives on the ministerial level. Such a practice is applied not only by the officials of all big countries (lately, the French president N. Sarkozy has become renown for such policy), but such an approach is featured also in the work of the Austrian, Swedish, or Czech officials. The possibilities of an integral interconnectedness of the activities of businesses and political representation of the state can be, at the same time, sought also in different forms, not just in accompaniment of state officials on their trips abroad by businesses. An example worth following – not just because every time billion-worth investments must be in play – is the attitude of the official Italian authorities to the idea of building a logistics center of Italian small and medium enterprises from the Firenze region doing business in Slovakia (Šamorín) to the search for an appropriate financial partner and also the political support expressed by the personal participation of the minister of economic development of the Italian Republic on the start of its operation.

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*It is not necessary to 're-invent the wheel' while building the institutional capacities of economic diplomacy. It suffices to look around at the proven and successful models applied by our neighbors and partners.*

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The subject of institutional framework of economic diplomacy deserves one more remark. It may not be assumed that all weak points can be eliminated by the creation of a single body representing everything and everyone. It would rather be desired to combine a group of several mutually interconnected and cooperating structures. A space for a kind of business self-government where representatives of state bodies would attend to listen and not to decide or lecture, should definitely be established. The demand for a similar structure between the MFA and the ME which are probably most significantly involved in the activities designated as economic diplomacy seems also logical. Indeed, more or less sporadic contacts on the official level and an exchange of background information for specific subjects are in no synergy.

#### **THE NEED FOR RESOURCES**

The pressure for efficacy in spending related to foreign policy operations pushes the SR – in particular in regard to its financial activities developed by the international community – to the verge of the possible and singles us

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*The pressure for efficacy in spending related to foreign policy operations pushes the SR to the verge of the possible and singles us out to a category of countries notoriously renoun for being strongly reluctant in financial engagement even in the cases when all others do not hesitate.*

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out to a category of countries notoriously renoun for being strongly reluctant in financial engagement even in the cases when all others do not hesitate. It must be admitted that also this is a part of economic diplomacy. In this regard, it needs to be stated that it is high time to start considering the synchronization of political activities with the SR's trade-economic interests and needs.

It should therefore be definitely worth it – next to other, less urgent subjects – to elaborate a review study about the structure of spending

on activities linked to the execution of foreign policy. It can be assumed that such a document would be a very good reference point in any prospective discussions on whether the SR is active enough in such subjects of global nature as the fight against hunger and poverty, assistance to the least developed countries, or on the subject of foreign service spending. Such document would certainly reveal an alarming state of the undersized resources for economic diplomacy, specifically in the segment of export support, presentation activities, or promotion of the SR as a tourist destination.

Talking about the need to elaborate a review of spending on the foreign policy execution, we also need to consider the demand for elaborating an overview of not only the Slovak exporters, but also the commodities and services which we are capable of offering and exporting in reality, not in virtual reality. Starting from that point, we would be also able to calibrate the parameters of our attributes in economic diplomacy. Thereby, we would avoid the relatively frequent moments of disappointment when, not sporadically, the employees of our diplomatic missions attempt for the installment of export goods for which there is no real demand, operate with the not-so-accurate information on the capacities of our contractors to export complex investment facili-

ties, or they come to the conclusion that our economy's traditional sector, machine engineering, is not capable of producing goods within the accuracy required by even moderately demanding customers. Similarly, the elaboration of such an overview must be a common pursuit, so that we can avoid the long-term disharmony between the MFA and the ME in determining the territorial priorities or a frequent tasking with roles to support the export of commodities (e.g. automobiles) whose marketing strategies are out of the reach of state bodies.

### ***FOCUSED ON THE EU***

Currently, the EU is surely crucial for the support of the SR's economy. The previous year, for example, was associated with a lot of activities of Slovak diplomacy regarding the fulfillment of the Maastricht Criteria for Eurozone membership. However, not only a very hot topic of top political debates, but a subject of systematic attention of the employees in the foreign service became the questions concerning climate change or energy security. These are definitely new elements in the work of our diplomacy, but expecting such an approach is justified as long as we want to keep the positions the SR took in the complicated process of economic transition in the 1990s. Out of the many topics, only two can be singled out. One topic regards our capacity for a timely identification of initiatives developed in the 'Brussels environment' into a form of legal measures with a very concrete impact on the nature of SR's business environment. Besides the current well-functioning and well-run departmental and multi-departmental coordination of sector policies, we need to focus primarily on the particular technical problems, such as e.g. the limits for emissions released into the air from industrial plants or engines installed into the automobiles produced in the SR. The other is related to the popular subject of EU funds. Achieving a change of the status quo when in the last year the share of support to the small- and medium-sized enterprises did not exceed one percent must be an outright priority. That the causes are quite clear (long approval periods, administrative demands etc.), nevertheless, should be for the state bodies a challenge of resolving the situation, not just making a statement.

### ***INSUFFICIENT PROFESSIONALISM***

Economic diplomacy's separate realm is its human resources, in particular concerning the people sent abroad. We need to admit self-critically that we are in the very beginning in this area, especially in the case of the MFA. We face tasks such as securing systematic professional preparation of the ministry's employees in economics and business or a review of the systematization of diplomatic missions, which involves the intention to continuously generate opportunities for political-economic diplomats, i.e. diplomats whose bulk of work will concern the interaction of Slovakia and the host country's economies. All that requires a substantial turnover of the traditional profile of a diplomat who will have to be increasingly more capable of mastering the details of the economic domain, and will intentionally lead to it not only by the management, but also by professional preparation. However, the establishment of more demanding requirements on the readiness of the people sent abroad concerns all the participating ministries.

## WHAT NEXT?

The handful of the above-mentioned examples is enough to capture the cross-section nature of economic diplomacy which leaves no space for an exclusive participation of a single ministry. Simultaneously, this is one of the points of departure which will express the MFA's approach to the subject in the upcoming period. A unified conduct of the foreign service – definitely yes; yet, in the biggest possible extent of cooperation and respect for the particularities of the professional preparation. The economization of the foreign service is not just about the subject of respect for managerial competences, even though it often seems that everything boils down to that point. In this context, too, it will be certainly useful to separate facts from fiction and avoid generalization of particular problems and e.g. interpret interpersonal

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*New challenges demand new solutions. A mechanic memorization of what we understood as the traditional diplomacy may not suffice in the future. The floor belongs now to those who are interested to contribute constructively to the calibration of state bodies and institutions' activities in a way responsive to the needs of today and the following years.*

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disagreements as systemic deficiencies. Should the elimination of competence conflicts regarding the foreign service turn out to be too complicated in the time frame determined by the length of the election term, it would be sufficient to finally start with the implementation of the idea of the interconnectedness of MFA's databases, alternatively the databases of the economy and foreign ministries, and respect for the simple fact that a competent management features high-quality information flows.

So, what does the MFA currently do and intend to do? We assign a lot of importance to thinking about its place and operations by those whom its

activities target – businesses. Hence, we developed an intensive dialogue with them – and we will carry it further on. We organized a roundtable with the representatives of various business associations and we are preparing another event based exactly on the proposals voiced on the former; we intend to reach out to a much broader range of businesses, not just their umbrella associations. The possible modification of the visa practice in relation to strategic investors can be mentioned as a minor sign of the effort to react more flexibly to the need for a business-oriented shift, which could also be a specific asset of the MFA SR towards the relaxation of the administrative demands for doing business in Slovakia.

In the process of identification of the right place of the MFA in the promotion of SR's economic interests, we have a solid base to build on. It was the foreign ministry which launched the EU's program of pre-accession assistance PHARE in Slovakia. Several programs of financial assistance (EEA, Norwegian Financial Mechanism, Swiss Revolving Fund etc.) were similar cases, even though they were closed down in the meantime or are run by a different body of the state administration. Currently, one of such priorities of the MFA is development assistance. It can be concluded – not only



as a consequence of a gradual increase in the volume of funds allocated for this area – that it will be adopting an increasingly more significant position in the overall portfolio of MFA's activities. At the same time, there is – next to the undoubtedly humanitarian mission of assistance – a need to establish also its close link to the support of the SR's economic interests. In fact, development assistance can hardly be considered exclusively as handing out alms.

We also observe an urgent need for a kind of a catalogue of activities for the SR's diplomatic missions. It must be completely clear not only to our employees, but equally also to businessmen what they can expect as an automatic service from SR's representation in the respective territory, what can be provided within an individualized approach, and what will be the subject of e.g. standard commercial relations. Such standardization or catalogue of activities will definitely eliminate many misunderstandings and will positively demonstrate the understanding of the relationship state – business. The management must therefore be strictly individual, based on a specific situation in the respective country, put in a different way, on knowing the real state of the local economy and opportunities for cooperation with it, but, equally, also the options of the SR's embassy itself. Of course, the corresponding organizational prerequisites, special management bodies at the MFA and adjustment of the functioning of its activity, must be established to that end. That is closely related also to the ongoing processes of the reform of the MFA, its organization structure, or with the so-called project management and budget creation. Next to the changes considered in relation to SR's embassies abroad, the reform will also impact the MFA headquarters. We have already launched some of the changes (here we need to mention significant changes in SR's operation within the OECD), others will concern also a wider specter of international economic organizations and our activities within them. We plan to use MFA's participation in the Board of the Bank Eximbanka's operations effectively in the pursuit of a gradual shift of its activities and focus to the support of export to the risk territories, transition from the support of big, financially stable firms, to the support of small- and medium-sized enterprises. MFA's simultaneous ambition will be to gain the relevant positions in the management structures of the remaining institutions operating in the realm of support of the Slovak economy abroad (NADSME, SACR, SZRB, SARIO), so that we are able to immediately influence the relevant processes.

New challenges demand new solutions. A mechanic memorization of what we understood as the traditional diplomacy may not suffice in the future. The floor belongs now to those who are interested to contribute constructively to the calibration of state bodies and institutions' activities in a way responsive to the needs of today and the following years.



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## ANNEXES

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## CHRONOLOGY OF THE IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IN 2007

*January 1* The Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Slovak Republic established the *Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation*. In the terms of its statute, the agency obtained competences of the administrative and signature units of the UNDP Trust Fund (ACU TF) and Bratislava-Belgrade Fund (SCU BBF), which realized project cycles within the official development aid until the agency was created.

*January 8* During another rotation of the Slovak contingent within the mission KFOR, 71 members of a unit and 13 members of the General staff of methodical help from the Slovak Republic military flew to Kosovo. Together with them, also 20 members of the ALTHEA mission and 6 members of the General staff of methodical help flew to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*January 11* Within the framework of Slovakia's elective membership in the United Nation's Security Council, the Slovak Republic became part of the chair of the Committee, dealing with questions as non-proliferation of NBC weapons. Together with the South African Republic, the Slovak Republic remained co-chairman of the Ad hoc UN SC committee for mandate revision. Both of the functions were carried out by the Permanent Representative of Slovakia to the UN, Ambassador Peter Burian.

*January 14-15* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš paid an official visit to Serbia. During the visit he met with the Serbian President Boris Tadić, Premier Vojislav Koštunica and with his resort colleague Vuk Drašković. The discussions were dominated by the problematic accession process of Serbia to EU, selected questions of bilateral and regional relations, as well as the current interior political situation in Serbia

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*January 15* A common session of the Parliamentary Committees on European affairs of V4 countries was held in Krakow. The deputies discussed the cooperation of the committees on an EU level, the legislative and working program of the European Commission for the upcoming year, relations between EU and Russia and the European energetic policy. At the end, they adopted a common declaration. The delegation of the Committee on European Affairs of the National Council of the Slovak Republic was headed by Chairman Milan Urbáni.

*January 18* The Slovak Republic became the chairmanship of the Security Council within the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) for the year 2007. The decision was made by Spain, which chaired OSCE in the previous year, after consultations with 56 participating states. The chairman function was carried out by the Permanent Representative of Slovakia to the OSCE, Ambassador Peter Lizák. During the chairing, Slovakia especially focused on preparations of the document reforming the security sector management.

*February 1* The Slovak Republic took over the chairmanship for one month in the UN Security Council. The Security Council under the Slovak Republic leadership voted through: 4 resolutions – extending the mandates for UN peace missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, Haiti and authorization to initiate a peace mission to the African union in Somalia; 2 chairman statements – both from the Slovak workroom – towards the reform of the security sector and non- proliferation of NBC weapons; and 7 statements for media from which two were proposed by the Slovak Republic.

*February 2* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, together with the Minister of Defense of the Slovak Republic František Kašický, confirmed on the grounds of the Slovak Ministry of Defense, that the Slovak soldiers, who carried out mine sweeping and construction works within the peace operation *Iraqi Freedom*; left Iraq and moved to Kuwait from where they will return to the Slovak Republic. Five Slovak officers that operate under the training mission NATO – NTM-I in Baghdad, remained in the Iraq territory.

*February 10* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš attended the 43<sup>rd</sup> annual security conference in Munich under the title *Global Crises – Global Responsibilities*. The Minister of Foreign Affairs presented at the conference a contribution to the thematic panel *The EU – Regional Model for Peace, Security and Prosperity?*

*February 20* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš met within his official trip to the USA with the State Secretary of the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs on European and Asian matters, Daniel Fried. J. Kubiš together with his partner discussed mainly the problem of identifying the future status of Kosovo and views on how to solve this question. Both sides highly appreciated the exchange of opinions and at the same time evaluated Slovak – American relations. Minister Kubiš asked the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs delegates for further support in solving the visa question between the USA and the SR.

*February 22* High Representatives of the organizations and agencies of the UN highly appreciated the work of Slovak diplomacy under the UN after meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic in New York. Minister Kubiš also confirmed Slovakia's interest for the regional UNDP department for Central and Eastern Europe, which was created in Bratislava at the beginning of the 90s, to continue it's functioning after the organizational changes of the UN agencies.

*March 18-19* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, paid an official visit to the State of Israel. Within his visit he met with the Israeli President Shimon Peres and the Vice Premier and Minister for Development of the Negev and Galilee. R. Fico mentioned the unpleasant state of the low bilateral trade cooperation between the countries. S. Peres at the same time confirmed the interest of Israel companies to invest in the region of Central Europe.

*March 24-25* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, attended the meeting of the heads of state and Prime Ministers of the European Union, which took place within the occasion of the 50th anniversary of signing the *Roma Treaties* in Berlin. Apart from others, he also signed the so called *Berlin Declaration*, which is a non binding document celebrating the 50th anniversary of the European Economic Community (EEC) and The European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) foundation.

*March 25-28* The president of the Slovak Republic Ivan Gašparovič paid an official visit to Ireland together with the Minister of Economy of the Slovak Republic Ľubomír Jahnátek and Minister of Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic Marian Janušek. A group of Slovak businessmen, who attended the Slovak- Irish economic forum in Dublin, were also part of the delegation. I. Gašparovič debated with President Mary McAleese, Prime Minister Bertie Ahern, as well as with the representatives of the Irish parliament and primarily themes of economic cooperation resonated. It was, historically, the first visit of a Slovak president in Ireland.

*March 25* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, paid an official visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina. He met with the highest representatives of the country in Sarajevo – with the chairperson of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Chairmanship, Nebojša Radmanović and the chairperson of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, Nikola Špirić.

*April 4* During the discussion about the future status of Kosovo on the grounds of the UN Security Council, the Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic to the UN, Peter Burian confirmed that the Slovak Republic as an EU member state is ready to support the EU approach in defining the future status of Kosovo. The Slovak Republic also fully supports the proposal and work of the UN Special Envoy at the Kosovo status process negotiation, Martti Ahtisaari and considers his proposal as the basis for further negotiations about Kosovo's future.

*April 5* The President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, talked with the OECD Secretary General, Angel Gurrío. Angel Gurrío handed over the current report about Slovakia to the President in which OECD acknowledged the economic progress, but also pointed out the new challenges in respect to the EU accession and adoption of the euro. On the occasion of handing over the current report a conference about the state and further development of the Slovak economy was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

*April 18-20* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, paid an official visit to the United States of America. During his stay, he met with the American Minister of Foreign Affairs Condoleezza Rice, who positively evaluated the Slovak Republic's attitudes and positions in the UN SC. During the visit J. Kubiš also negotiated with the Adviser of the American President for questions about national security, Stephen J. Hadley, with whom he discussed, apart from others, the question of integrating the Slovak Republic to the American non- visa program. J. Kubiš also met with the specialists from the research institution, The Heritage Foundation, and member of the non- governmental organization Friends of Slovakia.

*April 23* The Croatian Prime Minister, Ivo Sanader, visited the Slovak Republic. At a meeting with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, he expressed his desire for Croatia to enter the EU as soon as 2009. The key step, according to his words; will be closing the accession negotiations by the end of 2008. The Slovak Republic wants to, according to the words of Robert Fico, help Croatia primarily by referring to the mistakes that Slovakia made during the accession negotiations.

*April 24* The Serbian President, Boris Tadić, paid an official visit to the Republic of Slovakia. The key themes of the discussions between him and the President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, were the question of Kosovo's future status, bilateral relations of both countries, as well as the national minorities problem. Both of the presidents see it as the area for further deepening of cooperation especially in economy, trade, education, science and culture.

*May 4* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, visited Moscow. The key theme of his discussions with the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, was energy. Putin expressed Russia's interest in not only to supplying nuclear fuel, but also to contribute to the modernization of the nuclear reactors. In 2008 a contract between the Slovak Republic and Russia on gas supplies will expire after 2009 and as the Slovak Republic is 98% dependent on supplies from Russia, Slovakia will try very hard to sign a new, profitable contract. According to the words of R. Fico, the Slovak government has a positive position towards nuclear energy.

*May 11* The Polish Prime Minister, Jaroslav Kaczyński, paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. During a meeting with the President of the Slovak Republic, I. Gašparovič, both of them positively evaluated the cooperation between the SR and Poland within the EU as well as V4. Besides meeting the President, J. Kaczynski also met with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, R. Fico. The partners expressed different opinions on topics as the so called bomb defense safety shield in Poland and the European Constitution.

*May 21* The Minister of Defense of the Slovak Republic, František Kašický, met with the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, General Michel Suleiman in Beirut. During the visit he was also accepted by Prime Minister Foad Siniora. They primarily discussed about the current situation in Lebanon, as well as Slovak activities within the mission UNIFIL in which a Slovak health team and soldiers functioning in the operations of crisis management are engaged.

*May 24* The President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, took part at the 14th Summit of Presidents from Central European countries in Brno. During the summit, I. Gašparovič discussed with Croatian President Stjepan Mesič, Montenegrin President, Filip Vujanovič, and Macedonian President Branko Crkvenkovki. Ivan Gašparovič expressed to his partners full support in their road to the EU.

*May 25* A conference of the Parliament Chairpersons from the EU countries took place in Bratislava. The main themes of the conference were the future of Europe, significance and cooperation of the national parliaments, increasing the European national awareness and help to the parliaments of new and emerging democracies. The European parliament was represented by Manuel António dos Santos and the European Commission by the commissary Margot Wallström. Robert Fico, during the conference, noted that the Slovak Republic does not support opening new negotiations about the European Constitution and its core should be preserved, as well as his conviction that the enlargement should continue.



*May 28* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš presided over the talks of the V4 and Japanese chiefs of diplomacy in Hamburg. The discussions concentrated on the support for direct Japanese investments in Central Europe, developing contacts between medium and small companies, tourism and energy security. The Ministers further reviewed the UN Security Council reforms questions and the situation at the Korean foreland. They also exchanged opinions about the possibilities of common activities when providing development aid to countries of Central Asia, the Western Balkans and Ukraine.

*June 4* The President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, met with Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša in Bratislava. They focused mainly on questions relating to the Slovak entry to the euro zone and hence, the exchange of Slovenia's know how after adopting the euro. Janez Janša also met with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico. They discussed bilateral relations, cooperation with the EU and NATO, regional cooperation and energy security.

*June 14* The organization Freedom House stated in its newest report on the state of democracy in the Slovak Republic that the level of democracy is worsening. The published report of Freedom House especially criticized the pressure on courts and concentration of power. According to the report, Central Europe is exhausted by reforms and populism. The President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, expressed his disagreement with the report.

*June 18* The President of the Slovak Republic, I. Gašparovič, received José Sócrates, the Portuguese Prime Minister, while on his visit to the Slovak Republic on the occasion of the meeting of the V4 and Portuguese Prime Ministers. The aim of Sócrates visit was to introduce the plan of the Portuguese EU presidency, discuss the 'Schengen' problem and question of energy security as well as global warming. At an individual meeting with Robert Fico he announced, that Portugal takes seriously it's commitment to cancel or at least maximum efforts to cancel the borders with the new EU member states until the end of 2007.

*June 20* The President of the Slovak Republic, I. Gašparovič, paid an official visit to the Republic of Moldova. During his visit he met with the President Vladimír Voronin, Prime Minister Vesile Tarlev and chairperson of the Parliament, Marian Lupu.

*June 21* A summit of the European Council took place in Brussels. 27 EU Heads of State and Government met so that they could jointly arrive at a final proposal for a new treaty, which should replace the *Treaty Establishing the Constitution of Europe*, of which ratification shipwrecked on the French and Netherlands referendum in 2005. Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, also attended the summit.

*June 29* UN Security Council unanimously adopted the Resolution n. 1764 (2007), by which they welcomed and agreed with the appointment of the Slovak diplomat Miroslav Lajčák by the Executive board of the Peace Implementation Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina on June 19, 2007 to the post High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina/EU Special Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina for implementing the *Dayton Peace Agreement*. On July 1, 2007 he replaced the retiring Christian Schwartz-Schilling.

*July 2* Minister of Defense of the Slovak Republic, František Kašický, paid an official visit to the Peoples Republic of China. While his stay, he met with the Minister of National Defense of the Peoples Republic of China, General Cao Gangchuan. During the meeting they evaluated the agreement about cooperation in military sphere, which was signed in 2000. F. Kašický confirmed

the interest of the Slovak Republic to continue organizing courses on traditional Chinese medicine, Asian martial arts and the course on national security for Slovak armed forces.

*July 6* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, took part at an international conference in Dubrovnik under the title *Croatian Summit 2000: New South of Europe*. R. Fico gave a speech within the block *Global Significance of the European South* and participated at the panel discussion *Stability and Economic Development*. R. Fico presented his opinion that the Slovak Republic will support the legitimate ambition of Croatia to become an EU and NATO member as soon as possible.

*July 10* The President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, welcomed on the first official visit to the Slovak Republic the President of Montenegro, Filip Vujanović. The key themes of their discussion were questions of Montenegro EU integration, economic cooperation and investment opportunities for Slovak businessmen. Vujanović also met with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic R. Fico, Chairman of the Slovak National Council Pavol Paška and Slovak businessmen.

*July 18* The Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi paid a one day official visit to Slovakia. During the talks with the President of the Slovak Republic, I. Gašparovič, he stated, that the entry of the Slovak Republic to the euro zone and Schengen area in the planned dates are realistic. He marked Slovakia as a strategic partner for Italy, whereby both partners highlighted the qualitative level of bilateral relations.

*August 28* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico met with his Ukrainian colleague Viktor Janukovyč at the international border crossing in Vyšné Nemecké. During the meeting, R. Fico announced that the Slovak entrance to the Schengen area will not mean complication for the lives of Ukrainians and Slovaks, but on the contrary, will make the transit through the border crossing Uzhgorod - Vyšné Nemecké easier. Besides cross border policy they also discussed about cooperation in the field of energy. R. Fico stated that the government of the Slovak Republic is interested in importing electric energy from Ukraine, in the scope of two to four terawatt hours for the period of at least ten years.

*September 3* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, attended a ministerial conference about the European Neighborhood Policy in Brussels. The aim of the conference was primarily an exchange of opinions on the functioning of the neighborhood policy between the EU member states, 16 partner countries and non-governmental organizations. ENP belongs to the priorities of the EU foreign policies, with the aim of creating a zone of security, stability and prosperity around the EU. The Slovak Republic supported all the activities that are directed towards deepening of the cooperation with partners included in the neighborhood policy, especially with its direct Eastern European neighbors.

*September 20* The National Council of the Slovak Republic passed a resolution which marks the property relations, which came into existence with the postwar decisions of the Czechoslovak Republic and Slovak National Council agencies, as undisputable, untouchable and unalterable. 120 deputies of the 141 present voted for the resolution, 20 were against and one didn't cast a vote. The Slovak NC condemned in the text the principle of collective guilt, refused attempts to question and revision of the laws, decrees, agreements and other postwar decisions of the Slovak and Czechoslovak organs.

*September 20* The President of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, attended a presidential summit of the V4 countries in the Republic of Hungary. The theme of the discussions was the evaluation of the three year functioning of the countries in the EU. The second main theme was the transport and free movement of people after the entrance of the V4 countries to the Schengen area.

*September 22* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, had a telephone conversation with his Hungarian partner Ferenc Gyurcsány. F. Gyurcsány stated that the declaration, by which the Slovak National Council confirmed the inalterability of the Beneš Decrees, contradicts EU principles and does not support good neighborhood relations. Subsequently, the chairman of the foreign committee of the Hungarian parliament Zsolt Németh informed in Budapest that the Hungarian deputies canceled their participation at the meeting of the foreign committees of the Slovak and Hungarian parliaments on September 25, as a reaction to the declaration approval.

*September 23* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, met with his partners from more than 30 countries at the general debate of the 62<sup>nd</sup> session of the UN General Assembly in New York. Besides others, he talked with the Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Daniel Fried, and special envoy of the US for Kosovo, Frank Wisner. He then discussed the further procedure for realizing the security sector reform with the UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Jean-Marie Guéhenno.

*September 25* President of the Slovak Republic Ivan Gašparovič attended at the peak meeting of the UN SC members' heads of states and governments. He met with the UN Secretary General Pan Ki Moon, signed *The International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance* and *UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. During his appearance in the discussion about the reduction of emissions and stabilization of climate he stated that the Slovak Republic as an EU member state accepts the EU commitment to lower the average emissions by 20% until 2020 in comparison with the year 1990. The President also made a speech on the theme of peace and security in Africa.

*October 2-3* Hungarian President László Sólyom paid a private visit to Komárno. L. Sólyom stated that Hungary is currently expecting from the Slovak Republic a certain positive gesture after adopting the resolution on the inalterability of the *Beneš Decrees*. Robert Fico reacted to his visit with words that the Government of the Slovak Republic will not tolerate and accept, that somebody will cross the state borders and misuse private visits for political goals and criticize Slovak organs. The Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs also interpreted this opinion to the Hungarian Ambassador in the Slovak Republic, Antal Heizer.

*October 8* The Slovak and Austrian Ministers of Interior, Robert Kaliňák and Günter Platter, signed a memorandum of understanding in Vyšné Nemecké. G. Platter expressed his opinion that Slovakia is well prepared and fulfils all the necessary standards to enter the Schengen area.

*October 11* The President of the Slovak Republic, I. Gašparovič, hosted the Ukrainian President Viktor Juščenko, who paid an official visit to the Slovak Republic. During his stay, V. Juščenko signed two contracts – *Agreement of Changing the Treaty between SR and Ukraine about Social Security* and *Agreement between the SR Government and the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers on Constructing the Road Board Crossing Čierna-Solomonovo*. The crossing will fully conform to

the Schengen criteria. Viktor Juščenko also informed Ivan Gašparovič about the procedure and results of the recent parliamentary election in Ukraine.

*October 12* Vice-president of the European Commission and main commissar for Schengen affairs, Franco Frattini, accompanied by the Minister of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Robert Kaliňák, took a view of the command center of the border police Headquarters in Sobrance. It was the most important and at the same time last foreign visit at the eastern border before the political decision on the entry of the Slovak Republic and other accession countries to the Schengen zone.

*October 14* The Minister of Defense of the Slovak Republic František Kašický paid an official visit to the State of Israel. During the talks with the Vice-Premier and Minister of Defense Ehud Barak they discussed the developing mutual bilateral relations and concrete development of military-technical cooperation and Slovak defense industry. The Ministers confirmed their intentions by signing a memorandum of cooperation. Another result of the mutual discussions was the creation of a military representative office in Israel.

*October 18* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico together with the official delegation of the Slovak Republic took part at an informal EU summit in Lisbon. The heads of state and governments of the EU member countries negotiated about the *Reform Treaty*, which will amend the *Treaty of EU* and *Treaty Establishing the European Communities*. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs discussed the Middle East peace process, situation in Lebanon, Myanmar and Turkey. The discussions of ministers also focused on the western Balkans, primarily on Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia.

*October 23* Cuba deported Peter Novotný, a Slovak election expert, because he conversed with the dissidents. The Cuban police accused him of defaming the Cuban regime, confiscated all his documents and prohibited contact with the Slovak Embassy in Havana. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic expressed deep concern on the Slovak side and disagreement with the proceeding of the Cuban organs, which was in conflict with the *Vienna Convention on Consular Relations* from 1963.

*October 29* The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, together with the Minister of Economy of the Slovak Republic, Ľubomír Jahnátek, paid an official visit to the Republic of Korea. Robert Fico introduced the Slovak Republic to the South Korean President Roh Moo Hyun as an attractive country for further investments. R. Fico also signed an intergovernmental agreement about cooperation in culture, education and tourism.

*November 5 – 6* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, participated in the two-day conference of the *Barcelona Process: Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Euromed)*. Its main topic was the Middle East peace process. Ministers from 37 countries agreed on a need for achieving a major improvement in the relations of Arabic countries and Israel. It should be based on the creation of a Palestinian state, which would coexist in peace with Israel. Ján Kubiš spoke to more resort partners during the conference, among others to the Hungarian Foreign Secretary Kinga Göncz.

*November 12* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, officially took over the presidency of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and introduced the program of the Slovak presidency. Its main topics are the support of civic Europe, a transparent

and effective Council of Europe, improving the cooperation and dialogue with the UN, EU, OECD and other international organizations, together with supporting the common fundamental values. The Slovak presidency will last till May 2008; at the same time, the President of the Slovak Republic met René van der Linden, the chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

*November 21* President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan paid an official visit to Slovakia. A plenary meeting with the President of the Slovak Republic elaborated on the issues of cooperation between the Slovak Republic and Kazakhstan in the fields of economy, trade, culture, education, science and sport. He appreciated especially the economic activities of both countries, as the trade balance of both countries in 2006 grew by 80 % annually. Both partners considered the quality of cooperation in international organizations, such as the OSN, to be of high quality.

*November 28* The Slovak Foreign Secretary and Chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the European Council paid an official visit to Georgia. The issues of strengthening the political dialogue, economic cooperation and Slovak support towards the Euro-Atlantic ambitions of Georgia dominated the talks with Georgian officials. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, reviewed the current political situation in Georgia preceding the local presidential elections together with the special envoy of the European Council Secretary General to Georgia, Igor Gaon, and with the representative of the director of the OECD mission to Georgia Veselin Nikolaev.

*November 30* The Slovak Republic officially became a fully-fledged member of the International Energy Agency (IEA). The IEA was established in 1974 in the time of the first oil crisis. It is a part of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, recently focusing on climate change, energy effectiveness, market reforms, energy technologies issues and in cooperation with non-member countries.

*December 3* The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ján Kubiš, signed the *Agreement on Development Cooperation between the Slovak and the Serbian Government* in Belgrade. The agreement creates the framework for providing Slovak development aid to Serbia, which is one of the most important recipients of Slovak development aid. The Finance Minister Mirko Cvetković signed the agreement for the government of Serbia.

*December 5* The National Council of the Slovak Republic passed a law approving official development aid. All of 142 MPs present voted for the law. It will be in force from February 1, 2008. It shall create a long-term framework for providing official development aid from the Slovak Republic, especially bilateral project assistance. Between 2003 and 2007, more than 200 *SlovakAid* projects in seventeen developing countries have been approved.

*December 12* The Government of the Slovak Republic approved a proposition of the defense ministry to terminate the participation of the Slovak Armed Forces in the UN UNDOG Golan Heights mission. The Slovak Armed Forces will continue to be active in the UN UNTSA mission in the Middle East and in the UNFICYP on Cyprus.

*December 13* The *Lisbon Treaty* was signed in Lisbon, changing and supplementing the *Treaty on European Union* and the *Maastricht Treaty*. The Treaty was signed by the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš.

## Annexes

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*December 20* The Slovak Republic entered the Schengen Zone. The Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, and the Austrian Chancellor Alfred Gusenbauer symbolically sawed up the pike at the Petržalka–Berg border crossing; Ivan Gašparovič, President of the Slovak Republic, was present. The Entry of Slovakia together with eight other new member countries was unanimously approved by the EU Interior and Justice Ministers Council on a December 6th session in the Brussels.

*December 30* The Slovak Republic successfully finished its function as a UN Security Council elected member.

## LIST OF TREATIES CONCLUDED BETWEEN SLOVAKIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN 2007

### PRESIDENTIAL TREATIES

1. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Ukraine on the Mutual Support and Protection of Investments  
(Kiev, February 26, 2007)
2. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Turkey on Social Security  
(Ankara, January 25, 2007)
3. Administrative Agreement on Executing the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Turkish Republic on Social Security  
(Ankara, January 25, 2007)
4. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Kingdom of Morocco on the Mutual Support and Protection of Investments  
(Rabat, June 14, 2007)
5. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Malaysia on the Support and Protection of Investments  
(Kuala Lumpur, July 12, 2007)
6. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income and on Capital.  
(Astana, March, 21, 2007)

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Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.



7. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the Servicing, Maintenance and Reconstruction of Road Border Bridges and Segments of Border Roads on the Common State Border (Bratislava, June 18, 2007)

## INTERGOVERNMENTAL TREATIES

1. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on the Storage of Emergency Oil and Oil Product Reserves of the Slovak Republic on the Territory of the Czech Republic (Prague, February 22, 2007)
2. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt on Co-operation in Science and Technology (Cairo, February 22, 2007)
3. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on International Combined Transport (Kiev, February 2, 2007)
4. Security Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Romania on the Mutual Protection of Classified Information (Bucharest, March 6, 2007)
5. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Turkey on Economic Cooperation (Ankara, March 16, 2007)
6. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Custom Matters. (Bratislava, March 22, 2007)
7. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Poland on the Amendment of Supplement no.3 of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Poland Concerning the Border Crossings, Crossing the State Border on Tourist Trails Intersecting the State Border and the Principles for Crossing the State Border at Places other than Border Crossing Points (Bratislava; Warsaw, Exchange of notes; in force from February 14, 2007)
8. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Czech Republic on the Storage of Emergency Oil and Oil Product Reserves of the Slovak Republic on the Territory of the Czech Republic (Prague, February 22, 2007; in force from May 3, 2007)
9. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Finland on the Mutual Protection of Classified Information (Bratislava, May 14, 2007)

10. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on Cooperation in the Fight against Organized Crime (Kishinev, June 20, 2007)
11. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt on Co-operation in Science and Technology (Cairo, February 27, 2007)
12. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on International Combined Transport (Kiev, February 26, 2007)
13. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Portuguese Republic on the Exchange and Mutual Protection of Classified Information (Bratislava, October 25, 2007)
14. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the Construction of a New Border Crossing Point Čierna – Solomonovo (Bratislava, October 11, 2007)
15. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the Servicing, Maintenance and Reconstruction of Road Border Bridges and Segments of Border Roads on the Common State Border (Bratislava, June 18, 2007)
16. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the Amendment of Supplement no.1 of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary Concerning the Crossing of the State Border on Tourist Trails signed in Budapest on May 10, 2006 (Exchange of notes on August 30, 2007 and September 17, 2007)
17. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the Construction of the Road Bridge over the Ipeľ River on the Common State Border of both States between the Municipalities of Rákoš and Rákospuszta and their Connecting Roads (Štúrovo, November 16, 2007)
18. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the Construction of the Road Bridge over the Ipeľ River on the Common State Border of both States between the Municipalities of Pečov a Szécsény and their Connecting Roads (Štúrovo, November 16, 2007)
19. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Korea on the Mutual Recognition and Exchange of Drivers Licenses (Bratislava, Exchange of notes on October 23, 2007 and October 24, 2007)
20. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Custom Matters. (Skopje, July 16, 2007)

21. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Montenegro on Development Cooperation  
(Bratislava, November 26, 2007)
22. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Korea on Cooperation in the Fields of Culture, Education and Tourism  
(Soul, October 30, 2007)
23. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the European Centre for Medium-Range Weather Forecasts  
(Bratislava, November 1, 2007)
24. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of South Africa on the Abolition of Visa Requirements for Holders of Diplomatic or Service Passports  
(Cape Town, November 7, 2007)
25. Amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Mutual Protection of Classified Information, signed on July 1, 1998  
(Bratislava, December 14, 2007)
26. Framework Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Swiss Federal Council Concerning the Implementation of the Swiss-Slovak Cooperation Programme to Reduce Economic and Social Disparities within the Enlarged European Union.  
(Bern, December 20, 2007)
27. Security Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Romania on the Mutual Protection of Classified Information  
(Bucharest, March 6, 2007)
28. Amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Mutual Protection of Classified Information, signed on July 1, 1998  
(Bratislava, December 14, 2007)
29. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Cooperation in the Field of Fighting against Organized Crime, Terrorism, Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, Psychotropic Substances and Precursors and Other Types of Crimes  
(Bratislava, November 21, 2007)
30. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on Cooperation in the Fight against Organized Crime  
(Bratislava, November 16, 2007)
31. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on Development Cooperation  
(Belgrade, December 3, 2007)

32. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the United States of America on Cooperation in Science and Technology (Washington, November 8, 2007)
33. Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Cooperation in Economy and Science and Technology (Bratislava, June 11, 2007)
34. Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Portuguese Republic on the Exchange and Mutual Protection of Classified Information (Bratislava, October 25, 2007)

### MINISTERIAL TREATIES

1. Cooperation Program between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of the Education of the People's Republic of China in the field of Education for the years 2007-2010 (Beijing, February 5, 2007, Issue no. 105/2007 Z.z.)
2. Cooperation Agreement between the Ministry of Agriculture of the Slovak republic and the Ministry of Agriculture of the People's Republic of China (Beijing, February 5, 2007, Issue no. 118/2007 Z.z.)
3. Agreement between the Ministry of Transport, Posts and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic and the Minister of Transport of the Republic of Poland on the Amendment of the Agreement between the Ministry of Transport, Posts and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Transport and Marine Economy of the Republic of Poland on the Location for the Connection of the Projected Motorway D18 on the Slovakian Side and the Projected Two-way Road on the Polish Side on the Border of Poland and Slovakia between the Towns of Skalite and Zwardoń, and their Course within the Borderland, Drafted in Bratislava on November 29, 1995, amended by the Agreement between the Minister of Transport, Post and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic and the Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy of the Republic of Poland, drafted in Bielsko-Biała on July 19, 2001 (Warsaw, February 16, 2007, Issue no. 112/2007 Z. z.)
4. Cooperation Programme between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of the Education and Youth Affairs of the Republic of Moldova in the field of Education for the years 2007-2010 (Bratislava, March 22, 2007, Issue no. 188/2007 Z.z.)
5. Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of the Bilingual Branches of Gymnasiums in the Slovak Republic Concluded between the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of the Education and science of the Kingdom of Spain (Bratislava, March 29, 2007, Issue no. 187/2007 Z.z.)

6. Amendment of the Protocol on Consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco  
(Rabat, June 14, 2007)
7. Memorandum on the Cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa  
(Bratislava, June 11, 2007)
8. Cooperation Programme between the Slovak Republic and the Portuguese Republic in the fields of Language, Culture, Education, Science, Technology and Higher Education, Social Communication, Youth and Sports for the years 2007-2010  
(Lisbon, June 26, 2007)
9. Agreement between the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Sports and Tourism of the Republic of Belarus on Cooperation in the field of Tourism  
(Bratislava, June 19, 2007)
10. Agreement between the Ministry of Agriculture of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development of the Republic of Poland on the Registration of the Name 'Slovenský oštiepok' by the Slovak Side as a Geographical Trademark and the Registration of the Name 'Oscypek' by the Polish Side as a Trademark of Origin  
(Palárikovo, May 28, 2007)
11. Amendment of the Protocol on Consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco  
(Rabat, June 14, 2007)
12. Executive Cooperation Program between the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Culture of the Arab Republic of Egypt for the years 2007-2009  
(Bratislava, July 3, 2007)
13. 13. Agreement between the Ministry of Transport, Posts and Telecommunications of the Slovak Republic and the Federal Ministry of Transport, Innovation and Technology of the Republic of Austria on the Construction of the Railway Connection Bratislava-Vienna  
(Bratislava, July 11, 2007, Issue no. 405/2007 Z.z.)
14. Cooperation Program between the Slovak Investment and Trade Development Agency (SARIO) and the Moldovan Investment and Export Promotion Organization (MIEPO)  
(Kishinev, June 20, 2007)
15. Financial Memorandum between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Montenegro  
(Bratislava, November 26, 2007)
16. Biennial Collaboration Agreement (BCA) between the Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic and the WHO Regional Office for Europe  
(Belgrade, September 16, 2007)

17. Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the European Centre for Medium-Range Weather Forecasts  
(Bratislava, Reading, November 1, 2007)
18. New Border Documentation of the Slovak-Ukrainian State Border  
(Exchange of notes, Bratislava, Kiev, May 29, 2007 and December 18, 2007)

## MULTILATERAL TREATIES

1. Memorandum of Understanding "Central European Cooperation in Education and Lifelong Education" for the period of 2007-2012  
(Vienna, April 12, 2007, Issue no. 223/2007 Z.z.)
2. Statement of the Slovak Republic to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the Expansion of Slovakia's Commitments onto the Amendment of the Charter deposited on May 21, 2007 at the CoE SG  
entered into force for the Slovak Republic on September 1, 2007, Issue no. 587/2007 z.z.
3. Changes to the Administrative instructions of the Madrid Agreement Concerning the International Registration of Marks and the Protocol to this Agreement  
(Geneva, October 3, 2007)  
entered into force for the Slovak Republic on January 1, 2008, Issue no. 584/2007 z.z.
4. Air Transport Agreement between the Member States of the EU and the European Community on one side and the United States of America on the other  
(Washington, April 30, 2007)
5. Agreement in the form of Exchange of Letters on the Agreed Principles of the Modernization of the Existing system of Utilization of the Trans-Siberian Routes between the European Community and its Member States on one side and the Russian Federation on the other  
(Brussels, May 10, 2007)
6. Agreement on the participation of the Republic of Bulgaria and Romania in the European Economic Area and Four related Agreements  
(Brussels, July 25, 2007) not yet in force, being implemented provisionally from August 1, 2007, Issue no. 122/2008 Z.z.
7. Council of Europe Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime and on the Financing of Terrorism  
(Warsaw, May 16, 2005)  
Signed by the Slovak Republic on November 12, 2007

## SELECTED DOCUMENTS WITH FOREIGN POLICY IMPACT SUBMITTED TO SESSIONS OF THE SR GOVERNMENT IN 2007

### I. STRATEGIES AND PROGRAMMES

#### 1.1. BASIC FRAMEWORK DOCUMENTS OF SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

*Foreign policy orientation of the Slovak Republic for 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/18DC0598DE85DEC4C125727500443E9C?OpenDocument>

*National Programme of the Official Development Assistance for 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/489FFFC589D1FDC0C12572B9003CB519?OpenDocument>

#### 1.2. EUROPEAN UNION

*Draft amendment to the draft National Strategic Reference Framework for 2007-2013 based on the comments from and negotiations with the EC*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/33306F50CD4CEB98C12572CD0031118B?OpenDocument>

*The 2007-2010 convergence programme for Slovakia - 2007 update*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5B9138D08468264AC12573950040CD?OpenDocument>

*Strategy of the Slovak Republic in the preparation, nomination and appointment of posts European Union bodies to 2013*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/7C7E157A77508E0EC12573A30051B794?OpenDocument>

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*Source: Government Office of the Slovak Republic. Documents are available in Slovak only.*



*Draft National Strategy for the Protection of the Financial Interests of the European Community in the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B54099514778D813C12572F9002DAF2F?OpenDocument>

### 1.3. EURO

*The update of the National Plan for the Introduction of the Euro in the Slovak Republic between 2007 and 2009*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/863B038138CAEA3EC125729F004E9B24?OpenDocument>

*Action Plan for intensifying consultations with the institutions of the European Union and selected member countries with the goal of the introduction of the EURO in the SR as of January 1, 2009*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/98108BCE753E4929C1257338002CD4E8?OpenDocument>

*Communication Strategy for the Introduction of the Euro in the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0A353C79450E51A3C125737200311AEF?OpenDocument>

### 1.4. COUNCIL OF EUROPE

*The priorities of Slovakia's Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B19B674BF4FA38C2C125729100314B16?OpenDocument>

## II. STANDPOINTS AND POSITIONS OF THE SR

### 2.1. EUROPEAN UNION

*Draft position of the Slovak Republic on the European Commission's annual report on the revised Lisbon Strategy for the Spring European Council to be held on 8 and 9 March 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/E175E1E1B8BB92B6C125728E004A225B?OpenDocument>

*Proposal of the starting-points of the Slovak Republic for the review of the EU budget for 2008/2009*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CFB93683E7423E59412573A200298327?OpenDocument>

*Revised mechanism for the development of standpoints on the proposals of acts approved by the Council of the European Union in the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/DCD9AE5388A0811BC125736E002CACCC7?OpenDocument>

*Monitoring of the developments in the Slovak Republic's positions on draft legal acts of the European Union*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4436DCB33D26BFD4C125729D004D63DF?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/AE0AF18C48B4E3BEC1257306002C9406?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/E00DA58BD2DB8250C1257360003337C6?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for further steps to be taken by the Slovak Republic with respect to European Commission communication of 22 November 2006 (sales quotas for U. S. Steel Košice, s.r.o., in Romanian and Bulgarian markets)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/15356C5158DE39F4C125726400430B10?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for further steps to be taken by the Slovak Republic with respect to the action brought by U. S. Steel Košice, s. r. o., against the Commission of the European Communities – Case T-27/07*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/322CF90A8F2BC10CC12572C6002CF753?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for further steps to be taken by the Slovak Republic with respect to Commission Decision of 29 November 2006 related to the National Quota Allocation Plan submitted by the Slovak Republic in accordance with European Parliament and Council Directive No. 2003/87/EC*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/7BFB7DAFFA0A9651C125726C0046CBF9?OpenDocument>

*Procedures for the representation of the Slovak Republic before the courts of the European Communities*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B900DC7BCB24CD7AC12572E20029033E?OpenDocument>

## **2.2. TREATY OF LISBON**

*Position of the Slovak Republic at the session of the Intergovernmental Conference of the European Union open in 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/F1D25F9860A73A02C125730D004C222C?OpenDocument>

*Position of the Government of the Slovak Republic for the European Council on institutional reform on 21 and 22 June 2007 in Brussels*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5AFDB066FF7976FEC12572F2003DC8F5?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for concluding the Treaty amending the Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty on establishing the European Community*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BD693B0F6C251C16412573A200411542?OpenDocument>

## **III. REPORTS ON THE RESULTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCIES AND NEGOTIATIONS**

### **3.1. FOREIGN OFFICIAL AND WORKING VISITS BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the Republic of Slovenia on 15 January 2007 and official visit to the Republic of Croatia on 15 and 16 January 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/329039FB1E06396EC1257273002D8C75?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the People's Republic of China between 5 and 9 February 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5321D13BC37CBDE3C125729100394F80?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 21 and 22 February 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/E139B5F4B0D81643C125729D0039277C?OpenDocument>

*Report on the course and results of the visit by a delegation led by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to Ukraine on 26 February 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/407A7A1125C59685C12572AE004435FA?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the State of Israel between 18 and 21 March 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9F66A6613881354AC12572B4002D3097?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by a delegation of the Government of the Slovak Republic led by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the Federal Republic of Germany on 26 April 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BDA08AEC134B45E9C12572D40024D743?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the Russian Federation on 4 May 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2A5FC6BB35397F74C12572EA0047DC18?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Robert Fico to the Republic of Austria on 08.05.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/109020B5EBB65F4DC12572E9003657D1?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the working visit of the prime minister, Robert Fico, to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on 12.6.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/E4E85A1DFAA81437C1257306004584A2?OpenDocument>

*Information on the working visit of the Prime Minister of the SR, Róbert Fico, to the Ukraine on 28 August 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/F8EC6B066FB41D8AC125734F00485F1B?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and outcomes of the working visit of Robert Fico, the Prime Minister of the Government of the SR to the Republic of France on October 2, 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/7E00D76CBBF1993DC12573770040F5E2?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit of the Prime Minister of the SR Robert Fico to the Republic of Korea during 28 October - 2 November 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/378C4FE0204CDC88C1257398004BD8FB?OpenDocument>

### **3.2. FOREIGN OFFICIAL AND WORKING VISITS BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the People's Republic of China between 19 and 21 December 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/745A3EF971B5A4BFC125725F0033E5FF?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the Republic of Serbia on 14 and 15 January 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/125F6B0C3376187AC1257273004BC1EE?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on 31 January 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/271FE537988D9B73C1257284004794DD?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the Czech Republic on 16 and 17.03.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CC6BC6F896C57B38C12572B100310F38?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the Federal Republic of Germany on 23 March 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/664FD931AD505CB9C12572B4002EF846?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to Bosnia and Herzegovina on 25 and 26 March 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/6703563D886A10A6C12572BF00351EF8?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the Republic of Austria on 26.03.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/79C78AF66D6228CDC12572BC004333DD?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan between 19 and 21.03.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/147BB6DE96B9CC8AC12572CA00351055?OpenDocument>

*Information on the talks held by Minister of Foreign Affairs Ján Kubiš at the UN SC, New York, 15-18.04.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/1A3165D999A4B656C12572CD00333FF2?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to Washington, United States of America, between 18 and 20 April 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9AB2B9E767F9104EC12572CD00326217?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the State of Qatar and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia between 5 and 9 May 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/35BBA2F4DF0592D8C12572E40042E71F?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the Republic of Serbia on 16.05.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/450199A9FB992988C12572F40029CE9D?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Ján Kubiš to the Republic of Bulgaria on 17 and 18 May 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5F0D2AA3518593E1C12572EA0045BD46?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the working visit of the minister of foreign affairs Ján Kubiš to Ukraine from 1-3.6. 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9437718398DD975AC12572FA003DAF0A?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the official visit of the minister of foreign affairs Ján Kubiš to the Republic of Cyprus from 7-10 June 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/3B7C4CB883AF8604C125730100429CD5?OpenDocument>

*Information regarding the course and outcomes of the visit of Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the State of Israel on July 9 – 12, 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5FDDB240E2508A63C1257328002A9402?OpenDocument>

*Information regarding the course and outcomes of the visit of Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Algerian Democratic Republic on July 13 – 14, 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A324304F3DADD1DEC125732800288052?OpenDocument>

*Information regarding the course and outcomes of the working visit of Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Republic of France on July 24, 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/357528B3149B460EC12573310047CAD0?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit of Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR, to the Kingdom of the Netherlands during 13 – 14 September 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9FA9AEA6A417A54BC12573670044FF58?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit of Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR, to the Kingdom of the Netherlands during 13 – 14 September 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/3A7652E5817DD299C125736B003C748A?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and outcomes of the visit of Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR to Japan on October 10 – 14, 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/C12109C95DCE8153C125737C00335A19?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the seminar concerning the reform of the security sector organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa during 7 – 8 November 2007 and the information on the course and results of the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SR Ján Kubiš to the Republic of South Africa during 7 – 10 November 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/320D4DE4E912F6AFC1257398004E0246?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the working visit of the minister of foreign affairs Ján Kubiš to Georgia from 26–28.11.2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/1D79509E47EE36C0C12573B00034F304?OpenDocument>

### 3.3. FOREIGN VISITS TO THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria Alfred Gusenbauer to the Slovak Republic on 18.02. 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/6D584F006A17E566C1257295002C0E76?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by a delegation of the Government of the Republic of Moldova led by Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova Vasile Tarlev to the Slovak Republic on 22 March 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CD3A9E6CB43FB9A8C12572C8002AD916?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Republic Croatia Ivo Sanader to the Slovak Republic on 23 April 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4D14672A7F850AFCC12572D6003DE5BD?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by a delegation of the Government of the Republic of Poland led by Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland Jaroslaw Kaczyński to the Slovak Republic on 11 May 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B62CEEF9134C347C12572F700367628?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia Janez Janša to the Slovak Republic on 3 and 4 June 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/06DEE19F799E537BC12572F7002AE1B0?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the working meeting of the prime ministers of the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary in Bratislava on 18.6. 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/39721E694615B476C125730C0030AE80?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the official visit to the Slovak Republic of the delegation of the Portuguese Republic lead by the prime minister José Sócrates from 17 to 18 June 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/D2A7AE4631BA811CC125730C0031E3D8?OpenDocument>

*Information on the progress and outcomes of the official visit to the Slovak Republic on July 18, 2007 of the delegation of the Republic of Italy led by Romano Prodi, the Prime Minister*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CBC5EF383CEE5C6DC125732C002ED2A1?OpenDocument>

*Informácia o priebehu a výsledkoch oficiálnej návštevy ministra zahraničných vecí Japonska Taro Asa v Slovenskej republike v dňoch 12. - 13. januára 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/C38D4FEA527CA3B3C125726C004F64D0?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit by Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Spain Miguel Ángel Moratinos Cuyaubé to the Slovak Republic on 01.02. 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5F28B878B61F787AC12572840048839A?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the working visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran Manouchehr Mottaki to the Slovak Republic on 13 and 14 March 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/553618762C5A62E0C12572AD002C9160?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Macedonian Republic Antonio Milososky in the SR during 29 - 30 October 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A0459EA3DBB7F577C125739B0041E762?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and results of the working meeting of minister of foreign affairs Ján Kubiš and the foreign minister of Hungary, Kinga Göncz in Štúrovo on 16 November 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/873E0C031A479DD3C12573AA00431225?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the official visit of Secretary General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Angel Gurría to the Slovak Republic between 4 and 9 April 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2C43C6B43826220EC12572BC00444677?OpenDocument>



### 3.4. EUROPEAN UNION

*Report on the course and results of the European Council in Brussels on 14 and 15 December 2006*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/AE2BCC946285D83AC125726E0033041F?OpenDocument>

*Information on the meeting of the Council for General Affairs and External Relations, Brussels, 22-23.01. 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/D7E303B2DAF4BA58C125727200388F09?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the Informal European Council held on 24 and 25 March 2007 in Berlin*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/67BFFF031C3260F4C12572AE00485A44?OpenDocument>

*Report on the course and results of the negotiations at the Brussels European Council on 8 and 9 March 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CB79503BC286EBCCC12572BA002B360E?OpenDocument>

*Report on the progress and the results of the discussions of European Council in Brussels from 21 to 22 June 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0FF6F0C098199E19C125730D004A6C4F?OpenDocument>

*Information on the discussions of the European Council from 21 to 22 June 2007*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/C01E1B6540F8D133C125730D001F9290?OpenDocument>

*Information regarding the opening of the Intergovernmental Conference of the European Union on July 23, 2007 in Brussels*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/C44345392B790363C12573250047234C?OpenDocument>

*Report on the discussion of member states of the European Union within the inter-governmental conference of the European Union on the Treaty amending and supplementing the Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A366DDE332ED3ADCC12573640030BDDEE?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and outcomes of the informal session of the European Council on October 18 – 19, 2007 in Lisbon*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4233E6617C5FD7D8C125738300450005?OpenDocument>

### 3.5. V4

*Information on the proceedings and results of the summit of heads of government of the countries of the Visegrad group (Bratislava, 18 June 2007)*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A99B61C68CD18244C125730C003E875F?OpenDocument>

### 3.6. UNO

*Information on the course and results of the main part of the 61st Session of the United Nations General Assembly*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5682E749D2D00733C125728B0029BB93?OpenDocument>



*Information on Slovakia's performance of the presidency of the UN Security Council (February 2007)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/efd5cea2008353cfc12572a3004cca45?OpenDocument>

*Information on the participation of Ivan Gašparovič, President of the SR and Ján Kubiš, Minister of Foreign Affairs at the official part of the 62nd session of the UN General Assembly*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/eb5ba6db0a4a19f2c12573830043f3d0?OpenDocument>

*Information on the 68th meeting of the UNECE Committee on Housing and Land Management*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/ec7c2925ba1c0fbdc12573aa0038d237?OpenDocument>

### **3.7. OTHER MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS**

*Information on the course and results of the participation of a delegation of the Slovak Republic at the Ministerial Conference of the Council of Europe's Pompidou Group in Strasbourg, France, 27-28.11. 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9573733d861c16c0c125724a004cd6b0?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the First Conference of the Parties to the Framework Agreement on the Protection and Sustainable Development of the Carpathians (the Carpathian Convention), Kiev, Ukraine - 11-13 December 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/3885fdc4ca1e810ec1257260004cbc7c?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the 14th OSCE Ministerial Council, Brussels, 4 and 5 December 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2c84d1e688703d2fc1257265003ac1a3?OpenDocument>

*Information on the Eighth Meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Basel Convention*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/f43ed5b91842dc48c125726d003d5e5c?OpenDocument>

*Report on the course and results of the summit of Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Riga on November, 28 - 29, 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/101c10dea02ba3e14125727c00469d3c?OpenDocument>

*Information on the proceedings and the results of the 117th session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/ca6fe52ff18c1922c12572fa003e87ce?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the 51st meeting of the IAEA (International Agency for Atomic Energy) General Conference in Vienna*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/00f18bc0a3c20204c1257371003c32ca?OpenDocument>

*Information on the organization of the 1st Session of the EU Nuclear Energy Forum (ENEF) in Bratislava*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/a42e21f0b681179fc12573910035b934?OpenDocument>

*Report on the proceedings and results of the 96th session of the International Labour Conference held in Geneva from 30 May 2007 to 15 June 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/fac3ade7ac4f6559c12573ae00453bd9?OpenDocument>

*Information on the course and results of the meeting of Working Table II of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/649864FEAB174741C12572590044917A?OpenDocument>

## **IV. OTHER REPORTS, ASSESSMENTS AND PROPOSALS**

### **4.1. REPORTS ON THE BASIC FRAMERWORK DOCUMENTS**

*Report on the implementation of Slovak foreign policy tasks in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0AED875F685D4DC0C1257284004BD74B?OpenDocument>

*Information on official development assistance provided by the Slovak Republic in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/47891D854097C740C12572BF00349069?OpenDocument>

*Report on the state of the network of Slovak diplomatic missions abroad in 2007 and the conditions for its further development*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/6E7C9FA57770D8C7C12572E6002642CE?OpenDocument>

### **4.2. EUROPEAN UNION**

*Summary report on the third year of the Slovak Republic's membership of the European Union between 01.05.2006 – 30.04.2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/F6C2AA005F1057F0C12572F30048173B?OpenDocument>

*Information on the application of transitional periods negotiated by the Slovak Republic during the EU accession process*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/F6E035A364536631C12572F700265598?OpenDocument>

*National Convention on the European Union project (2006 Report on Activities)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/48F2A14BE6E06411C1257280004C2D56?OpenDocument>

*National convention on the European Union in 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/32590B350A7ED39AC12572B4002C1BD0?OpenDocument>

*Report on the personnel representing the Slovak Republic in European Union institutions in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/D7FF1CCFFE8CDEB3C12572D4002BF091?OpenDocument>

*Revised rules and procedure for the deployment of Slovak national experts and interns in European Union institutions*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/83CAD1AB8CA3B87FC1257258004303C3?OpenDocument>

*Proposal of framework conditions for the Slovak Republic's participation in the event European Capital of Culture – Slovakia 2013*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0B902A22D99FD417C1257260004DDC86?OpenDocument>

*Ongoing report on the implementation of the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All 2007 Program on the Road to a Just Society as of June 30, 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B803411F36BF0C50C125735A003F5F16?OpenDocument>

*Information on the analyses of conclusions from the European Council summit held on 8 and 9 March 2007 in Brussels, regarding politics in the area of climate and energy*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/C444081C58A63FF3C12573640039173F?OpenDocument>

*Report on the participation of the Slovak Republic in the EU communitary programmes in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CF8ACD49AB414206C125736B00292478?OpenDocument>

*The 2008 Legislative and Work Programme of the European Commission and the report on the priorities for the Slovak Republic arising from the 2008 Legislative and Work Programme of the European Commission*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/EA9C268742F4CF24C12573AD002E448D?OpenDocument>

### **4.3. EURO**

*Proposal to appoint the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for the Introduction of the Euro*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9A258DB10BF1347BC125724A002E5564?OpenDocument>

*Report on the implementation of the National Plan for the Introduction of the Euro in the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/85B2FCC4FBBDA9C8C1257273003CABAC?OpenDocument>

*Report on the fulfillment of the National Plan for the Introduction of the Euro in the Slovak Republic of June 30, 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/DE6D3A52D3B65DA7C12573290047D0C7?OpenDocument>

*Bill on the introduction of the Euro currency in the Slovak Republic and on changes and amendments to some Acts*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/80DEDDEEF8652886C125735D003BF07A?OpenDocument>

*Information on the results of discussions of the delegation lead by O. Algayerová, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR, in Slovenia regarding the introduction of the Euro*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5CD1C4CE2E6616D1C12573600035CA0E?OpenDocument>

### **4.4. EU LEGISLATION – APPROXIMATION, TRANSPOSITION**

*Information on approximation ordinances of the Government of the Slovak Republic issued in the 2nd half of 2006 and plans for the adoption of approximation ordinances of the Government of the Slovak Republic in the 1st half of 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BF925BDBFB1FB336C125725E005016F0?OpenDocument>

*Information on approximation ordinances of the Government of the Slovak Republic Issued in the 1st half of 2007 and plans for the adoption of approximation ordinances of the Government of the Slovak Republic in the 2nd half of 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/28E45DAB44A108DCC1257309002FC7E8?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to define the responsibility of ministries and other central state administration authorities for the adoption and application at the national level of measures related to European Communities regulations and decisions*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/D6A89B844C5B8512C125724A004C6C7B?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/55834E89BD70FC8FC12572F400411243?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/875BE9A7A9E4953CC12573B0004E0731?OpenDocument>

*Information on the transposition deficit and the timetable for the elimination of the deficit*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A13C4DCE7A2D0902C125729C004D5FBD?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/8F65163B9B00DF83C125734C004303C9?OpenDocument>

#### 4.5. FINANCIAL MECHANISMS / EU FUNDS

*Report on the implementation and use of pre-accession instruments, the EEA Financial Mechanism, the Norwegian Financial Mechanism, structural funds, and the Cohesion Fund as of 31.12.2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/6E5C650589C42F7CC1257284004FBDA9?OpenDocument>

*Report on bilateral assistance provided by EU Member States and the Kingdom of Norway to the Slovak Republic in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/649881F649D1600EC12572C600313AD7?OpenDocument>

*Report on the readiness of the Slovak Republic to use structural funds and the Cohesion Fund in the 2007-2013 programming period (situation as of 15.2.2007)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A43AB676F3470CB3C12572910040DD63?OpenDocument>

*Report on the readiness of the Slovak Republic to use structural funds and the Cohesion Fund in the 2007-2013 programming period (situation as of 15.5.2007)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5F73D313117B62E7C12572ED0040EDB8?OpenDocument>

*Report on the readiness of the Slovak Republic to use structural funds and the Cohesion Fund in the 2007-2013 programming period (situation as of 15.8.2007)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/D5B9BBDE52627723C1257348004350E1?OpenDocument>

*Information on the readiness of the National Strategic Reference Framework for 2007-2013, operational programmes and the EC's comments on these documents (situation as of 15.03.2007)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/1ED02591DEB3229BC12572A5004AABBF?OpenDocument>

*Current problems with respect to structural funds and the Cohesion Fund for the 2004-2006 programming period, including the identification of direct financial impacts*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/F9944FA3C2EBE7FDC12572B10034B926?OpenDocument>

*Report on the implementation of the PHARE programme and the Transition Facility in the Slovak Republic in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/DD779A91E66587B7C12572FF0037C148?OpenDocument>

*Report on the Implementation and Drawing of the Pre-Access Tool, the EEA Financial Mechanism and the Norwegian Financial Mechanism, Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund as of June 30, 2007 and some common tasks connected with the Knowledge Society's strategic priority in the program period 2007-2013*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/ECB5C88418F1A7FCC125733200347544?OpenDocument>

*Report on progress in the implementation of the EEA financial mechanism and the Norwegian financial mechanism*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/240D1FB5410A1B1DC1257348003F1AE9?OpenDocument>

*Draft Act on assistance provided from the funds of the European Community*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4ED71D9D50E43BE8C125735B003587AD?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the Action Plan to the National Strategy for the Protection of the European Community's Financial Interests in the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/3AEE2791114C4397C12573670045DA5E?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the approval of the conclusion of the Framework Agreement between the Swiss Federative Council and the Government of the Slovak Republic on implementing the Swiss-Slovak Cooperation Program for decreasing economic and social gaps within the framework of the expanded European Union*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/916EA85A0145A18EC125738B0048030B?OpenDocument>

#### **4.6. SCHENGEN**

*Action Plan for the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the Schengen Area*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9CAB4A3B52F923E3C1257299004440F2?OpenDocument>

*Draft act amending and supplementing certain laws in connection with the accession of the Slovak Republic to the Schengen area*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4BB1BA98F830A3C3C12572E900433874?OpenDocument>

*Report on the activity of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Securing the Accession of the Slovak Republic to the Schengen Zone*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/DFD3DEEE8FF18BC8C1257360003D8164?OpenDocument>

#### **4.7. SECURITY DIMENSION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY**

*Draft Directive for Defence Policy of the Slovak Republic for 2008 – 2013*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2B6F3FD1FA40B6454125727C004C7120?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to release financial resources from the reserves of the Government of the Slovak Republic for the Slovak Republic's contributions to the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation's budget for the construction of new NATO headquarters for the 2004-2007 period*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A91851076A7E8027C12572BB00418D69?OpenDocument>

*Draft position of the Slovak Republic on the Draft Force Goals 2008*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0E9D3CBEAC32C0F2C12573550031CEEA?OpenDocument>

*Updated action plan of the directive for civil emergency planning in the Slovak Republic on the basis of measures from the NATO Ministerial Directive for 2007-2008*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0D818697D1449C6CC125732B00401FCD?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to send a surgical team of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic to the UNIFIL mission in Lebanon for two rotation periods of 2 months each to be available to UNIFIL personnel,*

*local population or any other person, including enemies (in conformity with the Geneva Conventions)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/64EB4D9943786330C125726400414B3C?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for continued participation of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in the ISAF operation in Afghanistan*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/62AC3D3C65E8D37DC125728F0023183D?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/632FB58FB9F37C65C12573750028F0F4?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for a change of the mandate of the soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic acting in the KFOR operation in Kosovo and for sending the members of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic to the KFOR operation in Kosovo*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/0AD657148A8C74D3C125737500285375?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the termination of activities of the members of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in the Iraq Freedom Operations in Iraq*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/7E0E45C5AFF332AEC12573840039F9B2?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to terminate the activities of members of the Slovak armed forces in the UNDOF mission on the Golan Heights*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/76A1E60328C7E563C12573A3003423AE?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to increase the number of members of the Slovak armed forces in the UNTSO supervision mission in the Middle East*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/FA5733BC14C8C535C12573A7002EECE0?OpenDocument>

*Information regarding the participation of Slovak Republic in the civic crisis management projects of the European Union*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5125F17D082EDFBEC125732100445953?OpenDocument>

*Draft assessment of the participation of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in international crisis management operations in 2006, including a draft participation plan for 2007-2008*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/686DF39A649F5302C12572F0002E678E?OpenDocument>

*Information on the activities of members of the armed forces of the Slovak Republic performing functions in NATO/EU bodies, national support elements in the NATO military headquarters and NATO/EU military structures in operations for international crisis management*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BFFC05435CA12588C12573050052FB84?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/183588AAAC3946BCC1257328003BD612?OpenDocument>

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/91C7575DE34C0D40C125736300403377?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for a systemic solution related to the deployment in international crisis management operations of the members of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic working in NATO/EU bodies, national support elements of NATO military commands and NATO/EU military structures*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/5B46B0C3DF6557ABC12572EB0043C472?OpenDocument>

*Draft procedure for the implementation of the NATO Crisis Response System (NCRS) in Slovakia*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/45DD988A2CFB1FCBC12572EC0036EDBD?OpenDocument>



*Proposal for updating SR Government Resolutions No. 504/2005 and No. 943/2000 regarding the reconciliation of contributions of the Slovak Republic to the building of NATO and EU military capabilities*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/F2EADD3672CCDE56C12573550033604F?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to approve the presence of members of the Iraqi armed forces in the territory of the Slovak Republic for the purposes of a military exercise*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/ECA3826F95649DE7C12572EC00288869?OpenDocument>

*Organisation of the Slovak Republic's preparations for NATO crisis management exercises scheduled for 2007 and 2008*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/D0F8484B0B8DC0A3C12572EC003F5548?OpenDocument>

*Organizational backup of the second main planning conference of the CMX 08 training exercises planned for September 2007 in the Slovak Republic*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2C529BAFBA73C634C12573280027061C?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for updating the program of military maneuvers in 2007 and the related sending of members of the armed forces of the SR out of the territory of the SR and the presence of members of foreign armed forces on the territory of the SR for the purpose of military maneuvers*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/84565E764E8E01F1C12572BF002791C6?OpenDocument>  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/7BE3B386FD206D82C125732C0030D08D?OpenDocument>  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/90A756A484A07D67C12572D70030EDCE?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the completion of operation of foreign armed forces in the territory of the Slovak Republic in the framework of the project for a troop training centre for Central and Eastern Europe for officers of lower ranks*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/EB0AC2C00B29F49AC12573630040F228?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to give consent for the sending of the Slovak armed forces outside the territory of the Slovak Republic and the presence of members of foreign armed forces on the territory of the Slovak Republic for the purposes of conducting military exercises in the first quarter of 2008*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/EDD14F9CF00B1065C12573A9003492C1?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to conclude a Memorandum of Understanding between the government of the Slovak Republic and the government of the Hellenic Republic on cooperation in the area of armaments and the defence industry*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/45D592D014885E5FC12573000045D614?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for access to the protocol which changes the Safety Annex to the Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty for Co-operation regarding Atomic Information*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/58ED09CDB4D42AA6C125737600474554?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to create a special protection unit under the competence of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic with the aim of protecting the Slovak Republic's diplomatic missions abroad in crisis situations*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/1C3F4BDD9EF60F1CC12572EA0048FC41?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to ensure security at the Slovak Liaison Office in Priština*  
<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/187999447C443108C12572C800311FEE?OpenDocument>



*Report on the Security Situation of the Slovak Republic in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/E8B7FC6980B5C884C125739F0029B5A2?OpenDocument>

#### **4.8. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND OTHER FORMS OF SUPPORT**

*Proposal to conclude the First Amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan on the Donation of Military Material*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/633F64309DFF0C0DC1257264004107A8?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to conclude the First Amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of Iraq on Military Material Donation*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/7F98187D6BAB2354C125727900312FC2?OpenDocument>

*Information on the implementation of the offer of assistance from the Slovak Republic to Ukraine in the implementation of the objectives of the 2006 EU-Ukraine Action Plan*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/FC0D3BB5E8E8B4AEC1257275002B1C56?OpenDocument>

*Draft of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Serbian Republic on the development of cooperation*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B653C7E318E071A0C1257385003F9174?OpenDocument>

#### **4.9. SLOVAK EXPATRIATES**

*The 2007 Permanent Conference of the Slovak Republic and Slovaks Living Abroad*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/EC7CDD80634021B6C12573230035FC0D?OpenDocument>

*The 2006 report on state policy towards Slovaks living abroad and the provision of state support to Slovaks living abroad and the proposed 2008 programme for Slovaks living abroad*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/691140DC93EF9987C1257347002390AE?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the allocation of budget resources from the government reserve to the Ministry of Culture of the SR with specific assignment to Slovak Radio for the purpose of ensuring the broadcast of programmes in the languages of national minorities and ethnic groups living in the Slovak Republic for 2007*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/2E5AA3E014DBED69C1257371003505DA?OpenDocument>

#### **4.10. VISA**

*Proposal to cancel Resolution of the Government of the Slovak Republic No. 4 of 14 January 2004 concerning the unilateral abolishment of the visa requirement for nationals of the Republic of Bolivia entering the territory of the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4A1441B0AFB66091C125728B002FDE00?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the conclusion of the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Republic of South Africa on the cancellation of the visa duty for holders of diplomatic and service passports*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/842653220F903702C125738700456CA7?OpenDocument>

#### 4.11. OTHERS

*Draft rules of diplomatic protocol in the Slovak Republic*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/25EE76E6D3282739C125730100457DEB?OpenDocument>

*Framework proposal related to the preparation of Slovakia for Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (November 2007 - May 2008)*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/115C90437527717AC125725F0034844A?OpenDocument>

*Final report on the implementation of the development programme for Slovakia's external integration communication strategy*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/FB947520D1550564C1257257004303C7?OpenDocument>

*Information - Seventh Report on the Implementation of the Programme of Action of the UN International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo 1994) and the Key Actions adopted at the 21st Special Session of the UN General Assembly (New York 1999) in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/BCC455E5E1216988C12572760038D0A9?OpenDocument>

*Information on the development of individual complaints against the Slovak Republic in the United Nations system in the area of human rights and basic freedoms*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/487FCA03F35781ADC125733E00462A82?OpenDocument>

*Information on the situation with respect to the implementation of international treaties in 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/E5401885F9DBB59EC12572A3004DA70F?OpenDocument>

*The 2006 report on the activities of the Slovak Republic's agent in proceedings before the European Court of Human Rights*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/B2FF6EAB8C25C51DC12572AB002D7509?OpenDocument>

*Proposal for the Slovak Republic's official participation at EXPO Zaragoza 2008*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9AD1D9F70B536AF0C12572CD0036FEEE?OpenDocument>

*Proposal to release funding from the reserves of the Government of the Slovak Republic to finance the Slovak Republic's official participation at EXPO Zaragoza 2008 and contributions to exhibitors*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/31751641A1ECA2C5C12572F00026A49F?OpenDocument>

*Information on the fact that the Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Family joined the declaration Enhancing Social Europe initiated by the labour ministers of Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, France, Italy, Cyprus, Luxembourg, and Hungary*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/C3BF09DE2638795AC12572C6002FFD96?OpenDocument>

*Proposal submitted by Vladimír Palko, František Mikloško and Rudolf Bauer, members of the National Council of the SR, to adopt the Declaration of the National Council of the SR on Recognition of the Ukrainian Famine in 1932 - 1933 as Genocide*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/9D8D115ACA39407FC1257398004C8219?OpenDocument>

*Draft final statement of accounts for 2006*

<http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/A05D78808DDA0A29C12572B3002B932C?OpenDocument>

## STRUCTURE OF THE STATE ADMINISTRATION AUTHORITIES ACTING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

### **PRESIDENT OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

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#### *Foreign Affairs Committee*

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#### *Committee for European Affairs*

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#### *Committee for Human Rights, Minorities and the Position of Women*

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*Prepared by Martin Fírák, RC SFFPA intern (fírák@sffa.sk). Source: Government Office of the Slovak Republic*

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*Consular Department*

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**State Secretary for Media and Audiovision**

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**State Secretary for Minority and Regional Culture**

Augustín Jozef Lang, tel.: 02/ 5939 1215

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**State Secretary**

Peter Sika, tel. 02/ 5975 2713

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Head of the Department: Juraj Džupa, tel. 02/ 5975 1611  
*Department of International Cooperation and Protocol*  
Head of the Department: Štefan Lednický, tel. 02/ 5975 1621

**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Stromová 1, 813 30 Bratislava  
tel.: 02/ 5937 4111  
www.education.gov.sk



**Minister**

Ján Mikolaj

**State Secretary**

Bibiána Obrimčáková, tel.: 02/ 5477 5524

**State Secretary**

Jozef Habánik, tel.: 02/ 5477 3977

**MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

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[www.justice.gov.sk](http://www.justice.gov.sk)

**Minister**

Štefan Harabin

**State Secretary**

Anna Vitteková, tel.: 02/ 5935 3229

**State Secretary**

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**Section for International Law and European Integration**

Director General: Peter Bážas, tel.: 02/ 5935 3248, [ms.smep.sek@justice.sk](mailto:ms.smep.sek@justice.sk)

*Department of International Law*

Head of the Department: Miloš Haťapka, tel.: 02/ 5935 3349, [inter.coop@justice.sk](mailto:inter.coop@justice.sk)

*Department of Foreign Relations and Human Rights*

Head of the Department: Jana Vnuková, tel.: 02/ 5935 3473, [jana.vnukova@justice.sk](mailto:jana.vnukova@justice.sk)

**MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Nám. Ľ. Štúra 1, 812 35 Bratislava

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**Minister**

Jaroslav Izák

**State Secretary**

Jaroslav Jaduš, tel.: 02/ 5956 2012

**State Secretary**

Dušan Muňko, tel.: 02/ 5956 2491

**Section for Foreign Relations and Environmental Policy**

*Department of European Union Affairs*

Head of the Department: Katarína Butkovská, tel.: 02/ 5956 2205

**MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Dobrovičova 12, 812 66 Bratislava  
tel.: 02/ 5926 6111  
www.mpsr.sk

**Minister**

Zdenka Kramplová

**State Secretary**

Vladimír Palša, tel.: 02/ 5926 6244

**State Secretary**

Viliam Turský, tel.: 02/ 5926 6242

**MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT, POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Námestie slobody č. 6, 810 05 Bratislava  
tel.: 02/ 5949 4111  
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**Minister**

Ľubomír Vážny

**State Secretary**

Milan Mojš, tel.: 02/ 5273 1462

**State Secretary**

Dušan Švantner, tel.: 02/ 5244 2301

**Section for European Union and Foreign Affairs**

Director General: Dušan Rizek, tel. 02/ 5273 1446, [dusan.rizek@telecom.gov.sk](mailto:dusan.rizek@telecom.gov.sk)

**MINISTRY OF CONSTRUCTION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Preievozská 2/B, 825 25 Bratislava  
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**Minister**

Marian Janušek

**State Secretary**

Martin Glváč, tel.: 02/ 5831 7273

**State Secretary**

Daniel Ács, tel.: 02/ 5831 7270

**SUPREME CONTROL OFFICE OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Priemyselná 2, 824 73 Bratislava  
tel.: 02/ 5542 3069  
[www.controll.gov.sk](http://www.controll.gov.sk)  
Head: Ján Jasovský, tel.: 02/ 5011 4402

**ANTIMONOPOLY OFFICE OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Drieňová 24, 826 03 Bratislava  
tel.: 02/ 4829 7111  
[www.antimon.gov.sk](http://www.antimon.gov.sk)  
Head: Danica Paroulková, tel.: 02/ 4333 7305

**STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Miletičova 3, 824 67 Bratislava  
tel.: 02/ 5023 6111  
[www.statistics.sk](http://www.statistics.sk)  
Head: Ľudmila Benkovičová, tel.: 02/ 5542 5802

## LIST OF THE EMBASSIES OF THE EU, NATO COUNTRIES AND SOME OTHER COUNTRIES

*THE EMBASSIES IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC AND THEIR HEADS AS OF MARCH 2008.*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan	-	Na Kazance 634/7 171 00 Prague 7 - Trója The Czech Republic	<b>Mohammad Kacem Fazelly</b> Ambassador Designate
The Republic of Abania	01/01/2003	Pod Kaštany 22 160 00 Prague 6 The Czech Republic	<b>Qazim Tepshi</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 3, 2007
Democratic People's Republic of Algeria	01/01/2003	Rudolfínegasse 18 A – 1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Taous Feroukhi</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: February 21, 2002
The United States of America	01/01/1993	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 5 811 02 Bratislava 1	<b>Vincent Obsitnik</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: December 12, 2007
The Principality of Andorra	03/06/1996	Kärtnering 2A/13 1010 Vienna, Austria	<b>Joan Pujal Laborda</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: July 16, 2007
The Republic of Angola	30/09/1993	Štefánikova 6/A 811 05 Bratislava	<b>Alberto Correia Neto</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 30, 2007
The Argentine Republic	01/01/1993	Goldschmiedgasse 2/1 A – 1010 Vienna, Austria	<b>Eugenio Maria Curia</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 21, 2007
The Republic of Armenia	14/11/1993	Hadikgasse 28 A – 1140 Vienna, Austria	<b>Ashot Hovakimian</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: December 11, 2006
The Commonwealth of Australia	01/01/1993	Matiellstrasse 2 A-1040 Vienna, Austria	<b>Peter James Shannon</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 21, 2006
The Republic of Austria	01/01/1993	Ventúrska 10 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Helmut Wessely</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2006
The Republic of Azerbaijan	27/11/1993	Hügelgasse 2 A – 1130 Vienna, Austria	<b>Fuad Ismayilov</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2006

Prepared by Martin Firák, RC SFPA intern (firak@sfp.sk).  
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic

## Annexes

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The People's Republic of Bangladesh	03/03/1993	Dovestr. 1 105 87 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Muhammad Enayet Hossain</b> <i>Minister, Head of Chancery</i>
The Republic of Belarus	01/01/1993	Kuzmányho 3/A 811 06 Bratislava 1	<b>Viktor Navrotsky</b> <i>Counsellor (Economic Affairs), Chargé d'affaires a. i.</i>
The Kingdom of Belgium	01/01/1993	Fraňa Kráľa 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	<b>Alain Cools</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 3, 2006
The Republic of Benin	19/01/1993	Uspenskij Pereulok 7 Moscow The Russian Federation	<b>Honoré Tossavi</b> <i>Chargé d' Affaires a.i., Minister – Counsellor</i>
The Republic of Bolivia	05/03/1993	Waaggasse 10/4 A-1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Sergio Fernando Olmos</b> <i>Chargé d' Affaires a.i., Minister – Counsellor</i>
Bosnia and Herzegovina	01/01/1993	Opletalova 27 110 00 Prague The Czech Republic	<b>Ivan Orlić</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 3, 2006
The Republic of Botswana	29/11/2001	High Commission of the Republic of Botswana, 6 Stratford Place W1C 1AY, London, UK	<b>Roy Blackbeard</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: April 16, 2002
The Federative Republic of Brazil	01/01/1993	Pestalozzigasse 4 A – 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Julio Cezar Zelner Goncalves</b> <i>Designated Ambassador</i>
The Republic of Bulgaria	01/01/1993	Kuzmányho 1 811 06 Bratislava 1	<b>Ognjan Garkov</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: June 13, 2006
Burkina Faso	01/08/1997	Prinz Eugenstrasse 18/3A A-1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Noëllie Marie Béatrice Damiba</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: June 2, 2004
The Republic of Burundi	29/06/1999	Berliner Strasse 36 D – 10715 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Pierre Sinarinzi</b> <i>Counsellor, Chargé d' Affaires a.i.</i>
The Republic of Cape Verde		Schwindgasse 20/2 A-1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Alirio Vicente Silva</b> <i>Ambassador Designated</i>
The Kingdom of Cambodia	-	Drezdenska 3 03-969 Warsaw Poland	<b>Chan Ky Sim</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: April 26, 2004
Canada	01/01/1993	Muchova 6 160 00 Prague 6 The Czech Republic	Michael Calcott <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: December 11, 2006
The Republic of Chile	01/01/1993	Lugeck 1/3/10 A-1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Milenko Skoknić</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 21, 2006
The Peoples Republic of China	01/01/1993	Jančova 8 811 02 Bratislava 1	<b>Zhogpo Huang</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: September 23, 2003
The Republic of Colombia	01/01/1993	Stadiongasse 6-8/15, A – 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Rosso José Serrano Cadena</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: January 9, 2004
The Republic of Congo	30/06/1998	Grabbeallee 47 D – 13156 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Serge Michel Odzocki</b> <i>Chargé d' Affaires a.i., Minister – Counsellor</i>

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The Democratic Republic of Congo	18/02/1993	Soukenicka 34/1765, 110 00 Prague 1 - Nové Mesto The Czech Republic	<b>Henri Benjamin Ntikala Booto</b> <i>Minister – Counsellor, chargé d' affaires a. i.</i>
The Republic of Costa Rica	06/10/1993	Hadikgasse 32/3 A-1140 Vienna Austria	<b>Ana Teresa Dengo Benavides</b> <i>Designated Ambassador</i>
The Republic of Croatia	01/01/1993	Mišíkova 21 811 06 Bratislava 1	<b>Tomislav Car</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: January 16, 2007
The Republic of Cuba	01/01/1993	Somolického 1/A 811 05 Bratislava 1	<b>David Paulovich Escalona</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 11, 2006
The Republic of Cyprus	01/01/1993	Parkring 20 A - 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Kornelios Korneliou</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: May 9, 2006
The Czech Republic	01/01/1993	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 8 811 02 Bratislava 1	<b>Vladimír Galuška</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 4, 2004
The Kingdom of Denmark	01/01/1993	Panská 27 816 06 Bratislava	<b>Jorgen Munk Rasmussen</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 15, 2005
The Republic of Ecuador	01/01/1993	Goldschmiedgasse 10/2/24 A - 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Byron Morejón-Almeida</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 6, 2003
The Arab Republic of Egypt	01/01/1993	Dunajská 4 P.O. Box 322 811 08 Bratislava	<b>Hassan Hanafy Mahmoud el-Laithy</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 11, 2007
The Republic of Estonia	01/01/1993	Wohlebengasse 9/13 A - 1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Katrin Saarsalu</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 30, 2003
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	10/05/1995	Wagramerstrasse 14/1/2 A-1220 Vienna Austria	<b>Kongit Sinegiorgis</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: July 16, 2007
Delegation of the European Commission		Palisády 29 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Andrea Elscheková-Matisová</b> <i>Ambassador of EC to SR</i>
European Parliament Information Office		Palisády 29 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Robert Hajšel</b> <i>Executive Director</i>
The Republic of Finland	01/01/1993	Palisády 29 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Ravno Tapio Viemerö</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: April 4, 2004
The French Republic	01/01/1993	Hlavné námestie 7 P.O.Box 152, 810 00 Bratislava 1	<b>Henry Cuny</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: January 16, 2007
The Republic of Gambia	18/08/1995	Avenue F. D. Roosevelt 126 1050 Bruxelles Belgium	<b>Amie Nyan-Alaboson</b> <i>Minister – Counsellor, Chargé d' Affaires a. i.</i>
The Federal Republic of Germany	01/01/1993	Hviezdoslavovo námestie 10 811 02 Bratislava 1	<b>Jochen Trebesch</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: August 23, 2005
The Republic of Ghana	01/10/1993	V Tišine 4 160 00 Praha 6 – Bubeneč The Czech Republic	<b>Veronica Sharon B. Kufuor</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 6, 2003

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<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
Georgia	25/11/1993	Michalská 9 811 01 Bratislava	<b>Nikoloz Nikolozishvili</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 3, 2006
The Republic of Guatemala	15/04/1993	Landstrasser Hauptstrasse 21/9 A-1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Luis Alberto Padilla Mendéz</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 7, 2006
The Republic of Guinea	16/03/1993	J.gerstrasse 67-69 D – 10117 Berlin, The Republic of Germany	<b>El Hadj Aboubacar Dione</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 7, 2006
The Hellenic Republic	01/01/1993	Hlavné námestie 4 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Constantin Karabetis</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 4, 2005
The Holy See	01/01/1993	Nekrasovova 17 811 04 Bratislava 1	Apostolis Nuncius
The Republic of Hungary	01/01/1993	Sedlárska 3 814 25 Bratislava 1	<b>Antal Heizer</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: January 16, 2007
The Republic of Iceland	01/01/1993	Naglergasse 2/8 A-1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Sveinn Björnsonn</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 28, 2004
The Republic of India	01/01/1993	Dunajská 4 811 08 Bratislava	<b>Homai Saha</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2007
The Republic of Indonesia	01/01/1993	Mudroňova 51 811 03 Bratislava 1	<b>Lutfi Rauf</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 21, 2006
The Islamic Republik of Iran	01/01/1993	Strohgasse 14c A – 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Mohammad Javad Sarbolandi</b> Counsellor (Slovak Republic Affairs)
The Republic of Iraq	01/01/1993	Korabinského 3 811 02 Bratislava	<b>Hassan Quassim Hassan Ahmedal - Sheikh</b> Counsellor, Chargé d' Affaires a.i.
Ireland	01/01/1993	Carlton Savoy Building Mostová 2 811 02 Bratislava	<b>Declan Connolly</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 28, 2004
The State of Israel	01/01/1993	Slávičie údolie 106 P. O. Box 6 811 02 Bratislava	<b>Zeev Boker</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 14, 2006
The Republic of Italy	01/01/1993	Palisády 49, 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Antonino Provenzano</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: July 22, 2004
The Republik of Côte d'Ivoire	28/10/2002	Lutzowstrasse 33-36 D-10785 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Aya Esther Akale</b> First Secretary
Jamaica	01/01/1993	Schmargendorfer Strasse 32 D – 12159 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Joy Elfreda Wheeler</b> Designated Ambassador
Japan	01/01/1993	Hlavné nám. 2 813 27 Bratislava	<b>Makato Washizu</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 15, 2005
The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	03/03/1993	Rennweg 17/4 A-1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Ghaith Zuhier Abdel Fattah Malhas</b> First Secretary, Consul



<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The State of Qatar	01/01/1993	Gárdonyi Géza 19 1026 Budapest Hungary	<b>Mubarak Rashid Al Boainin</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 21, 2007
The Republic of Kazakhstan	01/01/1993	Romaina Rollanda 12 160 00 Prague 6 The Czech Republic	<b>Marat Yessenbayev</b> Counsellor, Chargé d'affaires a. i.
The Republic of Kenya	01/01/1993	Neulinggasse 29/8 A – 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Julius K. Kandie</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 18, 2007
The Republic of Korea	01/01/1993	Ostravská 17 811 04 Bratislava	<b>Yong-kyu Park</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: February 22, 2007
The Democratic People's Republic of Korea	01/01/1993	Na Zátorce 6/89 160 00 Prague 6 The Czech Republic	<b>Pyong Gap Ri</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 4, 2004
The State of Kuwait	01/01/1993	Universitätsstrasse 5/II A – 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Fawzi Abdulaziz al-Jasem</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 4, 2004
The Kyrgyz Republic	01/01/1993	Invalidenstrasse 3/8 A – 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Rina Prijvoit</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: June 13, 2006
The Lao People's Democratic Republic	01/01/1993	Rejtana 15 m. 26 02-516 Warsaw The Republic of Poland	<b>Sengphet Houboungnuang</b> First Secretary, Chargé d'affaires a. i.
The Republic of Latvia	01/01/1993	Stefan Esders Platz 4 A - 1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Aivars Groza</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 9, 2006
The Lebanese Republic	01/01/1993	Oppolzergrasse 6/3 A – 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Bilal Kabalan</b> First Secretary, Consul, Chargé d'affaires a. i.
The Kingdom of Lesotho	08/05/1995	Via Serchio 8 001 98, Rome Italy	<b>Jonas Sponkie Malewa</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: July 16, 2007
People's Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	01/01/1993	Révova 45, 811 02 Bratislava	<b>Khalifa Ahmed</b> chargé d'affaires
The Republic of Lithuania	01/01/1993	Löwengasse 47/4 A - 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Giedrus Poudžinas</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 30, 2007
The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	01/01/1993	Wallnerstrasse 2/1/2 1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Marc Thill</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 9, 2006
The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	01/01/1993	Maderstrasse 1/10 A - 1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Vesna Borozan</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 21, 2007
The Republic of Madagascar	16/02/1996	Koursovoy Per.5 119 034 Moscow The Russian Federation	<b>Eloi A. Maxime Dovo</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 26, 2003
Malaysia	01/01/1993	24th Floor, Florido Tower Floridsdorfer Hauptstr. 1-7 A – 1210 Vienna, Austria	<b>Mohd. Arshad Manzoor Hussain</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: January 16, 2007
The Republic of Malawi	30/12/1993	Westfälische strasse 86 D – 10709 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Teddington Derring Mkandawire</b> Chargé d' Affaires a.i., Counsellor

Annexes

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The Republic of Mali	12/02/1993	Novokuznetskaya 11 113184 Moscow The Russian Federation	<b>Bréhima Siré Traoré</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 15, 2005
The Republic of Malta	01/01/1993	MFA Palazzo Parisio Merchants Street CMR 02 Valletta	<b>Francis Cachia</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 4, 2005
Sovereign Military Hospitalier Order of St. John of Jerusalem Of Rhodes and Of Malta	01/01/1993	Na Vřšku 8 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Mariano Hugo princ Windisch-Graetz</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: October 23, 2003
The Islamic Republic of Mauritania	01/01/1993	Korovy Val 7, kanc. 12 119049 Moscow The Russian Federation	<b>Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Dahi</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 22, 2005
The United Mexican States	01/10/1993	Opengasse 21/10 A – 1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Alejandro Díaz y Pérez Durate</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: December 12, 2007
The Republic of Moldova	01/01/1993	Lowengasse 47/10 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Vladimir Rusnac</b> Counsellor
Mongolia	01/01/1993	Na Marně 5 160 00 Prague 6 The Czech Republic	<b>Ochir Enkhtor</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 14, 2006
The Kingdom of Morocco	01/01/1993	Opemring 3, 4. Floor. A-1010 Vienna, Austria	<b>Omar Zniber</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: August 26, 2003
The Republic of Namibia	09/12/1997	Ungargasse 33/5. Floor A-1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Selma Ashipala-Musavyi</b> Ambassador Designated
Nepal	04/03/1994	Guerickestrasse 27, D-10587 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Madan Kumar Bhattarai</b> Ambassador Designated
The Kingdom of Netherlands	01/01/1993	Fraňa Kráľa 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	<b>Rob Swartbol</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2006
New Zealand	01/01/1993	Atrium, Friedrichstr. 60 D – 10117 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Alan Cook</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 23, 2007
The Republic of Nicaragua	05/01/1993	Ebendorferstr. 10/3/12 A-1010 Vienna Austria	<b>Isolda Frixione Miranda</b> Chargé d' Affaires a.i., Minister – Counsellor
The Federal Republic of Nigeria	01/01/1993	Rennweg 25 A – 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Mohammed Ahmed Musawa</b> Minister
The Kingdom of Norway	01/01/1993	Palisády 29 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Brit Lovseth</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: July 22, 2004
The Sultanate of Oman	03/03/1993	Wahringer Strasse 2- 4/24-25 A-1090 Vienna Austria	<b>Badr bin Mohammed al-Hinai</b> Ambassador Designated
The Islamic Republic of Pakistan	01/01/1993	Hofzeile 13-A, A – 1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Mr. Shahbaz</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 14, 2006

## YEARBOOK OF SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY 2007

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The State of Palestine	01/01/1993	Lazaretská 4 810 08 Bratislava	<b>Hafez Fathi al-Nimer</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: November 26, 2004
The Republic of Panama	15/02/1993	Joachim-Karnatz Allee 45 105 57 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Dar.o Ernesto Chirú Ochoa</b> <i>Ambassador Designated</i>
The Republic of Paraguay	08/01/1993	Prinz Eugen Strasse 18/1/7 A – 1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Nilda Fátima Acosta Garcete</b> <i>Counsellor</i>
The Republic of Peru	01/01/1993	Gottfried Keller-Gasse 2 A-1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Carlos Alberto Higuera Ramos</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 18, 2007
The Republic of the Philippines	01/01/1993	Laurenzerberg 2 A-1010 Vienna, Austria	<b>Linglingay Fonacier Lacañale</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: December 11, 2006
The Republic of Poland	01/01/1993	Hummelova 4 811 03 Bratislava 1	<b>Bogdan Wrzochalski</b> <i>Counsellor – Minister Chargé d' Affaires a. i.</i>
The Republic of Portugal	01/01/1993	Moskovská 10 811 08 Bratislava 1	<b>José Ernst Henzler Viera Branco</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: Februar 14, 2005
Romania	01/01/1993	Fraňa Kráľa 11 811 05 Bratislava 1	<b>Gheorghe Anghel</b> <i>Counsellor (Political and Cultural Affairs)</i>
Russian Federation	01/01/1993	Godrova 4 811 06 Bratislava 1	<b>Alexander Udaltsov</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: August 23, 2005
The Republic of El Salvador	01/01/1993	Joachim-Karnatz-Allee 47 D-10557 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Edgardo Suárez Mallagray</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: January 10, 2006
The Republic of San Marino	01/01/1993	Via Eleonora Duse 35 00197 Rome Italy	<b>Severino Bollini</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: February 22, 2007
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	16/06/1995	Formanekgasse 38 A-1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Abdulrahman A. A. Alsuhaiban</b> <i>Chargé d' Affaires a.i.</i>
The Republic of Sierra Leone	01/01/1993	26/1 Rublyovskoye Chaussee, Apt. 58-59 121615 Moscow The Russian Federation	<b>Ibrahim Vandi Kondoh</b> <i>Chargé d' Affaires a.i., First Secretary, Consul</i>
The Republic of Singapore	12/02/1993	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tanglin 248163, Singapore	<b>Jennie Chua Kheng Yeng</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: July 16, 2007
The Republic of Slovenia	01/01/1993	Moyzesova 4 813 15 Bratislava 1	<b>Maja Marija Lovrenčič Svetek</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 4, 2004
The Somali Democratic Republic	-	Simferopolsky Bulvar, 7a – 145 117 556 Moscow The Russian Federation	<b>Mohamed Mohamoud Handulle</b> <i>Chargé d' Affaires a.i., First Secretary</i>
The Republic of South Africa	01/01/1993	Sandgasse 33 A – 1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Leslie Mbangambi Gumbi</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: May 9, 2006
The Kingdom of Spain	01/01/1993	Prepoštská 10 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Miguel Aguirre de Cárcer</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: June 14, 2005

Annexes

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In charge of Embassy (LoC – Letter of Credence)</b>
The Republic of Serbia	01/01/1993	Búdкова 38 811 04 Bratislava 1	<b>Danko Prokić</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2007
The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	15/02/1993	Rainergasse 1/2/5 A – 1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Aruni Yasodha Wijewardane</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: January 10, 2006
The Republic of Sudan	27/07/1993	Reisnerstrasse 29/5, A – 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Sayed Galal Eldin Elamin</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: March 7, 2006
The Kingdom of Swaziland	01/01/1993	Avenue Winston Churchill 188 1180 Bruxelles The Kingdom of Belgium	<b>David Mawokota Dlamini</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 30, 1999
The Kingdom of Sweden	01/01/1993	Palisády 29 811 06 Bratislava 1	<b>Mikael Westerlind</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2006
Switzerland	01/01/1993	Tolstého 9 811 06 Bratislava 1	<b>Josef Aregger</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: February 14, 2005
The Syrian Arab Republic	01/01/1993	Daffingerstrasse 4, A – 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Mohammad Mohammad</b> First Secretary, Chargé d' Affaires a. i.
The United Republic of Tanzania	01/01/1993	Eschenallee 11 D-14050 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Ahmad Rweyemamu Ngemera</b> Ambassador Designated
The Kingdom of Thailand	01/01/1993	Cottagegasse 48 A – 1180 Vienna Austria	<b>Adisak Panupong</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 3, 2005
The Republic of Tunisia	01/01/1993	Sieveringerstrasse 187, A-1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Mohamed Daouas</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: November 4, 2004
The Republic of Turkey	01/01/1993	Holubyho 11 811 03 Bratislava 1	<b>Tunç Ügdül</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: February 22, 2007
Turkmenistan	01/01/1993	Argentiniertstrasse 22/II/EG A-1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Vladimir Kadyrov</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 17, 2001
Ukraine	01/01/1993	Radvanská 35 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Inna Ohnivec</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: January 10, 2006
The United Arab Emirates	03/01/1993	Peter Jordan Strasse 66, A-1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Ahmed Rashed al Dosari</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: May 3, 2005
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	01/01/1993	Panská 16 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Michael John Wyn Roberts</b> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary LoC: September 11, 2007
The Republic of Uzbekistan	20/01/1993	Pöetzleinsdorfer Strasse 49 A-1180 Vienna Austria	<b>Kadyrjan Yusupov</b> Chargé d' Affaires
The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	01/01/1993	Prinz Eugen Strasse 72/1, A-1040 Vienna Austria	<b>Miriam García de Perez</b> Chargé d' Affaires a.i., Counsellor

YEARBOOK OF SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY 2007

<b>Country</b>	<b>Start of Diplomatic Relations</b>	<b>Address of Embassy</b>	<b>In Charge of Embassy (LoC - Letter of Credence)</b>
The Socialist Republic of Vietnam	01/01/1993	Felix Mottlstrasse 20, A - 1190 Vienna Austria	<b>Nguyen Ba Than</b> <i>Ambassador Designated</i>
The Republic of Yemen	01/01/1993	Reisnerstrasse 18-20 1030 Vienna Austria	<b>Ahmed Alwan Mulhi al-Alwani</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: October 18, 2007
The Republic of Zambia	05/05/1993	Axel-Springer Strasse 54 A D-10117 Berlin The Republic of Germany	<b>Godwin Kingsley Chinkuli</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: March 17, 2006
The Republic of Zimbabwe	03/03/1993	Strozzigasse 10/15 A- 1080 Vienna Austria	<b>Grace Tsitsi Mutandiro</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> LoC: June 13, 2006

## LIST OF CONSULATES IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

*THE HEADS OF THE CONSULATES AS OF MARCH 2008*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Address of the Consulate in the SR</b>	<b>Consul</b>
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	Obchodná 6 811 08 Bratislava	<b>Štefan Rosina</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Grenada	Priemyselná 6 824 90 Bratislava 2	<b>Juraj Široký</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	Čajakova 26 831 01 Bratislava	<b>Štefan Žiak</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Malaysia	Jašíkova 2 821 03 Bratislava	<b>Igor Junas</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of El Salvador	Zahradnícka 62 821 05 Bratislava	<b>Igor Moravčík</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	Podunajská 24 821 06 Bratislava	<b>Lubomíra Károlyiová</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Federative Republic of Brazil	Botanická 27 841 01 Bratislava	<b>Štefan Ižold</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	Hodálova 1 841 05 Bratislava	<b>František Fitoš</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Belgium	Hlavná 75 040 01 Košice	<b>Dany R. E. Rottiers</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Denmark	Letecká 10 831 03 Bratislava	<b>Michal Lörincz</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Kingdom of Morocco	Krajná 86 821 04 Bratislava 2	<b>Lubomír Šidala</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Spain	Hutnícka 1 040 01 Košice	<b>Daniel Lučkanič</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Sweden	Lermontovova 15 811 05 Bratislava	<b>Ruben Kemény</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Kingdom of Thailand	Viedenská cesta 7 851 01 Bratislava	<b>Alexander Rozin</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	Košická 44 080 01 Prešov	<b>Matúš Murajda</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Albania	Púpavová 61 841 04 Bratislava	<b>Juraj Kolesár</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Bangladesh	Jura Hronca 44 841 01 Bratislava	<b>Štefan Petkanič</b> <i>honorary consul</i>

*Prepared by Martin Firák, RC SFPa intern (firak@sfp.sk).  
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Address of the Consulate in the SR</b>	<b>Consul</b>
The Republic of Colombia	Nadácia Slovak Gold Dostojevského rad 3 814 99 Bratislava	<b>Miroslav Behúň</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Congo	Na Hrebienku 30 811 02 Bratislava	<b>Soňa Klímeková</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Costa Rica	Palisády 56 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Tomáš Chrenek</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Finland	Moyzesova 5 811 05 Bratislava 1	<b>Karol Kállay</b> honorary general consul
The Republic of Guinea	Devínska cesta 108/A 841 04 Bratislava	<b>Lubomír Schweighofer</b> honorary viceconsul
The Republic of Hungary	Hlavná 67 040 01 Košice	<b>János Szerencsés</b> general consul
The Republic of Chile	Laurinská 2 815 08 Bratislava 1	<b>Jaroslav Šoltys</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Iceland	Palisády 39 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Otto Halás</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Kirgizstan	Miletičova 1 821 08 Bratislava	<b>Tibor Podoba</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Korea	Hviezdoslavovo nám. 20 811 02 Bratislava 1	<b>Marián Mojžiš</b> honorary general consul
The Republic of Nicaragua	Stredný hon 430 900 43 Hamuliakovo	<b>Vladimír Kašťák</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Paraguay	Prepoštská 8 811 01 Bratislava	<b>Martin Šamaj</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Peru	Tuhovská 5 831 07 Bratislava	<b>Andrej Glatz</b> honorary general consul
The Republic of Philippines	Cesta na Senec 15725/24 830 06 Bratislava	<b>Pavol Konštiak</b> honorary general consul
The Republic of Poland	Nám. osloboditeľov 1 031 01 Liptovský Mikuláš	<b>Tadeusz Frackowiak</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Senegal	Na kopci 24 010 01 Žilina - Trnové	<b>Souleymane Seck</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Seychelles	Beblavého 4 811 01 Bratislava 1	<b>Andrej Hryc</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Sierra Leone	Partizánska 16 A 811 03 Bratislava	<b>Branislav Hronec</b> honorary general consul
The Republic of South Africa	Fraňa Kráľa 1 851 01 Bratislava	<b>Milan Lopašovský</b> honorary consul
The Syrian Arab Republic	Vysoká 15 811 06 Bratislava	<b>Mustafa Al Sabouni</b> honorary consul
Ukraine	Plzeňská 11 080 01 Prešov	<b>Yevgen Perebyinis</b> general consul
Ukraine	Budovateľská 29 093 01 Vranov nad Topľou	<b>Petro Tokáč</b> honorary consul
Ukraine	Donská 12 058 01 Poprad	<b>Petro Tokáč</b> honorary consul



## LIST OF THE EMBASSIES OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC, PERMANENT MISSIONS, CONSULATES GENERAL, SLOVAK INSTITUTES ABROAD

EMBASSIES OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC, PERMANENT MISSIONS, CONSULATES GENERAL, SLOVAK INSTITUTES AND THEIR HEADS AS OF MARCH 2008.

<b>Embassy</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Head of the Embassy</b>
Abuja	Abuja Nigeria	<b>Igor Hajdušek</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Addis Abeba	Bole sub-city, Erer Shola Residential Houses,W 17, Kebele 14/15, House No.4-21 Addis Abeba Ethiopia	<b>Milan Čigáň</b> <i>chargé d'affaires ad interim</i>
Ankara	Atatürk Bulvari 06692 Ankara Turkey	<b>Vladimír Jakabčín</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Astana	Sary-Arka,Karaotkel' 5 010000 Astana Kazakhstan	<b>Dušan Podhorský</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Athens	Paleo Psychiko 154 52 Athens The Hellenic Republic	<b>Ján Voderadský</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Baghdad	Street 37 P.O.Box 2038 Bagdad - Jadriyah Iraq	
Bangkok	No. 21/144, South Sathorn Road Bangkok 101 20 Thailand	<b>Vasil Pytel'</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Belgrade	Bulevar umetnosti 18 New Belgrade 110 70 Serbia	<b>Igor Furdík</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Berlin	Friedrichstrasse 60 10117 Berlin Germany	<b>Ivan Korčok</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Bern	Thunstrasse 3006 Bern Switzerland	<b>Štefan Schill</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Bonn	August-Bier-Straße 31 53129, Bonn Nemecko	<b>Dušan Matulay</b> <i>Head of the Branch Embassy of Slovakia in Bonn</i>

Prepared by Martin Firák, RC SFPA intern (firak@sfp.sk).  
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic

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<b>Embassy</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Head of the Embassy</b>
Brasília	SES, Avenida das Nações Lote 21 B, Qd. 805, CEP 70 200-902 Brasília, D.F. Brazil	<b>Marián Masarik</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Brussels	Avenue Moliere 195 1050 Brusel-Ixelles Belgium	<b>Peter Sopko</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Budapest	Stefánia út. 1143 Budapest XIV Hungary	<b>Juraj Migaš</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Buenos Aires	Figueroa Alcorta 1425 Buenos Aires Argentina	<b>Vladimír Grác</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Bucharest	Strada Otetari 702 06 , Bucuresti Romania	<b>Dagmar Repčėková</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Canberra	Culgoa Circuit, O' Malley 2606 Canberra Australia	<b>Peter Procházka</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Damascus	East Villas - Mezzeh 33115 Damascus Syria	<b>Oldřich Hlaváček</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Delhi	50-M, Niti Marg, Chanakyapuri 110021 New Dehli India	<b>Alexander Iľaščík</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Dublin	Clyde Road, Ballsbridge Dublin Ireland	<b>Ján Gábor</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Haag	Parkweg 1 2585 Haag The Netherlands	<b>Oksana Tomová</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Havana	Calle 66, No. 52, entre 5 - tay7- ma, Miramar Havana Cuba	<b>Ivo Hlaváček</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Helsinki	Annankatu 25 00100 Helsinki Finland	<b>Viera Štupáková</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Jakarta	Jalan Profesor Mohammad Yamin 29 1368 Jakarta 103 10 Indonesia	<b>Peter Holásek</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Cairo	3, Adel Hosein Rostom 450/11794 Cairo Egypt	<b>Peter Zsoldos</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Copenhagen	Vesterled 2100 Copenhagen Denmark	<b>Eubomír Golian</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Kuala Lumpur	11, Jalan U-Thant 55 000, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia	<b>Milan Lajčík</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Kuwait	Block No.2, Street No.16, Villa No 22 26222 Kuwait	<b>Ján Lišuch</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Kiev	Jaroslavov val č. 34 010 34 Kiev Ukraine	<b>Urban Rusnák</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Lisbon	Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo 19, 7. Dto 1050-116 Lisbon Portugal	<b>Radomír Boháč</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>

Annexes

<b>Embassy</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Head of the Embassy</b>
London	25, Kensington Palace Gardens W8 4QY, London The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	<b>Juraj Zervan</b> <i>chargé d' affaires ad interim</i>
Ljubljana	Tivolská cesta 4, P.P.395 1000 Ljubljana Slovenia	<b>Roman Paldan</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Madrid	C/Pinar, 20 28006 Madrid Spain	<b>Ján Valko</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Mexico City	México 11 560 Julio Verne 35 Mexico	<b>Jozef Adamec</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Minsk	Platonova 1-b 220034 Minsk Belarus	<b>Ľubomír Reháč</b> <i>chargé d' affaires</i>
Moscow	J. Fučíka 17/19 Moscow Russia	<b>Augustín Čisár,</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Nairobi	Milimani Road 30204 Nairobi Kenya	<b>Igor Liška</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Nicosia	4,Kalamatas St., Acropolis, Strovolos 2002 1165 Nicosia Cyprus	<b>Anna Tureničová</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Oslo	Thomas Heftyes Gate 24 NO-0244 Oslo Norway	<b>Dušan Rozbora</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Ottawa	Rideau Terrace K1M 2A1 Ottawa Canada	<b>Stanislav Opiela</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Paris	125, rue du Ranelagh 75016 Paris France	<b>Ján Kuderjavý</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Beijing	Ritan Lu, Jian Guo Men Wai 100 600 Peking China	<b>Žigmund Bertók</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Prague	Pod Hradbami 1 160 00 Prague Czech Republic	<b>Ladislav Ballek</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Pretoria	930 ARCADIA Street 12736 Pretoria The Republic of South Afrika	<b>Veronika Pristašová</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Riga	Smišņu iela 8 1050, Riga Latvia	<b>Ivan Špilda</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Roma	Via dei Colli della Farnesina 00194 Roma Italy	<b>Stanislav Vallo</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Sarajevo	Skopljanska br.7 710 00 Sarajevo Bosnia and Herzegovina	<b>Miroslav Mojžita</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Sofia	Blv. Janko Sakazov 1504 Sofia Bulgaria	<b>Michal Kottman</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>

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<b>Embassy</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Head of the Embassy</b>
Seoul	389-1 Hannam-dong, Yongsam-gu 140-210 Seoul South Korea	<b>Pavol Hrmo</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Stockholm	Arsenalsgaten 2/3 TR P.O.Box 7183 Stockholm Sweden	<b>Alojz Mészáros</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Tashkent	ul. Kičik Bešjogoč 38 100070 Tashkent Uzbekistan	<b>Jozef Mačisák</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Teheran	No.38, Sarlashgar Fallahi Street P.O.Box.11365-4451 Tehran Iran	<b>Anton Hajduk</b> <i>Ambassador</i>
Tel Aviv	Jabotinsky 37 P.O.Box 6459 Tel Aviv Israel	<b>Milan Dubček</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Tokyo	2-11-33, Motoazabu, Minato-ku 106-0046 Tokyo Japan	<b>Peter Vršanský</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Tripoli	Hay Al-Andalus,Gargareh Street, 3 km P.O.BOX 5721 Tripoli Libya	<b>Ján Bóry</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Warsaw	ul. Litewska 6 00-581 Warszawa Poland	<b>František Ružička</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Vatikan	Via dei Colli della Farnesina 144 00 194 Roma Italy	<b>Jozef Dravecký</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Vienna	Armbrustergasse 24 A-1190 Wien Austria	<b>Peter Lizák</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Washington	3523 International Court, NW 20008 Washington D.C. United States of America	<b>Rastislav Káčer</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>
Zagreb	Prilaz Cjure Deželica br. 10 10000 Zagreb Croatia	<b>Ján Baňas</b> <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>

<b>Permanent Mission</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Head of the Mission</b>
PM EU Brussels	Avenue de Cortenbergh 79 1110 Brussels Belgium	<b>Maroš Šefčovič</b>
PM NATO Brussels	Boulevard Leopold III, NATO HQ 1110 Brussels Belgium	<b>František Kašický</b>
PM UN New York	Second Avenue 10017 New York USA	<b>Peter Burian</b>
PM UN Geneve	9,chemin de l'Ancienne Route 1218 Grand Saconnex Switzerland	<b>Anton Pinter</b>

## Annexes

<i>Permanent Mission</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Head of the Mission</i>
PM Council of Europe Strasbourg	Rue Ehrmann 67000 Štrasburg France	<i>Emil Kuchár</i>
PM OECD Paris	28, avenue d' Eylau 750 16 Paris France	<i>Jana Kotová</i>
PM International Organisations Vienna	Blaastraße 34 A-1190 Vienna Austria	<i>Juraj Macháč</i>

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name and Address of the Consulate General of the SR</i>	<i>Consul General</i>
The Czech Republic	Vodová ul. 10 612 00 Brno	<i>Ivan Nejeschleba</i>
The People's Republic of China	Shanghai, Qi Hua Tower 4B 1375 Huai Hai Yhong Lu 200031 Shanghai	<i>Igor Pacolák</i>
The Federal Republic of Germany	Vollmannstrasse 25 d. 819 25 Munich	<i>František Zemanovič</i>
The Republic of Hungary	Derkovits sor 7 5600 Bekescsaba	<i>Ján Sülli</i>
The Republic of Poland	sw. Tomasza 34 31 027 Cracow	<i>Ivan Horský</i>
The Russian Federation	ul. Orbeli č. 21/2 194 223 Sankt Peterburg	<i>Magdaléna Pohlodová</i>
The Republic of Turkey	Guvercin Sokak No. 8 1 Levent, Istanbul, 343 30 Istanbul	<i>Katarína Směkalová</i>
The United States of America	10 940 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 2030 CA 90024 California, Los Angeles	<i>František Hudák</i>
The United States of America	801 Second Avenue, 12th Floor New York, N.Y. 10017	<i>Igor Pokojný</i>
Ukraine	Lokoty 4 880 17 Uzhgorod	<i>Marian Sládeček</i>

<i>Name</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Address</i>
Slovak Institute Berlin	The Federal Republic of Germany	Zimmerstrasse 27D-10117 Berlin
Slovak Institute Budapest	The Republic of Hungary	Rákóczi út. 15, H-1088 Budapešť
Slovak Institute Prague	The Czech Republic	Jiřská 450/16, 110 00 Praha 1
Slovak Institute Moscow	The Russian Federation	Ul. Brestská 27, 125-056, Moscow
Slovak Institute Paris	The Republic of France	125, rue de RanelaghF-75016 Paris
Slovak Institute Roma	The Italian Republic	Via dei Colli della Farnesina 144I-00194 Roma
Slovak Institute Vienna	The Republic of Austria	Wipplingerstrasse 24-26A-1010 Wien
Slovak Institute Warsaw	The Republic of Poland	ul. Krzywe Kolo 12/14a, PL-00 270 Warszawa

## LIST OF THE CONSULATES OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC HEADED BY THE HONORARY CONSULS

*THE HEADS OF THE CONSULATES AS OF MARCH 2008.*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Consulate</b>	<b>Consul</b>
The Republic of Albania	Tirana	<b>Faik Dizdari</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Argentine Republic	La Platta	<b>Eduardo Kabát</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Republic of Armenia	Yerevan	<b>Gagik Vladimirovič Martirosian</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Commonwealth of Australia	Melbourne	<b>Vojtech Michael Markuš</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The People's Republic of Bangladesh	Dhaka	<b>Reza Ali</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Belgium	Antwerp	<b>Gunar Riebs</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Belgium	Gent	<b>Arnold Vanhaecke</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Belgium	Liège	<b>Raffaele Antonio Apruzzese</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Bolivia	La Paz	<b>Hernán Guido Vera Ruiz</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Medjugorje	<b>Rajko Zelinka</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Federative Republic of Brazil	Joinville	<b>Ernesto Heinzelmann</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Federative Republic of Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	<b>M. Faiçal Hammoud</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Federative Republic of Brazil	Sao Paulo	<b>Peter Pulíček</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Republic of Cyprus	Limassol	<b>George Vassos Hadjithedossiou</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Republic of Chile	Santiago	<b>Paul Nador</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The People's Republic of China	Hong Kong	<b>Willy Sun Mo Lin</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Denmark	Aarhus	<b>Štefan Peto</b> <i>honorary consul</i>

*Prepared by Martin Fírák, RC SFPA intern (firak@sfp.sk).  
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic*

Annexes

<b>Country</b>	<b>Consulate</b>	<b>Consul</b>
The Arab Republic of Egypt	Alexandria	<b>Mohamed Moustafa el Naggar</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	Addis Abeba	<b>Feleke Bekele Safo</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Estonia	Tallinn	<b>Evan Tudeberg</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Finland	Teerijärvi	<b>Mikael Albäck</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Philippines	Cebu City	<b>Antonio N. Chiu</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Philippines	Manila	<b>Robert Chin Siy</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The French Republic	Grenoble	<b>Menyhért Kocsis</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The French Republic	Lille	<b>Alain Bar</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The French Republic	Nancy	<b>Jean-Marie Keller</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The French Republic	Saint Pol De León	<b>Yan Méllenec</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The French Republic	Toulouse	<b>Kathy Bayoud-Vidal</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Guatemala	Guatemala	<b>Mario Fernando Montúfara Rodrigues</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Guinea	Conakry	<b>Boubakar Lombonna Diallo</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Haiti	Port- au - Prince	<b>Claude Martin</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Hellenic Republic	Thessaloniki	<b>Konstantinos Mavridis</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Hellenic Republic	Pireus	<b>Paul Psomiadis</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	Eindhoven	<b>Gerardus Hendrik Meulesteen</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	Meppel	<b>Gerhard Tonnis Poppempa</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	Rotterdam	<b>Jacob Ten Hoope</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of India	Calcutta	<b>Patra Sadham Bose</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of India	Mumbai	<b>Amit Choksey</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Indonesia	Denpasar	<b>Jürgen Schreiber</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Iceland	Reykjavik	<b>Runolfur Oddsson</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The State of Israel	Beer Sheva	<b>Samuel David Sax</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The State of Israel	Ha Sharon	<b>Karol Nathan Steiner</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The State of Israel	Haifa	<b>Dan Mandel</b> <i>honorary consul</i>



<b>Country</b>	<b>Consulate</b>	<b>Consul</b>
The State of Israel	Jerusalem	<b>Martin Rodan</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Jamaica	Kingston	<b>Christopher Richard Issa</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Yemen	Saná	<b>Adel Mohamed Al Huraibi</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	Amman	<b>Khalidun A. Abuhassan</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
Republic of South Africa	Cape Town	<b>Geoffrey Leighton Ashmead</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Canada	Calgary	<b>Ludovít Zanzotto</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
Canada	Montreal	<b>Dezider Michaletz</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Canada	Toronto	<b>Mikuláš Martinček</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Canada	Vancouver	<b>Stanislav Lišiak</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Canada	Winnipeg	<b>Jozef Kíška</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Kenya	Mombassa	<b>Christoph Modigell</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Kyrgyz Republic	Bishkek	<b>Igor Konstantinovič Gusarov</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Colombia	Medellín	<b>Jenaro Pérez Gutiérrez</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Korea	Pusan	<b>Bok Soon Ha (Seung Hee, Ha)</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Lebanese Republic	Beirut	<b>Roy Antoine Samaha</b> <i>honorary general consul</i>
The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	Luxembourg	<b>Blanche Mourtrier</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Macedonia	Skopje	<b>Vlade Tome Stojanovski</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Malaysia	Kota Kinabalu	<b>Wong Khen Thau</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Malawi	Blantyre	<b>Salim David Bapu</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Malta	Valletta	<b>Godwin Edvard Bencini</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Morocco	Casablanca	<b>Kamil Ouzzani Touhamy</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Moldova	Kishinev	<b>Iurie Crigore Popovič</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Principality of Monaco	Monaco	<b>Cristine Noghés-Ménio</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Mongolia	Ulanbaatar	<b>Munchijn Enchtajvan</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Mozambique	Maputo	<b>Ismael Mussá Mangureira</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Nepal	Kathmandu	<b>Chatur Dhoj Karki</b> <i>honorary consul</i>

Annexes

<b>Country</b>	<b>Consulate</b>	<b>Consul</b>
Federal Republic of Nigeria	Port Harcourt	<b>Eze Clifford Amadi</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Nicaragua	Managua	<b>Francisco Cifuentes Navas</b> honorary consul
The Kingdom of Norway	Bergen	<b>Morten L. Gjesdahl</b> honorary consul
The Kingdom of Norway	Drammen	<b>Zuzana Opavská Wahl</b> honorary consul
The Kingdom of Norway	Trondheim	<b>Erik Frederiksen</b> honorary consul
New Zealand	Auckland	<b>Peter Kiely</b> honorary consul
The Federal Republic of Germany	Bad Homburg	<b>Imrich Donath</b> honorary consul
The Federal Republic of Germany	Hamburg	<b>Peter Littmann</b> honorary consul
The Federal Republic of Germany	Hannover	<b>Dirk Bettels</b> honorary consul
The Federal Republic of Germany	Leipzig	<b>Wolfgang Fritz Eschment</b> honorary consul
The Federal Republic of Germany	Stuttgart	<b>Christoph Goeser</b> honorary consul
The Federal Republic of Germany	Wuppertal	<b>Ivan Koval</b> honorary consul
The Islamic republic of Pakistan	Karachi	<b>Abdula Sikander Ghulamali</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Panama	Panama	<b>Julio César Benedetti</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Paraguay	Asunción	<b>Ricardo Moreno Azorero</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Paraguay	Cuidad del Este	<b>Teresa Koetzle-Daly</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Poland	Gliwice	<b>Marian Czerny</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Poland	Poznań	<b>Piotr Stanislaw Styczinski</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Poland	Rzeszow	<b>Adam Góral</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Poland	Sopot	<b>Jerzy Leśniak</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Poland	Szczecin	<b>Roman Pomianowski</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Portugal	Porto	<b>Manuel de Sá Bastos</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Austria	Innsbruck	<b>Jurgen Bodenseer</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Austria	Linz	<b>Ernst Papesch</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Austria	Salzburg	<b>Gerald Hubner</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Austria	Vienna	<b>Walter Hildebrand</b> honorary consul

<b>Country</b>	<b>Consulate</b>	<b>Consul</b>
Romania	Salonta	<b>Miroslav Jabloncsik</b> honorary consul
Russian Federation	Chanty-Mansijsk	<b>Eduard Vasiljevič Lebedev</b> honorary consul
Russian Federation	Rostov-on-Don	<b>Peter Sulek</b> honorary consul
Russian Federation	Krasnojarsk	<b>Valerij Alexandrovič Gračev</b> honorary consul
The Republic of El Salvador	San Salvador	<b>Nicolas Antonio Salume Babun</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Senegal	Dakar	<b>Mapathé Ndiouck</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Seychelles	Victoria	<b>Joseph France Albert</b> honorary consul
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Belfast	<b>Thomas Sullivan</b> honorary consul
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Cardiff	<b>Nigel Bruce Harold Payne</b> honorary consul
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Edinburgh	<b>Duncan Alexander Spiers</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Boston	<b>Peter Mužila</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Cleveland	<b>Edward George Keshock</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Denver	<b>Gregor James Fasing</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Detroit	<b>Edward Zelenak</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Chicago	<b>Thomas Kenneth Klimek Ward</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Indianapolis	<b>Steve Zlatos</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Kansas City	<b>Ross F. Marine</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Las Vegas	<b>Geoffrey A. VanderPal</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	Pittsburgh	<b>Joseph T. Senko</b> honorary consul
The United States of America	San Francisco	Barbara M. Pivnicka honorary consul
The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	Colombo	<b>Mahen Roshan Andrew Kariyawasan</b> honorary consul
The Republic of Sudan	Khartoum	<b>Nasreldin Ibrahim Shulgami</b> honorary consul
The Syrian Arab Republic	Lattakia	<b>Anas Dib Joud</b> honorary consul
The Kingdom of Spain	Barcelona	<b>Joan Ignacio Torredemer</b> honorary consul
The Kingdom of Spain	Santa Cruz de Tenerife	<b>Francisco José Perera Molinero</b> honorary consul
The Kingdom of Spain	Zaragoza	<b>Jean-Pol Jules Marie Bastiaanas</b> honorary consul

Annexes

<b>Country</b>	<b>Consulate</b>	<b>Consul</b>
The Swiss Confederation	Zürich	<b>Michal Čierny</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Kingdom of Sweden	Malmö	<b>Pavol Miklián</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Ascoli Piceno	<b>Carlo Matarazzo</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Florenca	<b>Massimo Sani</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Forlì	<b>Alvaro Ravaglioli</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Milan	<b>Luigi Cuzzolin</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Neapol	<b>Franca Serao</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Palermo	<b>Roberto Helg</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Terst	<b>Miljan Todorovič</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Italian Republic	Torino	<b>Giuseppe Pellegrino</b> <i>honorárny konzul</i>
Togolese republic	Lomé	<b>Vivoto James Victor Sossou</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Turkey	Edirne	<b>Coskun Molla</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Republic of Turkey	Izmir	<b>Selçuk Borovali</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Ukraine	Doneck	<b>Tamara Timofejevna Lysenko</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
Ukraine	Uzhhorod	<b>Ivan Julievíč Šufrič</b> <i>honorary consul</i>
The Socialist Republic of Vietnam	Ho Chi Minh City	<b>Huy Ho</b> <i>honorárny konzul</i>
The Republic of Zambia	Lusaka	<b>Jaroslav Kulich</b> <i>honorary consul</i>

## NUMBERS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC IN PEACE MISSIONS

AS OF MARCH 2008

<i>Mission</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of the SR Armed Forces Members</i>
<b>UN</b>		
UNDOF (United Nations Disengagement Observer Force) – UN	Syria, Golan Heights	95
UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus) – UN	Cyprus	196
UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) – UN	Syria, Israel	3
<b>NATO</b>		
ISAF (International Security Assistance Force)	Afghanistan	56 + 2 + 3
KFOR (Kosovo Force) – NATO	Kosovo	170
NATO Headquarters (Sarajevo)	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1
<b>EU</b>		
ALTHEA	Bosnia and Herzegovina	35
ALTHEA (Headquarters)	Bosnia and Herzegovina	4
<b>OSCE</b>		
OSCE	Georgia	2

Prepared by Martin Firák, RC SFPA intern (firak@sfp.sk).  
Source: Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic (www.mosr.sk).

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# YEARBOOK OF SLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN POLICY 2007

BRATISLAVA 2008

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SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

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PROOF-READING  
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FIRST EDITION, NUMBER OF PAGES 196.

PRINTED BY  
AEPRESS, S.R.O.

ISBN 978-80-89356-03-4

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