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Enhancing European Security: NATO's and EU's Enlargement Processes

The far-reaching political and economic changes in Europe during the last decade give justified hope that Europe's future security architecture will truly embody the interests of all its peoples rather than represent an unfortunate replica of the forty years of cold war block thinking. Equally important is the fact that European security is and remains indivisible as well as firmly based on the indispensable transatlantic link.

This article argues that an enlarged NATO and an enlarged European Union will be driving forces towards an undivided, secure, and democratic

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Europe. It also argues that the enlargement strategies of both organisations should be ambitious with the aim to include Central and Eastern European countries, who so wish, as soon as possible. Denmark will work for that ambitious enlargement decisions are taken already next year at the subsequent NATO and EU Summits of Prague and Copenhagen. The enlargement strategies of the two main stability and security providing organisations of Europe should be carried forward with vigour and determination. The opportunity to do away with the old dividing lines of Europe should not be lost. There is no viable alternative.

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NATO took major steps in its enlargement endeavours at the Madrid Summit in July 1997 with the invitations issued to the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to join the Alliance. All three became members in March 1999, just ahead of the Washington Summit. At this Summit, the Membership Action Plan (MAP) to guide aspiring countries' preparations for membership was launched. Also, NATO's intention to invite aspiring countries for membership in coming years was confirmed. The membership of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland was only a start.

Also in other areas, the Washington Summit highlighted NATO's adaptation after the cold war. It was made clear that the partnership with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, not least through the Partnership for Peace and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and the contribution to conflict prevention and crisis management, such as through the NATO-led peace support operations of SFOR and KFOR, are now part of the fundamental security tasks of the Alliance.

Through this, NATO has confirmed its adaptation to the new strategic reality. It has also proved that it is ready – in its own right – to shape the new strategic environment. This shaping of “a new NATO” reaching out to, and beyond, the old frontiers of the Cold War, has been strongly supported by Denmark.

The strengthened role of Europe was also confirmed at the Washington Summit. The impetus given to the development of a common policy in security and defence in the European Union was acknowledged, as was the determination of the EU to establish a capacity for crisis management, where the Alliance as a whole is not engaged. It was also agreed that NATO and the European Union should work together to ensure the development of effective mutual consultation, co-operation and transparency in crisis management.

At the meeting of the European Council in Nice in December 2000 it was confirmed that European crisis management will be based on close co-operation with NATO and broad involvement of countries outside of the EU. For Denmark, it is imperative that European crisis management is inclusive by nature. Inclusive – to all countries with a legitimate interest in a stable and secure Europe. Among these countries, Slovakia has its place. Slovakia has, along with others, shown its interest and determination in contributing to European crisis management – be it through NATO, as is currently happening through the SFOR and KFOR operations, or be it in the future also through the EU.

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Leading up to the NATO Prague Summit in November 2002, enlargement will increasingly become a key topic. Discussions will focus on questions such as: Should NATO make a further enlargement decision in Prague? And if yes, then what kind of decision (who, how)? Are aspiring countries ready for membership, and is NATO ready?

Clearly, the experiences of the enlargement of NATO with the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland will play a role. From a technical, military point of view, initial problems with implementation of defence reforms and adaptation to NATO standards have been jointly addressed, while in no way impeding upon the operational capability of the Alliance. Also, NATO's decision-making capability has remained intact. The air campaign in Kosovo as well as the SFOR and KFOR operations more than anything demonstrate that NATO remains an organisation able to translate needed decisions into forceful and appropriate action. Aspirants as well as other partner countries take active part in these operations.

Also the Membership Action Plan has brought aspirants closer to NATO. The MAP has provided a framework for intensive dialogue on a wide range of political, economic, defence/military, resource, security, and legal issues.

NATO attaches great importance to the political and economic issues of the Membership Action Plan. Aspiring countries' commitments to the rule of law and human rights, including the rights of minority groups, their commitments to establish appropriate democratic and civilian control of their armed forces, and the establishment of good neighbourly relations, are all integral parts of the NATO enlargement process.

Aspirants are also making full use of the MAP process and existing PFP instruments, especially the expanded and adapted Planning and Review Process to guide defence reforms and prepare militarily for NATO mem-

bership. The overall progress made by aspirants in developing their armed forces, including a streamlining of force structures, is acknowledged and welcomed by NATO countries. Aspirants' efforts to improve the deployability of their armed forces to participate in peace support operations is also recognised.

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It seems fair to conclude that the level of preparation among aspirants has been substantially improved during the last years, and that it will be further improved as we approach the Prague Summit. Not least due to the MAP process, some aspirants will probably be better prepared in 2002 than the three invitees were in 1997.

In sum, the "open door" of NATO, the enlargement decision of 1997, the already successful integration of the three new members, and the launching of the Membership Action Plan have had a tremendous positive impact on the security environment in the Euro-Atlantic area. Never has the dialogue been stronger between NATO and aspirants, and never has the military co-operation been this intensive. The prospect of membership is in itself an integrating and stabilising factor, as new democracies are working hard to demonstrate that they share the values of NATO and that they are able to provide added security to the Alliance.

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Based on this, Denmark believes the Alliance should carry forward its enlargement policy and extend further invitations at the Prague Summit. It should be borne in mind that a decision to extend further invitations requires consensus among all 19 members of the Alliance. Denmark will work for and support as ambitious an enlargement decision in Prague as possible.

Aspirants should be considered on their own merits – geographical location or territorial 'red lines' should have no bearing on membership. NATO's contribution to peace and security, including the projection of stability through enlargement and partnership programmes, is in the long-term interest of the whole of Europe. The concept of exclusive spheres of influence is an outdated concept. The inherent right, as reflected in the OSCE Charter, of each and every European state to be free to choose or change its own security arrangements should be fully respected. This is an issue of great importance not least to the three Baltic States.

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NATO and the European Union share a broad approach to security and a stated aim of using enlargement to extend stability to all of Europe. The enlargement processes of the two organisations progress concurrently. Of particular importance in this regard is also the strong momentum of EU enlargement. The two processes run in parallel and complement each other, thereby creating synergetic effects which are of great importance to the countries involved. There is a clear strategic link between NATO and EU enlargements. Consequently, countries with the perspective of EU membership should also be firmly anchored within the Alliance, if they so wish. This would be a major step towards the vision of an undivided Europe.

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The enlargement of the European Union is well on track. Within a year the European Union has given new impetus to the enlargement process and reaffirmed the enlargement as a top priority for the Union. Important steps were taken to bring the candidate states closer to membership. The summit in Nice in December 2000 was a major landmark in preparing the European Union for the enlargement. The member states reached an agreement on institutional reform preparing the European Union for enlargement.

The present stage of the enlargement process has been reached through a development that demanded political courage and foresight from both the present European Union member states and the candidate countries. The first important decision was taken at the Copenhagen Summit in June 1993. The criteria for membership – the so-called Copenhagen criteria – were adopted. The countries were hereby given a clear set of guidelines for their political and economic reforms.

According to the Copenhagen criteria membership of the European Union requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. The candidate country should have a functioning market economy and economic strength to cope with the competition in the Single Market. Finally, the candidate countries must undertake the obligations of membership, which include the transposition and implementation of the European Union acquis.

The Copenhagen criteria and the clear perspective of membership are contributing to the reform process in Central and Eastern Europe. Modern welfare societies as we know them from Western Europe are being build up.

We can now see societies based on democracy, respect for human rights and protection of minorities.

When the old Communist structures broke down and new structures should be formed it was by no means evident that the process would be peaceful. The totalitarian regimes had suppressed the historically rooted regional conflicts that lurked in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the rights of large groups of ethnic minorities. The collapse of the political structures could have led to tensions – perhaps even conflicts – had the new regimes not had a clear incentive to settle them in a peaceful manner. Although the background and circumstances in Central and Eastern Europe are very different from those of former Yugoslavia, the bloody events in the Western Balkans show how dramatic the situation can turn if the political will and vision is not present.

The fact that today historical conflicts between neighbouring countries and minority issues in Central and Eastern Europe are dealt with in a peaceful and constructive way is a clear result of the developments taking place in these countries with the aim of becoming members of the European Union and of NATO. Thus, already at this stage the process in itself is significantly contributing to enhanced security and stability in Europe.

The first candidate countries began accession negotiations in March 1998: Estonia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland and Cyprus. In February last year the accession negotiations were extended to include Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Malta.

The candidate countries are making good progress in fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria. The countries started their reforms on different backgrounds and have progressed at different speeds. But all have achieved impressive progress that could not be foreseen a decade ago. Within a few years the European Union will welcome the first new members. It will be another tangible result of the process that began in Central and Eastern Europe with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War.

The European Union has a great responsibility to ensure peace, stability and development in Europe. It was the primary motivation behind the foundation of the European Community and it should remain the prime aim of the European Union in the future. The end of the Cold War meant new challenges and opportunities for the European Union. It paved the way for the enlargement. Today, we have the possibility of creating a strong, united and stable Europe.

The European Union has taken on the responsibility towards the new member states, and promoted development and solidarity with these coun-

tries. It is the aim that the Central and Eastern European countries will fully benefit from European Union membership. That they will be able to create the modern societies that they so wish for. By doing so we will extend the zone of security that exist between the present European Union member states.

Denmark will hold the Presidency of the European Union in the second half of 2002. Denmark will do its utmost in order to finalise negotiations with the best prepared candidate countries during its presidency. It is an ambitious goal and a great responsibility – Denmark will be ready to take up the challenge.

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To conclude, a further enlarged NATO as well as an enlarged European Union embody the true rationale of the new NATO and of the European Union: to include – not exclude – countries currently not members, in a broad movement toward European integration and stability.

Within such expanded NATO and EU frameworks, more European countries will take responsibility for stability and security in Europe. This makes for a more equal sharing of responsibilities across the Atlantic, thus developing a more balanced transatlantic partnership, based on the joint objective of expanding long-term European security and stability. This is the true vision for European security which should come out of the Summits of Prague and Copenhagen next year.

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Resumé:

Friis Arne Petersen: *Rozširovanie Severoatlantickej aliancie a Európskej únie v zmysle zvyšovania európskej bezpečnosti*

Ďalekosiahle politické a ekonomické zmeny v Európe počas poslednej dekády poskytujú nádejnú perspektívu, že budúca bezpečnostná európska architektúra skutočne zahrnie záujmy všetkých európskych národov, a nebude iba nešťastnou replikou blokového myslenia štyridsiatich rokov studenej vojny. Rovnako dôležitý je fakt, že európska bezpečnosť je a zostane nedeliteľná a nevyhnutne založená na transatlantickom spojení. Tento článok podporuje názor, že rozšírenie NATO a EÚ budú hnacou silou smerom k nerozdelenej, bezpečnej a demokratickej Európe. Autor sa tiež stotožňuje s názorom, že stratégie rozširovania v oboch organizáciách by mali byť ambiciózne s cieľom zahrnúť krajiny strednej a východnej Európy tak skoro,

ako to bude možné. Dánsko bude podporovať tieto snahy už budúci rok na nasledujúcich summitoch NATO a EÚ v Prahe a Kodani. Neexistuje iná prijateľná alternatíva pre odstránenie starých deliacich čiar v Európe, a preto by sme nemali premárniť túto príležitosť.

NATO uskutočnilo veľký krok smerom k rozšíreniu na madridskom summite v júli 1997, keď prizvalo Českú republiku, Maďarsko a Poľsko, aby sa pripojili k Aliancii. Všetky tri krajiny sa stali členmi v marci 1999 tesne pred summitom vo Washingtone. Na tomto summite bol predstavený Akčný plán pre členstvo (Membership Action Plan – MAP), ktorý slúži ako orientačná schéma príprav aspirujúcich krajín na členstvo v NATO. Tiež sa potvrdil úmysel NATO prizvať aspirujúce krajiny na rokovania o členstve; Česká republika, Maďarsko a Poľsko boli iba začiatok. Aj v ďalších smeroch washingtonský summit zdôraznil adaptáciu NATO na podmienky po skončení studenej vojny, zdôraznil, že partnerstvo s ostatnými krajinami euroatlantického priestoru, v neposlednom rade Partnerstvo za mier a Euroatlantická partnerská rada, prispeje k prevencii konfliktov a krízovému manažmentu, ako napríklad mier podporujúce operácie SFOR a KFOR pod vedením NATO, čo je súčasťou bazálnych bezpečnostných cieľov Aliancie. Summit uznal posilnenú úlohu Európy a podporu vývoja spoločnej bezpečnostnej a obrannej politiky v rámci rozhodnutia EÚ vybudovať kapacitu krízového manažmentu pre prípady, keď sa NATO ako celok nebude môcť angažovať. Washingtonský summit ďalej zdôraznil, že NATO a EÚ budú musieť spolupracovať, aby sa zabezpečila efektívna vzájomná konzultácia, spolupráca a transparentnosť krízového manažmentu.

Na rokovaní Európskej rady v Nice v decembri 2000 sa potvrdilo, že európsky krízový manažment bude založený na tesnej spolupráci s NATO a širokom zapojení krajín mimo Európskej únie. Pre Dánsko je prirodzené, že európsky krízový manažment sa bude týkať všetkých krajín s legitímnym záujmom o stabilnú a bezpečnú Európu. Medzi týmito krajinami má Slovensko svoje miesto. Slovensko po boku ostatných krajín signalizovalo svoj záujem prispieť k európskemu krízovému manažmentu či už v rámci NATO, ako sa to práve deje prostredníctvom operácií SFOR a KFOR, alebo v budúcnosti v rámci EÚ. Rozširovanie NATO by malo byť aj kľúčovou témou pražského summitu v novembri 2002. Otázne ostáva, či by sa mal problém rozširovania rozhodnúť v Prahe, a ak áno, aké rozhodnutie by sa malo prijať? Sú aspirujúce krajiny už pripravené na členstvo v NATO? Prirodzene, skúsenosti s Českou republikou, Maďarskom a Poľskom zohrajú dôležitú úlohu. Z technického a vojenského hľadiska sa počiatkové problémy so zavádzaním obranných reforiem a adaptáciou na štandard NATO riešili spoločnými silami,

pričom operačná kapacita Aliancie nebola nijakým spôsobom postihnutá, rozhodovacia schopnosť NATO ostala taktiež intaktná. Vzdušná kampaň v Kosove, ako aj operácie KFOR a SFOR viac ako jasne demonštrujú, že NATO zostáva organizáciou schopnou transformovať potrebné rozhodnutia na účinnú a primeranú akciu. MAP tiež priblížil kandidátske krajiny k NATO. Poskytol rámec pre intenzívny dialóg v širokej škále politických, ekonomických, obranno-vojenských, bezpečnostných a právnych záležitostí. Pri bezpečnostných reformách a vojenskej príprave na členstvo v NATO využívajú aspirujúce krajiny procesy MAP a existujúce nástroje PfP (Partnership for Peace), hlavne rozšírené a adaptované Planning and Review Process. Členské krajiny NATO oceňujú všeobecný pokrok, ktorý dosiahli aspirantské krajiny pri budovaní svojich ozbrojených síl, a snahy vedúce ku kompatibilite ozbrojených zložiek, ktoré sa zúčastňujú na operáciách podporujúcich mier.

Otvorené dvere Aliancie, rozhodnutie o rozširovaní NATO z roku 1997, úspešná integrácia troch nových členov a iniciovanie Akčného plánu pre členstvo mali nesmierne pozitívny dopad na bezpečnostné prostredie v euroatlantickom priestore. Dialóg medzi aspirujúcimi krajinami a Alianciou nikdy nebol taký intenzívny, vojenská spolupráca taká tesná. Kandidatúra na členstvo je sama osebe integrujúci a stabilizačný faktor, pretože nové demokracie veľmi tvrdo pracujú na tom, aby demonštrovali svoju identifikáciu s hodnotami a prioritami Aliancie, ako aj svoju schopnosť poskytnúť prídavnú/zvýšenú bezpečnosť Aliancie.

Na základe týchto skutočností je Dánsko presvedčené, že Aliancia by mala pokračovať v politike rozširovania a pozvanie na rokovania o členstve rozšíriť aj na ďalšie krajiny už na pražskom summite. Rozhodnutie o ďalších pozvánkach ale vyžaduje konsenzus všetkých 19 členov NATO.

NATO a EÚ majú spoločný široko koncipovaný prístup k otázke bezpečnosti a deklarovaný cieľ rozšíriť zónu stability na celú Európu pomocou procesu rozširovania. Proces rozširovania oboch organizácií postupuje pomerne synchronne, čím vytvára synergické efekty mimoriadne dôležité pre zainteresované krajiny. Momentálny stav procesu rozširovania sa dosiahol vývojom, ktorý vyžadoval mnoho politickej odvahy a prezieravosti na oboch stranách, jednak terajších členov EÚ, ako aj kandidátskych krajín. Prvým dôležitým rozhodnutím bolo prijatie tzv. kodanských kritérií pre členstvo na kodanskom summite v júni 1993. Kandidátske krajiny tak dostali k dispozícii prehľadný systém smerníc pre svoje politické a ekonomické reformy. Podľa týchto kritérií členstvo v Európskej únii pripadá do úvahy pre krajiny, ktoré dosiahli stabilitu inštitúcií garantujúcich demokraciu, vládu práva, rešpektovanie ľudských práv a ochranu menšín. Kandidátske krajiny by mali mať

fungujúcu trhovú ekonomiku a ekonomickú silu, ktorá umožní konkurencieschopnosť na jednotnom trhu.

Kodanské kritériá a jasná perspektíva členstva prispievajú k procesu reformy v strednej a východnej Európe. Kolaps bývalých politických štruktúr teoreticky mohol viesť k napätiam, dokonca ku konfliktom, keby dané režimy nemali záujem na mierovom usporiadaní. Aj keď sú všetky okolnosti v strednej a východnej Európe veľmi odlišné od daností bývalej Juhoslávie, krvavé udalosti na západnom Balkáne ukázali, ako dramaticky sa môže vyvinúť situácia, ak nie je prítomná politická vôľa a vízia. Fakt, že historicky podmienené konflikty susedných krajín a menšinových záležitosti v strednej a východnej Európe sa riešia mierovou a konštruktívnou cestou, je výsledkom vývoja, ktorým tieto krajiny prešli s cieľom členstva v EÚ a NATO. Už v tomto štádiu procesu je to cenný príspevok k zvýšenej bezpečnosti a stabilite v Európe.

Prvé kandidátske krajiny začali prístupové rokovania v marci 1998: Estónsko, Maďarsko, Česká republika, Slovinsko, Poľsko a Cyprus. Vo februári minulého roku boli rozšírené prístupové rokovania na Litvu, Lotyšsko, Slovensko, Rumunsko, Bulharsko a Maltu. Kandidátske krajiny úspešne napredujú v plnení kodanských kritérií. Jednotlivé krajiny začali svoje reformy na rozličných základoch a postupovali individuálnou rýchlosťou. Všetky ale dosiahli imponujúci pokrok, ktorý sa pred desiatimi rokmi nedal predvídať. V blízkej budúcnosti privíta Európska únia prvých nových členov.

Európska únia nesie veľkú zodpovednosť pri zabezpečení mieru, stability a vývoja v Európe. Bola to primárna motivácia pri zakladaní Európskych spoločenstiev a mala by zostať primárnym cieľom v budúcnosti. Dánsko bude predsedáť Európskej únii v druhej polovici roku 2002 a urobí všetko, čo bude v jeho silách, aby ukončilo rokovania s najlepšie pripravenými krajinami počas svojho predsedníctva.*

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