

CFSP WATCH 2005 – Slovenia – by Sabina Kajnc¹

0. Methodological observations

The attitudes of the Slovenian Government in this report are extrapolated from the official documents of the Government.² The views expressed in speeches and interviews by the Slovenian Foreign Minister, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, as well as those stemming from press releases of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Foreign Ministry) have also been included.³ Attitudes of the Foreign Ministry to which it is referred in the report derive from the survey that was sent to the Foreign ministry in January. The news from the Slovenian Press Agency – STA, and commentaries in the three main daily newspapers, *Delo*, *Dnevnik* and *Veèer*, have been analysed. Whereas the issues concerning the referenda in France and the Netherlands were well covered, the more detailed comments on the issues concerning CFSP/ESDP are absent from political commentaries in the Slovenian media. Public opinion observations from “Politbarometer” have also been considered in the preparation of this report.⁴

1. What are the priorities for your government in CFSP in 2005? What are the key issues for your country in 2005 (especially with regard to the negative referenda on the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands; after the recent EU enlargement and on behalf of the perspective of the upcoming accession round(s))?

Priorities:

As a first observation it is worth mentioning that the Government’s official document on Priorities of its work in the EU, in comparison with the previous year, pays much more attention to CFSP/ESDP and to broader issues of the EU and international community.

The priorities are set for each of the aspect of the EU’s external policies separately; the order of their listing suggests the following list of Slovenia’s priorities in relation to CFSP/ESDP:

- ESDP: Stability in the Western Balkans is a top priority in Slovenia. In this respect, the success of the operation Althea in Bosnia in Herzegovina is of the highest importance to Slovenia;
- Fight against terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation: on these issues the priorities of action stress the action on preparation of the conference on small and light weapons, publication of data on export of arms and military equipment and strengthening of a dialogue with the United States of America on the fight against terrorism;

¹ Centre of International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

² The Government Service for European Affairs (2005) “*Prednostne naloge Republike Slovenije za delo v Svetu Evropske unije v letu 2005*” [“Preferential tasks of Slovenia in the Council of European Union in the year 2004”], May 2005, Ljubljana, available at: [http://www2.gov.si/svez/svez.nsf/0dbed6c0a93d31d8c1256a67006844b3/cac9dcbdc3415faac1256fd60035198e/\\$FILE/Prednostne%20naloge%202005_4feb05_cistopis.doc](http://www2.gov.si/svez/svez.nsf/0dbed6c0a93d31d8c1256a67006844b3/cac9dcbdc3415faac1256fd60035198e/$FILE/Prednostne%20naloge%202005_4feb05_cistopis.doc). In this report, when it is referred to the Slovenian Government, reference is made to this document.

³ The speeches and interviews of Dr. Rupel are assembled on the Home Page of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.gov.si/mzz/govori/default.html> and http://www.gov.si/mzz/novinarsko_sred/intervjuji.html, while the press releases of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be found at: http://www.sigov.si/mzz/novinarsko_sred/izjave_za_javn.shtml. Exact references are given in the report.

⁴ In Slovenia a public opinion survey “Politbarometer” is conducted regularly by the Centre for Research of the Public Opinion and Mass Communications at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana. Though, no questions on the attitudes towards CFSP/ESDP have been asked. In relation to defence and military issues within the “Politbarometer” there are only questions on attitudes towards the American intervention in Iraq. There is also one comparable study on long term trust in international institutions, which compares trust in the NATO, the United Nations and the EU (Politbarometer 1/2004, the full report on a survey can be found at <http://www.uvi.si/slo/javno-mnenje/>). In this report, the results on questions on the attitude towards ratification of the Constitutional Treaty in the Slovenian Parliament and questions on the perception of the crisis after the negative results in the French and the Dutch referendum are included.

- Development assistance: raising the ODA;
- Trade relations: work towards the membership in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development;
- Western Balkans: special attention has been paid to stabilization in Western Balkans and their closer co-operation with the EU;
- Slovenia presides over the Organisation of Security and Co-operation in Europe, which is the biggest challenge to Slovenian foreign policy since its independence. Enhancing efforts towards stabilisation of the Western Balkans and the relations with Russia are among the top priorities of the Slovenia's OSCE presidency in 2005.

Key issues:

Key issues, which could be observed in the speeches, press releases and more generally in the media following the French and the Dutch referenda and continue to be present at the top of the discourse regarding the EU are:

- Studying political impact following the negative referenda in France and the Netherlands within the context of the Slovenian Presidency of the EU, which is to take place in the first half of 2008 (according to the plan made in line with the Constitution, Slovenia would preside over the EU together with Germany and Portugal in the first half of 2008).
- Prospects of further enlargements following the negative results in the two referenda in spring have also been raised to a prominent issue among the Slovenian political elite (see more detailed explanation under pt. 2 below).

2. Does your country adopt a more pessimistic or optimistic stance regarding the ratification crisis of the Constitutional Treaty? How might the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands influence the ratification debate in your country and also have an impact on the outcome of the referendum?

The immediate response of the Slovenian political elite to the French and Dutch rejections on the referenda share three common characteristics: (i) the ratification process across the EU member states must continue;⁵ the utmost necessity to seek a solution out of the crisis together, as a common European endeavour;⁶ and (ii) though a »non« and »nee« caused a crisis, we can not talk about a crisis of major proportions.⁷ Quite opposite, a widely shared optimism on the capacity of

⁵ This idea appears already immediately after the French vote (e.g. stressed by the State Secretary for European Affairs on 30 May 2005) (Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30 May 2005) Koproj: *Bistveno, da se proces ratifikacije nadaljuje* [Koproj: It is crucial that the process of ratification continues].). Prime Minister Janša adopted the idea with more determination after the positive Luxembourg vote (Slovenian Press Agency - STA (8 June 2005) *Janša za nadaljevanje procesa ratifikacije ustave EU* [Janša for the continuation of the ratification process of the EU constitution]). Radiotelevision Slovenia - RTV Slovenija/Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30 May 2005) *Odziv slovenskega političnega vrha*, available at:

http://www.rtvlo.si/modload.php?&c_mod=rnews&op=sections&func=read&c_menu=1&c_id=77822 (10th August 2005). Though the Slovenian president, Dr. Janez Drnovšek said that continuing with the ratification only makes sense if there is a possibility of a second French vote. (Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30 May 2005) Drnovšek: *Francozi zadrž ali priložnost za velik korak naprej* [Drnovšek: The French halted a chance for a big step forward]).

⁶ Only one comment, immediately after the French referendum, was found, in which the two Slovenian MEPs, members of the ALDE/LDS group, said that France (and not the EU as a whole) awaits a serious reflection over its »non« and a re-examination. Slovenian Press Agency - STA (29 May 2005) Kacin in Drèar Murko: *Francoze èaka težak popravni izpit* [Kacin and Drèar Murko: the French awaits a tough re-examination]. On the other hand, the MEP Borut Pahor (PES/SD) clearly opposed the proposal of the German Chancellor Schröder on the special meeting of the founding six member states. Close co-operation and solidarity of all twenty five members is of vital importance, according to Pahor (Radiotelevision Slovenia - RTV Slovenija (3 June 2005) Pahor: *EU mora nastopati enotno* [Pahor: The EU must stand firmly together], available at:

http://www.rtvlo.si/modload.php?&c_mod=rnews&op=sections&func=read&c_menu=16&c_id=78330 (10th August 2005).

⁷ Slovenian public seems to share this view. In a public opinion survey Politbarometer 6/2005 (June 2005) 50 % of those asked, thought that the negative results in the French and the Dutch referenda caused a current crisis and a stall, 31 % understood the situation as a deep crisis and 8 % said they do not think it presents a crisis (11 % of the respondents did not express their opinion) 8politbarometer 6/2005, available at: <http://e-uprava.gov.si/ispo/politbarometer/prikaz.ispo?vprKey=354000&pregled=1>.

the EU to make the best out of the crisis and come out even stronger can be noted, though this optimism does not necessarily include the Constitution into this scenario of the stronger Europe, either in the present or in any other form.⁸

In this sense the Prime Minister Janez Janša stressed that this crisis is not without precedence and that the European integration always came out stronger in cases of previous crises. He warned, however, that the constitutional crisis should not lead to abandoning of other priorities the EU has set to itself in the recent past: the Lisbon goals and the adoption of the financial perspective. The foreign and security challenges should also not suffer. The Foreign Minister in his first response in connection to the French “non” also touched on the issue of enlargement.⁹ The pessimistic view on further enlargement can be traced in interviews and press releases among the Slovenian liberal and left-to-centre politicians.¹⁰ The president of the biggest Slovenian oppositional party, Tone Rop, added that the more and more distant European perspective for the Balkans may also have negative consequences for security, cooperation and development (of the countries of the Western Balkans).¹¹

Slovenia was the third member state of the EU to ratify the Constitution. After the Government submitted a proposal to ratify the Constitution to the National Assembly in January 2005, it was ratified by a vote in the National Assembly on the 1st February 2005 (79 in favour, 4 against – all members of the oppositional Slovenian National Party - SNS, and 7 abstentions; there are 90 members of the National Assembly).

Slovenia's ratification had not been much disputed¹² until the negative results in France and the Netherlands were known. At that point questions were raised as to why the Slovenian ratification was almost swept under the carpet; how come there was no referendum held (in Slovenia referenda are quite often) and why did Slovenia have to be among the first to ratify. The questions soon faded away, if not before, after the referendum was held in Luxembourg.

3. National Perceptions and Positions with regard to CFSP/ESDP Issues in 2005

Please describe key positions and perceptions in your country with regard to EU foreign policy, taking into account:

⁸ Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, on Radiotelevision Slovenia - RTV Slovenija/Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30 May 2005) *Odziv slovenskega političnega vrha*, available at http://www.rtv slo.si/modload.php?&c_mod=rnews&op=sections&func=read&c_menu=1&c_id=77822 (10th August 2005).

⁹ Radiotelevision Slovenia - RTV Slovenija/Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30th May 2005) *Odziv slovenskega političnega vrha*, available at http://www.rtv slo.si/modload.php?&c_mod=rnews&op=sections&func=read&c_menu=1&c_id=77822 (10th August 2005).

¹⁰ Slovenian Press Agency - STA (29 May 2005) Kacin in Drèar Murko: *Francoze èaka tež ak popravni izpit* [Kacin and Drèar Murko: the French awaits a tough re-examination]. Also the Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel repeated on several occasions that besides a halt or slower progress in deepening the Union (Radiotelevision Slovenia - RTV Slovenija (2005) *Odzivi v Sloveniji, Druga jutranja kronika* [Reactions in Slovenia, Second morning chronicle], 30.5.2005, available at

<http://ava.rtv slo.si/ava/media?action=play&mediaId=2114500> (10th August 2005)), further enlargement is at stake. In this view he stressed that Slovenia will continue its support for “the European perspective” for the South Eastern Europe (Radiotelevision Slovenia - RTV Slovenija (2005) *Izjava Dimitrija Rupla, TV Porocila* [Statement of Dimitrij Rupel, TV News] , 30. 5. 2005, available at <http://ava.rtv slo.si/ava/media?action=play&mediaId=2114900> (10 August 2005). The commentator Saša Vidmajer went further and claimed that “Balkan is the victim of the crisis” (Saša Vidmajer (2005) *Kriza, ne* [Crisis, no], *Delo - Sobotna priloga* [Saturday supplement], p. 1, 4 June 2005).

¹¹ Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30th May 2005) Rop: *Francoska zavrnitev ustave bo upoèasnila proces širitve EU* [Rop: The French rejection of the Constitution will slow down the enlargement process in the EU].

¹² Results of a public opinion survey Politbarometer 1/2005 (January 2005) show that 54 % of those asked supported the ratification of the Constitutional Treaty in the Slovenian Parliament (National Assembly), while only 11 % opposed and 36 % held no opinion on the issue (Politbarometer 1/2005, available at: <http://e-uprava.gov.si/ispo/politbarometer/prikaz.ispo>).

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

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

In relation to the negative results at the referenda in France and the Netherlands, the defence minister, and president of the Democratic Party of Pensioners (*Demokratična stranka upokojenцев Slovenije* - DeSUS) Karl Erjavec, expressed his fear of a stall in the development of the CFSP and ESDP,¹³

- The role of the EU in crisis management e.g. in Congo, Georgia, Darfur;

The Slovenian Government supports the development of EU's crisis management capabilities. Though it praises the progress in the EU capabilities, which is achieved by the coming about of the EU Defence Agency, the planning of a civilian-military cell and EU battle groups, in a discourse on the role of the EU in military as well as civilian crisis management the stress is laid on co-operation with other international institutions, such as NATO, the United Nations, Council of Europe, the African Union and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

In relation to specific engagements, the Foreign Ministry generally praised the operations in the Western Balkans (though it sees that still more could be done).¹⁴

- The perceived impact of EU enlargement on CFSP/ESDP;

There is a widely shared view that enlargement can only contribute to the strength of the EU as a global actor. The Slovenian Foreign Ministry sees the accession of new member states to the EU as bringing an "added value" to the EU in terms of knowledge and experiences, which will be important in shaping an efficient CFSP/ESDP of the EU. According to the Slovenian Foreign ministry, ESDP has gained in instruments and capabilities by incorporating new member states. The importance of an active exchange views and opinions and longer consultations and negotiations in order to bring about common positions is of course not neglected. The Slovenian Foreign ministry sees the Constitutional Treaty and the mechanisms it introduces, such as the institution of the European Foreign Minister and the elaboration of the External Service, as guarantors of coherence and efficiency in Europe's foreign relations and defence capabilities.

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

The views of the Slovenian Government on the ESS, as well as coverage of coming about of the ESS in the media, are absent from the 2005 documents of the Government. However, in 2004 the

¹³ Slovenian Press Agency - STA (30 May 2005) Erjavec: S francoskim "ne" EU izgublja na dinamiki With the French "non" the EU is loosing its momentum].

¹⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs in answers to the questions that were sent in January, as an adapted version of the CFSP Questionnaire.

Slovenian Government expressed its full support for the ESS. It sees it as an important step towards construction of a coherent ESDP and as one of the preconditions for the efficient CFSP/ESDP.¹⁵ The implementation of the strategy, however, it is seen as of crucial importance. The Slovenian Government (and the Parliament) supported its implementation in the following aspects: fight against terrorism, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, effective multilateralism, coherent policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and strategic partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Foreign Minister Rupel, speaking at a conference in Helsinki,¹⁶ laid utmost importance on the principle of effective multilateralism and the close relationship between the principle of an effective multilateralism and co-operation and close partnership with NATO and the Russian Federation as well as with other forums, such as the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the World Trade Organisation.¹⁷ Close co-operation with strategic partners is seen necessary for a solution of the Middle East crisis. Accession of the new EU member states to the Agreement on partnership and co-operation with the Russian Federation is highly prioritised and so is the support for a common European position towards reforming the United Nations.

- European Neighbourhood Policy and its implications;

The attitude of the Slovenian Government towards the EU Neighbourhood Policy is closely related to the Slovenian Presidency over the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, which, as already mentioned, it holds in 2005. Coherence and co-ordination of action in the region between the two institutions is one of the top priorities.

In the same line, co-operation with Russia and support for the adoption of Action Plans with the countries included in the EU Neighbourhood Policy are stressed. The Mediterranean dimension is mentioned in relation to Slovenia being also a Mediterranean country.

- The creation of battle groups and their role for ESDP.

Hand in hand with the coming about of the European Security Strategy, the European Defence Agency, the civil-military cell, taking over the SFOR operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, engagements in the conflicts in Africa and the appointment of the EU Counter-terrorism Co-ordinator, the Slovenian Government assessed the EU Battle Group Concept as a successful step towards achieving the goal of an efficient CFSP/ESDP.

Slovenia has committed to contribute one battalion to the EU forces (Headline goal 2010) and has committed to build a battle group together with Italy and Hungary).¹⁸

¹⁵ Slovenian Press Agency - STA: "Skupen nastop Slovenije in Avstrije v operaciji SFOR v BiH" ["Co-operation of Slovenia and Austria in the operation SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina], 5 March 2004.

¹⁶ A speech by Foreign Minister Rupel, delivered at a conference "European Security Strategy - Next Steps" in Helsinki, 25 February 2004, available at: <http://www.gov.si/mzz/govori/04022502.html>. The Foreign Minister stressed that "above all, the strategy can only be efficient and successful if it is coordinated and formulated in close cooperation with other international players in the region, particularly our transatlantic allies (worth mentioning is the idea of German Minister of Foreign Affairs Fischer expressed at the security conference in Munich)."

¹⁷ This view is shared by Slovenian Parliament (the National Assembly) as expressed in a Declaration, which the Parliament adopted at its plenary session on 12th May 2004 called "Deklaracija o stališčih za začetek delovanja Republike Slovenije v institucijah EU v letu 2004" ["Declaration on positions on the beginning of work of the Republic of Slovenia in the institutions of the EU in 2004"].

¹⁸ Presentation of Dr. Dimitrij Rupel in front of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Slovenian National Assembly, Ljubljana 29th November 2004, available at: http://www.gov.si/mzz/koristne_info/novosti/predst_v_ozp.html.

4. The Constitutional Treaty and its future – National perceptions concerning a ‘plan B’?

Official positions on the Constitutional Treaty provisions on CFSP / ESDP and external relations?

Slovenia supported the provisions as they are included in the final text. The Foreign Ministry, however, sees the post of the European Foreign Minister as very broadly defined and warns that it needs to be further specified before the minister takes up the post.¹⁹

Constitutional Treaty or some version of ‘Nice Treaty Plus’?

Describe (briefly) the position of your country on the following key issues and the possibility of their realisation without a Constitutional Treaty as a ‘plan B’, ‘C’ or ‘D’:

The official position of the Slovenian Government towards plan B’, ‘C’ or ‘D’ after the negative results of the referenda in France and the Netherlands is that the process of ratification of the Constitutional Treaty must continue and that any premature debate on institutional arrangements as set in the Constitutional Treaty would affect results of ratification process in those member states, which still plan referenda on the Constitutional Treaty.

- External Representation: What is the final position of your country on the European foreign minister and the President of the European Council? Will / should there be a post resembling that of the Foreign Minister based on the Nice Treaty (something like an enhanced High Representative)? How could this be realised?
- Basic structures of the European External Action Service have already been developed. Now that the Constitutional Treaty might not enter into force, is your government in favour of developing such a body in order to support the High Representative?
- Decision-making: Does your country opt for an extension of qualified majority voting in the field of CFSP? Will the Nice provisions be sufficient for an efficient CFSP/ESDP decision-making within the enlarged EU?

Slovenia supports the extension of qualified majority voting into the current second pillar. In a presentation given for Slovenian journalists, in June 2004, before the IGC on the Draft Constitutional Treaty took place, Foreign Minister Rupel said that in case the Constitutional Treaty would have not been accepted (then), that would be no catastrophe. In case an enlarged EU would not be given a new and better Treaty, it could still function normally, he added.²⁰

- Crisis management: What is the official position on expanding the Petersberg tasks and making reference to tasks that involve military resources? Which regions does your country consider as particularly promising for EU crisis management?

The Slovenian Government (in the priorities of its action in the institutions of the EU for 2004) supports the expansion of the Petersberg tasks, provided it is complementary to NATO and does not cause duplication of work. The aim of security co-operation in Europe has to be an efficient use of capabilities at disposal and co-operation with other international organisation (the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe) when planning and implementing crisis management operations. Slovenian Government believes even greater civilian crisis management engagement on the part of the EU in its immediate neighbourhood would be welcome.

¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs in answers to the questions that were sent in January, as an adapted version of the CFSP Questionnaire.

²⁰ Presentation by Foreign Minister of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, given for journalists in the organisation of Governments Press Office, Ljubljana, 03.06.2004; available at: <http://www.gov.si/mzz/govori/04060301.html>.

Within further development of the EU's capabilities in crisis management Slovenian Government supports developments towards greater efficiency and faster deployment.

- Defence: What is your country's position towards the establishment of the civilian-military cell at the EUMS? Was your government in favour of creating a full-fledged operational EU headquarters?
- Is your country in favour of realising provisions such as the permanent structured cooperation even without the Constitutional Treaty? What measures would be preferred?
- Would your country support the creation of core groups inside or outside the EU in CFSP/ESDP if the Constitutional Treaty finally failed?

5. Mapping of Activities in CFSP-related Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

the Institute for European Studies (http://www.evropskiinstitut.si/ins_titut.htm) and

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

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