

OPPORTUNITIES AND OVERAL STANDING OF SR IN THE FRAMEWORK OF ESDP

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ABSTRACT

Treaty on European Union in 1993 provided for the European Security and Defence Policy incorporated under the Common Foreign and Security Policy. EU Objectives in the area relate mainly to safeguarding the common values and fundamental interests of the Union, strengthening the security of the Union, preserving peace and international security in accordance with the UN Charter, promotion of international cooperation, to the development of democracy and the rule of law, including human rights. The article aims to demonstrate ESDP impact on Slovak Republic since its 2004 entrance into EU. Limits, Opportunities and Overall Standing of the country both in relation to military and civilian capacities will be questioned within the framework of the ESDP in the time span of 2005-2009.

Key words: CFSP; ESDP; SR; military and civilian capacities; Headline Goal 2010.

ABSTRAKT

Zmluva o Európskej únii z roku 1993 umožnila zásadnú implementáciu Európskej bezpečnostnej a obrannej politiky ako súčasti Spoločnej zahraničnej a bezpečnostnej politiky. Ciele EÚ v danej oblasti sa dotýkajú najmä zachovania spoločných hodnôt a zásadných záujmov Únie, posilnenia jej bezpečnosti, zachovania mieru a medzinárodnej bezpečnosti v súlade s Chartou OSN, presadzovania medzinárodnej spolupráce a v neposlednom rade aj rozvoja demokracie a právneho štátu a ľudských práv. Článok si kladie za cieľ preukázať ako EBOP ovplyvňuje Slovenskú republiku od jej vstupu do EÚ v roku 2004 definujúc limity, východiská a celkové postavenie SR s dôrazom na vojenské a civilné schopnosti v kontexte EBOP v období 2005-2009.

Kľúčové slová: SZBP. EBOP. SR. Vojenské a civilné schopnosti. Headline Goal 2010.

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1.1 ESDP Evolvement

European Union as an intergovernmental institution primarily focused on economic integration has since 1970s engaged also in the development of at first modest, since 1990's however ambitious agenda of Common Foreign and Security Policy. Reasons to retreat from the originally minimalist concept of CFSP in the 90's according to Smith involve EU bitter experience with the Kosovo Crisis settlement, where European diplomacy absent military instruments had to rely on the active presence of other international organizations, namely NATO and UN accompanied with the member states' negative public opinion on Europe's inability to settle the crisis paving the way for development of the EU defense capacities, as well as a significant twist in both French and British mixed and reserved standpoints towards development of the independent European defense policy.[1]

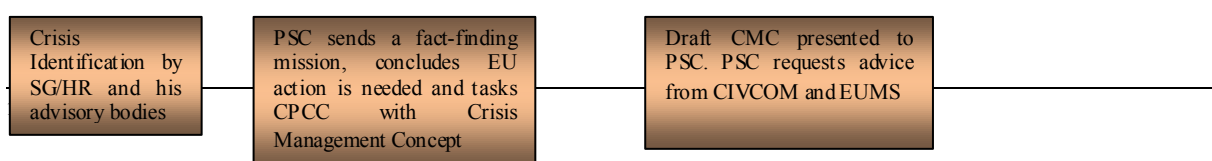
European Council summit held in June 1999 was significant due to a number of aspects such as introducing the term European Security and Defense Policy(ESDP), incorporating the Western European Union within the EU and last but not least appointing the first High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy – Javier Solana for a five-year term. Subsequent 2009 Helsinki European Council summit further enhanced European military commitments introducing the European Headline Goal and Force Catalogue, revised in May 2004 by EU defense ministers to turn into Headline Goal 2010(HG 2010) defining EU military capacities. [2]

ESDP aims already expressed in the Maastricht Treaty (1993) to support EU's second pillar of CFSP through the implementation of the whole range of Petersberg's Tasks (2002), military tasks of humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping and peacemaking nature came to be closely defined in the European Security Strategy adopted in 2003 providing for the closer cooperation among EU, UN and NATO. Moreover the 2003 Berlin Plus agreement forged the EU-NATO partnership enabling EU to use NATO structures, mechanisms and assets in military operations to which NATO doesn't react to contribute to 'separable, but not separate' EU and NATO forces. [3]

Final transformation of ESDP into what is known today as Common Foreign and Security Policy (CSDP) came under the recently adopted Lisbon Treaty altogether with the newly established post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – Catherine Ashton, keeping the unanimous mechanism of the Council of the EU decision-making process working in the matters of EU foreign policy and CSDP and last but not least cancelling the already redundant concept of the WEU. [4]

1.2 ESDP Operations Procedure

Main instruments as well as organizational aspects of ESDP working mechanism are illustrated in the following figure:



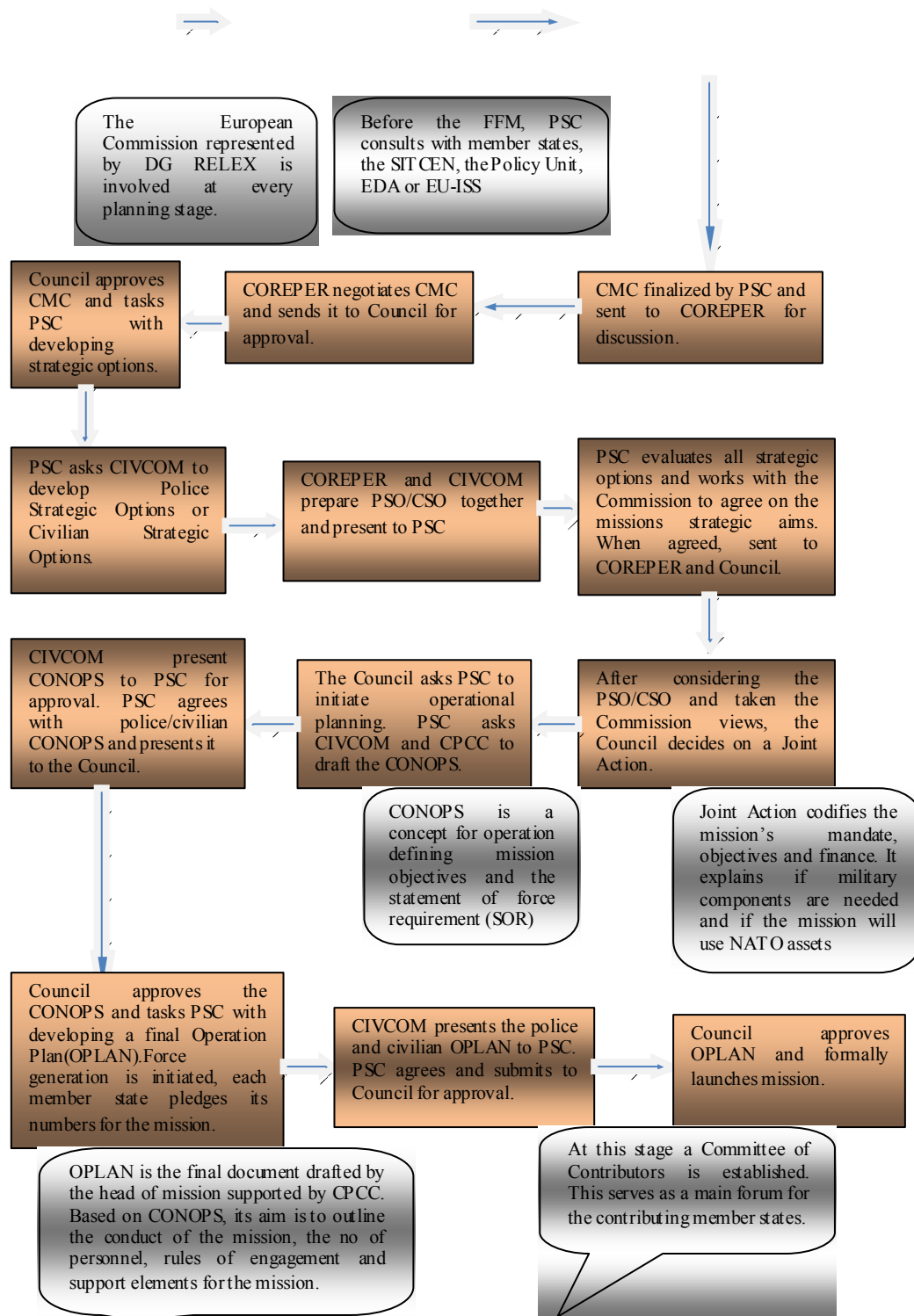


Figure 1: ESDP missions from conception to deployment [5]

1.3 European Security Strategy versus Slovak Security Strategy

Aspirations of EU to act as a global player also in security matters got embodied in its key document European Security Strategy (2003) also known as ‘A Secure Europe in a Better World’. The document outlines challenges of EU mainly: globalization, growth of space for non-state groups, poverty, diseases, economic and political failures

and energetic dependence as well as key threats to EU security in terms of: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and interlinked organized crime (the 2008 update adds new threats of piracy and energy security). ESS addresses these threats applying mixture of intelligence, police, judicial and military instruments. ESS establishes rules of international order as based on effective multilateralism upholding the primacy in international peace and security reserved for the UN Security Council.[6]

Slovak accession both to NATO and EU in 2004 spurred adoption of key documents Security Strategy (SSS) and Defence Strategy of SR in 2005. Slovak Security Strategy partially in line with the ESS and partially independent of it identifies security challenges as: globalization, growth of influence of non-state actors, unbalanced demographic development, diseases, global economic imbalance, dependence on vital resources and vulnerability of communication and information systems. Recognized key threats to Slovak security are identical with ESS adding the phenomenon of illegal and uncontrollable migration, activities of foreign information services, radical nationalism and intolerance, natural disasters, breakdowns and catastrophes to the list. [7] In contrast with the ESS Slovak Security Strategy fails to rely on effective multilateralism and reserves security priorities as owed to NATO, EU and UN as global peace guarantors.

1.4 ESDP Operations/ Slovak Involvement

Since 1999 up till now EU has deployed 23 ESDP missions into geographically diverse regions ranging from East Europe, Balkans and Caucasus, through the Middle East and Asia to African continent. Though the overall mission number is impressive, their relative success is in terms of mandate implementation and contribution to conflict management and the area of operations stabilization is rather mixed.

Slovakia has since 2004 entrance into EU committed herself to the ESDP military operations in the Balkans (Althea, Althea EUFOR HQ), civilian monitoring missions in the Balkans (EUMM) and in civil-military assistance in African Sudan (AMIS II). Ratio of Slovak involvement in ESDP operations is marginal in comparison with the dominant Slovak involvement in UN missions and rising trend of Slovak involvement in NATO operations:

Table 1: Slovak involvement in ESDP, NATO operations and UN missions [8]

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
SR in EU operations/personnel real numbers	ALTHEA BiH/4 EUMM/2	ALTHEA BiH/40 EUMM/2 AMIS II Sudan/2 ALTHEA EUFOR HQ/4	ALTHEA BiH/35 EUMM/2 ALTHEA EUFOR HQ/4	ALTHEA BiH/35 EUMM/2 ALTHEA EUFOR HQ/4	ALTHEA BiH/- ALTHEA EUFOR HQ/-
Total EU/Total of all involvements	6/565=1%	48/630=7,6%	41/561=7%	41/551=7%	-/-
SR in UN missions	UNFICYP/196 UNDOF/95 UNTSO/2 UNAMSIL/1	UNFICYP/210 UNDOF/95 UNTSO/2	UNFICYP/196 UNDOF/95 UNTSO/2	UNFICYP/196 UNDOF/95/0 UNTSO/3	UNFICYP/- UNTSO/-
Total UN/Total of all involvements	294/565=52%	307/630=49%	293/561=52%	199/551=36%	-/-
SR in NATO operations	KFOR/98	KFOR/135	KFOR/168 NATO HQ	KFOR/137 NATO HQ	KFOR/- NATO HQ

	ISAF/17 NTM –I/2 NATO HQ Sarajevo/4	ISAF/57 NTM –I/5 NATO HQ Sarajevo/4	Sarajevo/1 ISAF+ISAF- PRT/58	Sarajevo/1 ISAF+ISAF- PRT/175	Sarajevo/- ISAF/-
Total NATO/Total of all involvements	121/565=21%	201/630=32%	227/561=40%	313/551=57%	-/-

1.5 The EUBGs and Slovak Republic

An important part of the implementation of the defence aspects of the 2003 European Security Strategy and an integral part of the new Headline Goal 2010 (that follows on from the 1999 Helsinki Headline Goal) is the EU Battle Groups concept. Its very existence derives from:

- Helsinki Headline Goal process (1999);
- The European Security Strategy (2003);
- Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2003).[9]

The joint Franco-British proposal of the BGs in 2004 won German support, and its subsequent submission to the EU Political and Security Committee for political endorsement and the Military Committee for the technical aspects of the concept resulted in the modified new Headline Goal 2010 (HG 2010) adoption at the June 2004 European Council Summit including the BG concept.[10]

Initial Operational Readiness for EU BG materialized in January 2005 and naturally paved the way for the BG Full Operational Readiness in 2007. Essential idea of Battle Groups as expressed in the European Headline Goal 2010 in terms of the rapid response forces deployed to crisis situations in an autonomous action or within ‘initial entry force’ operations with two BG on simultaneous operational alert ready to be deployed within the 6000 km range from Brussels for 30 days without rotation or 120 days including rotations came across a number of both EU limits as well as member states’ deficiencies. BG specific missions are to include:

- A, Humanitarian missions or non-combatant evacuation operations;
- B, peace keeping missions/stabilization operations,
- C, crisis management and peace enforcement operations. [11]

Chronically repeated limits of EU BG plaguing also Slovak Republic include deficiencies in EU strategic rapid airlift projection capacities as well as national caveats in terms of SR restrictions to deploy military forces to the Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arctic.[12] On the other hand Slovak foreign policy prioritized area of the Western Balkans realized through the active BG participation (e.g. possible future V4+ Ukrainian BG in 2015) provides the best opportunities to develop further expeditionary capacities of Slovak armed forces and enhanced civilian-military cooperation moreover contributes to the national soft power capacity build-up. Initial SR absence in the BG formations retreated to the recent regular membership in the two distinct consecutive BG formations:

Table 2: Current Status of Member States Contributions to the Battle Groups [13]

	1st half 2005		2nd half 2005		1st half 2006		2nd half 2006	
Initial Operational Capability	FR	UK	Nil	IT	ES + IT, EL and PT	DE + FR	FR + DE and BE	Nil

Full Operational Capability	1st half 2007		2nd half 2007		1st half 2008		2nd half 2008	
Full Operational Capability	FR + BE	GE+ FI+ NE	GR + RO, BG & CY	IT + HU+ SL	ES + DE, FR and PT	SE+ FI+NO+ IR+ES	DE and FR + BE, LU and ES	UK
	1st half 2009		2nd half 2009		1st half 2010		2nd half 2010	
Full Operational Capability	IT+ ES+ PT+GR	GR+ BG+ CY+RO	CZ+SK	BE+ FR	UK + NL	PL + DE, SK, LV, and LT	IT + RO and TR	NIL

1.7 ESDP Civilian Dimension/ Slovak Standing

ESDP 1999 comprehensive approach originally didn't reserve the space for the exclusive EU military intervention while facing external security challenges. The EU in 2000 established civilian capability in the areas of: police, rule of law, civilian administration, civilian protection, monitoring and mission support. ESDP mission records however show the clear preference in two of the aforementioned areas, namely rule of law assistance and police reform and reflected even in the highest numbers of the overall civilian staff deployments.

First member state pledges to contribute to ESDP civilian missions occurred already at the European Council Summit in Gothenburg in 2001 with the stated member states' commitments of 5,000 police officers availability for ESDP operations with 1,000 of them deployable within 30 days accompanied with 200 experts on a rule of law. Civilian Headline Goal (2004) further attempted to identify personnel requirements for ESDP deployments. Finally the National Action Plans created in 2008 by the individual member states provide the guidance to their respective civilian commitments. [5]

Regardless of the above mentioned facts the EU civilian capacity falls short of real-life civilian experts' deployments. 2009 member state audit conducted by ISS policy fellows Daniel Korski and Richard Gowan identified the four select divisions of EU member states based on the civilian training, planning, debriefing, recruitment and number of civilian deployed: the Professionals, the Strivers, the Agnostics (including Slovakia) and the Indifferents. [5]

Table 3: Slovak standing within the Agnostics [5]

Current deployments	16 civilians in ESDP missions
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	145/11% being deployed
Deployment and recruitment	Police database: Ministry of Interior. Recent legislation(not yet passed) will allow the MFA to manage a database of civilian experts
Training	Compulsory for police and customs officers
Civil participation in mil ex	None
Personnel funding	By individual sending ministries
Cross-departmental planning	Missions coordinated by the MFA's Security Policy Dep. No standing cross-departmental unit.

The Agnostics including SR are altogether responsible for 363 civilians serving abroad with the official pledge of 2,944. The division common characteristics involve relatively low number of real deployments when compared with the official pledges,

domestic legislation impeding deployment of civilian personnel other than police officers as well as poor inter-ministerial cooperation and last but not least low level of civilian crisis management political visibility. [5]

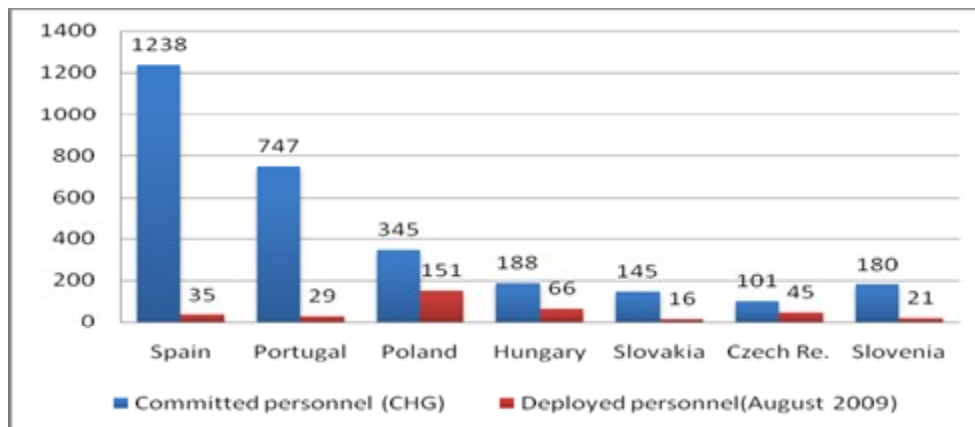


Figure 2: Civilian commitments of the Agnostics [5]

1.8 Conclusion

Global political and security concerns of the EU have over the last decade witnessed significant shift towards gradual adoption of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (former ESDP). ESS defined European vision over the global security threats and its global aspirations accompanied with the evolvement of the EU's military dimension in terms of defined Headline Goal 2010 (with a EUBGs concept) and last but not least civilian dimension with its objectives stated in the Civilian Headline Goal 2008.

SR has since its entrance into EU and NATO (2004) modified its respective security and defence strategies (2005) providing for their higher accordance with the ESS. 2005-2009 Slovak membership in the EU shows serious attempts of consolidating and accommodating to the newly formulated visions of global security enforcement. The steps undertaken reserve the third place for the EU military operations in the time span of 2006-2008 (the figure raised against the original 2005 1% involvement) with the overall percentage of 7% as compared to the 2nd place owed to NATO and 1st place owed to UN missions (the trend in 2008 suggests switching the preference for NATO over the UN commitments). Slovak initial absence in the EUBGs formations got overrun by the subsequent 2009 and 2010 Slovak participation within the two distinct Czecho-Slovak and Polish-German-Latvian-Lithuanian-Slovak BG. Finally Slovak involvement in the Civilian Headline Goal places the country among the third out of four ranking groups of EU member states - the Agnostics considering the criteria of civilian training, planning, debriefing, recruitment and a number of civilians deployed.

Evaluating overall Slovak position within the ESDP (CSDP) framework the limits reveal in terms of Slovak national caveats, strengths reflect in the BG formations and challenges remain in the Slovak civilian CSDP involvement.

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