

Development of security documents, comparison the Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic 2005 and the European Security Strategy

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I. Development of preparation of conceptual security documents of the SR since 1993⁷

I.1 Overview of documents

During the analysed period, the Slovak Republic has adopted following open (publicly available) security documents of a strategic security character

- SR Defence Doctrine (adopted in year 1994, ceased to be valid in year 2001)
- Basic Principles and Aims of National Security of the SR (adopted in year 1996, ceased to be valid in year 2001)
- SR Security Strategy 2001 (adopted by Parliament on 27.3.2001- it has replaced the Basic Principles and Aims of National Security)
- SR Defence Strategy 2001 (adopted by Parliament on 25.5.2001- it has replaced the SR Defence Doctrine)
- SR Military Strategy 2001 (adopted by Parliament on 25.10.2001)
- SR Security Strategy 2005 (approved by Government on July 13th 2005, submitted to the Parliament).⁸ It will replace the Security Strategy 2001.
- SR Defence Strategy 2005 (approved by Government on July 13th 2005, submitted to the Parliament).⁹ It will replace the Defence Strategy 2001 and the Military Strategy 2001

I.2 Situation in the Slovak Republic till year 1998

The Slovak Republic, as the successor state following the division of the ČSFR, was determined by the processes, which had to be performed following the division of common armed forces within the framework of set limits. As a „new state“, it had to ensure its acceptation not only within the framework of Slovak political spectrum, but also as the subject of international relations (Constitution of the Slovak Republic). It had to respond to the challenges, which have resulted from the realisation of neighbourhood relations (dispute

⁷ The analyse was published in the Institute for Security and Defence Studies paper „Development of the Security and Defence Policy of SR in context with Transatlantic dimension and European Security and Defence Policy“, Bratislava 2005

⁸ <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/25EE0E111893509BC1257034003C3161?OpenDocument>

⁹ <http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/07934884E18441EBC12570380033E95F?OpenDocument>

on completion of Water Works Gabčíkovo and the lawsuit in Haag, modernization of Nuclear Power Plant Jaslovské Bohunice, completion of Nuclear Power Plant Mochovce etc.).

Year 1993 was the year of creation of the Army of the SR, and for understandable reasons, main endeavour was aimed to the creation of new structures, delimitation of living force and material from the previous army of Federal Republic. It was necessary to form the headquarters of Army of the SR and the Ministry of Defence. Theoretical works have started on the strategic documents, which were officially approved in years 1994 to 1996. Two of them were approved already also by the National Council of the Slovak Republic (NR SR).

On June 30, 1994, the NR SR has approved the *Defence Doctrine of the Slovak Republic* and in year 1996 it has taken note of the *Basic Aims and Principles of National Security of the Slovak Republic*. Both documents have meant a progress in the fact that they have became security-political documents of strategic importance, and first time since the origin of the Slovak Republic they have tried for a complex view to the problems of security and defence. However, they were prepared by a narrow group of people from the Ministry of Defence, and they were not consulted with academic workplaces, independent experts and non-governmental organisations. For this reason, as well as from the view of existing political development, they did not exceed certain narrow context of understanding of problems of the security and defence resulting from the shortness of time period since the origin of the Slovak Republic and from the structure of political scene of that period.

I.2.1 Defence doctrine of the Slovak Republic 1994

The Defence Doctrine of the Slovak Republic 1994 was, in accordance with present theory, rather a document, which was approaching the western understanding of the defence strategy. The relation to the integration processes to the EU and the NATO was characterized in it rather generally. From the view of approach to NATO, in its introduction it is quoted that it is the security-political document expressing the conditions, aims and principles of military-security policy of Slovakia for the period of its participation at the program of Partnership for Peace. NATO is considered in the document as the decisive and the most effectively operating security structure, and the gaining of full membership in NATO is considered as the basic orientation of security policy. In the relation to EU, it is concisely stated that the endeavour for integration, expressed by the signing of the European Agreement on Accession, is acquiring also the security dimension.¹⁰ From the view of use of the army, it is aimed only to the defence of independence, sovereignty, and non-violability of Slovak borders. From the view of the integration process and tasks of the Partnership for Peace, a standpoint was missing there to the participation at peace missions, and at various another forms of cooperation of the armies. This task is mentioned partially only in Chapter IV as the activity within the framework of missions of international peace forces (not NATO).

I.2.2 Basic Principles and Aims of National Security of SR 1996

Basic principles and aims of national security of the SR 1996 were prepared in the period, when the democratic deficits of SR were deepened and the foreign-policy orientation of Slovakia has become hard to understand. The most space in the document is devoted to the definition of national interest¹¹ and the factors, which influence its realisation.

¹⁰ Defence doctrine of SR, Chapter II. There is expressed the support for strengthening of European security and defence identity, however, this was the concept used within the framework of NATO

¹¹ The national interest - in comparison with later documents – was relatively narrowly characterised as the safeguarding of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-violability of borders, security, economic

In comparison with the Defence Doctrine, it was less concrete at the expression of relation of Slovakia with the NATO and the European Union. Concrete measures towards the accession process both to the NATO as well as to the European Union have disappeared. Only in the aims of national security, third task in the order was characterised as the „creation of conditions of gradual integration of the Slovak Republic into the transatlantic and European collective political, security, economic structures and institutions“, at which none of the institutions was mentioned by its name. In addition to that, creation of these conditions was questionable, as it is known that for our own faults we were not invited in year 1997 to the Alliance together with the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary.

Interesting is also the fact that the *Defence Doctrine* was prepared and approved in year 1994, but the *Basic Aims and Principles of National Security* as late as in 1996, but the logic speaks rather on the opposite. Thus the strategy of defence has „overtaken“ the analysis of national security and determination of its aims. Basic aims and principles of national security of the SR were prepared under the management of the Ministry of Defence SR, and it can be concluded from this fact that in that period the problems of security was connected with a narrower understanding of security as the ensuring of defence. Next followed documents were approved exclusively by the “Defence State Council”. Such a document was “Strategic Concept of Defence” (which was a basis for the Concept of Army building till 2000) replaced by the “National Defence Strategy” (restricted document as a basis for “Long term Plan of Slovak Army Development).¹²

I.3. Development after year 1998

In the period 1998-2001, on the base of Program Declaration of SR Government from year 1998, there was commenced the creation of strategic documents – the Security Strategy of the SR, the Defence Strategy of the SR and the Military Strategy of the SR. The need of preparation of these documents was underlined by the fact that the priorities defined in hitherto documents were not realised, as well as that in spite of their certain strategic aiming, it was necessary to characterise more unequivocally and in concrete terms the security environment, the analysis of security challenges, risks and threats, and the interests of the Slovak Republic resulting from it. Preparation of these documents was also a reaction to the non-inclusion of the Slovak Republic amoing newly accepted members of NATO. The fact that there were not elaborated documents of strategic importance, approved by the NR SR as a consensual material necessary for further development, has influenced negatively also the endeavour of the MoD SR to prepare the Integrated program for development of army till year 2010 with view to year 2015, which was not approved.

Non-compatibility of previous documents with new challenges and threats has expressed distinctly after the Washington summit of NATO in 1999. The Strategic conception of North Atlantic Alliance has brought a new view to the developing security environment, security challenges and risks and thereby also to the approach towards security in 21st century. The SR government has approved – immediately after the Washington summit – the program of preparation for membership in NATO, PRENAME, and the National Action Plan of Membership. The entire Action Plan of Membership in NATO, adopted in the Washington summit, has expected in the field of defence military questions that the aspiring countries

prosperity and international recognition of the Slovak Republic. (Basic principles and aims of national security of the SR, Chapter I)

12 Elemír Nečej: Bezpečnostná stratégia SR 2001 in „Odporeúčania pre aktualizáciu Bezpečnostnej stratégie SR“ (January 2004,IBOŠ MO SR) http://www.mosr.sk/ibos/docs/zb_bs.pdf. In Slovak only

shall identify themselves with the strategy of Alliance in the way as it is expressed in the Strategic conception, and at the accession to NATO they shall accept the approach to security described in the Strategic conception, they shall be able to provide forces and means for collective defence and the other tasks of Alliance and an adequate participation in its structures.

In that period it started to be clear that the Slovak Republic is exposed to the same threats as the other countries of the Euro-Atlantic space, and the need of gaining the security guarantees through the membership in NATO ceased to be only a rhetorical question. However, the changes of security environment have influenced also the need of reconstruction of entire security system, and this need has expressed noticeably in the field of reconstruction of the armed forces. The endeavour till that time for a reconstruction of armed forces have failed, and in year 2000 and at beginning of year 2001 the Slovak Republic was criticised from the side Alliance about the state in the armed forces, for their slow and lengthy reform, as well as for the absence of security planning and disputes of plans with the proclaimed priorities of state¹³

In the beginning of deliberations on strategic documents of the SR, in the forefront there was the question, who should approve them – the National Council of the SR, or the government of the SR. We were warned during international seminars also to a possible lengthiness and complications in the case of submission of these documents to the parliament. (Majority of countries had these documents approved only on the level of government). From the view of need to express the political consensus, there was accepted the conclusion that the way through the parliament is unavoidable, as it guarantees a higher transparency and at the same time the continuity of security policy also following a change of government in the consequence of possible changes after the elections.¹⁴

Security strategy of the SR 2001

The Security strategy of the SR 2001 has originated as the first complete „umbrella“ document, which was followed by the defence strategy and the military strategy. Its approach to the assessment of security environment, security risks, threats and challenges was based on the approach of the Strategic Conception of the NATO. In comparison with previous documents, the strategy has recorded a shift in the definition of SR interests, which were divided into the vital and important ones. The membership in the NATO and the EU was placed as the part of one of the vital interests.¹⁵ This strategy defines first time the security policy of the Slovak Republic and the requirements for its security system. It expresses an active approach to the shaping of the security environment and to the building of capability to respond to the risks and threats. From the view of integration to the Euro-Atlantic structures, the accession to the NATO prevails in the strategy over the accession to the EU. This fact has undoubtedly influenced the situation in the accession process to the NATO, when the integration of the SR to the NATO started to be hampered (if not endangered) by the stagnant reform of the SR army.¹⁶

13 Army of the SR 2001, MoD SR Bratislava 2001 „Department of defence in 2001“

14 Present constitutional Act of Security and the Act on Defence of the SR already determine specifically that the NR SR approves the strategic documents and the developmental programs in the field of security and defence. (note of the author)

15 The last paragraph of Article 7 of the Security Strategy of SR states as one of vital interests: „The maintaining of peace and stability in the Central Europe, connected with the expansion of the zone of democracy, security and prosperity, including the full membership of the SR in the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union“

16 On the base of approval of the national program PRENAME, the cycle of preparations has started in October 1999 for the admission to the NATO. The meeting of NAC NATO has approved the introductory phase in

As the decisive factor for the formation of European security environment is considered the transfer of stability through the enlargement of the NATO and its PfP and EAPC. The forming of security and defence policy of the EU is considered as a complementary process to the system of collective defence of the NATO.¹⁷ Therefore also in the action part of the document, a bigger accent is put to the reform of the defence system and the armed forces, so that they would be interoperable with the armed forces of NATO.¹⁸ The European Union is rather given to the relation with stability, performance and security of the economy. In the relation to the common European security and defence policy of the EU, it is quoted that Slovakia, as an associated country, shall look for the possibilities of its share on it (especially at the solution of emergency situations, with the accent to operations of humanitarian character). In the internal security, the strategy is aimed to the harmonisation of aliens' policy and asylum policy with the policy of EU and the realisation of requirements of Schengen agreement (in connection with uncontrollable migration).¹⁹

Defence Strategy and Military Strategy2001

The defence and military strategies, based on the security strategy, have elaborated its conclusions with the accent to the forming of aims of the defence policy and the definition of strategic aiming of the armed forces. The basic thing was to ensure an effective defence of the SR by own forces till the time of invitation to the NATO, and at the same time to ensure the fulfilment of military-political criteria for the entry to NATO. For the armed forces it meant to create preconditions for future activity both within the framework of the NATO and within the framework of the forming European security and defence policy.²⁰ For the reasons discussed above, it was determined that as the priority programs there were considered the programs directly connected with the compatibility and interoperability with the NATO, including the earmarking of financial means.²¹ Equally it was assumed in the missions of the armed forces to maintain forces of high preparedness minimum on the level of battalion for the needs of defence of state, the prevention of conflicts and for contribution to entire spectrum of NATO operations (including the contribution to the collective defence). The forces of a lower preparedness minimum on the level of brigade were to be able, in addition to the operations for defence of state, to contribute to the operations within the framework of article 5 of the Washington Treaty. Equally, the attention was paid to the host support.²² No concrete contribution to EBOP was stated in these documents.

A more concrete formulation of the relation to the EU was included to the amendment of Constitution of the SR in year 2001, where it was completed: „*The SR may, through an international agreement, which shall have been ratified and promulgated in the way stipulated by law, or on the base of this agreement, to transfer the performance of a part of its*

April 2000. In accordance with the conclusions of the NAC meeting in the form 19+SR in April 2001, the disproportions were criticised among the aims of MAP and the results of transformation in the field of defence. (note of the author)

17 Security Strategy of the SR 2001, article 4

18 Security strategy of the SR 2001, article 58. Identically, in articles 59-61, which are devoted to the integration to Euro-Atlantic political and security structures, the membership in NATO is characterised as an optimum variant for the achievement of effective security guarantees. The accent is put to the realisation of NP PRENAME and the completion of building of an interoperable defence system after the obtaining of membership in NATO

19 Ibid, articles 53 and 62

20 Defence strategy of the SR 2001, art. 19 „Basic aims of defence policy“

21 Military strategy of the SR 2001, part III – Strategy art. 1.3- 1.6

22 Military strategy SR 2001, chapter IV, part 2 „Mission and tasks of the armed forces“

*rights to the European Communities and the European Union. Legal binding acts of the EC and the EU shall have precedence over the acts of the SR.*²³

II. Preparation of strategic documents 2005

On the base of admission to the NATO and the EU, it was assumed that new documents shall be prepared and approved by the parliament in the course of year 2004. In view of the delay in the preparation of the „umbrella“ document – the security strategy, entire work was shifted to year 2005.

II.1 Directive for defence policy 2004

The Ministry of Defence was during entire time under the biggest pressure of requirements from the NATO, especially through the fact that it was given new tasks - Force Goals 2004. The need has arisen to review the Long-term plan of structure and development of the armed forces of the SR 2010, and the Ministry of Defence of the SR commenced the preparation of long-term plan of development of the MoD with outlook to 2015. It was substantiated by the changed requirements of the NATO, especially in connection with the Aims of Forces 2004. A certain starting point there was the preparation of the „Directive for Defence Policy“, approved by the government in June 2004. The Directive was “to bridge” the deficit that there were not elaborated and approved new strategic documents for the field of security and defence of the Slovak Republic, first of all the Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic and the Defence Strategy of the Slovak Republic, which would respond to the changed security environment and new tasks, which result for the Slovak Republic from the membership in the NATO and the EU.²⁴ This document assumes a revaluation of strategic documents for the field of security and defence of state in such a way that they shall respond to changes of the security environment, and in accordance with the strategic security documents of the NATO and the EU they shall enable the fulfilment of commitments, which for the SR result from the membership in them. At the updating of aims of the defence policy, it was proposed in the document to ensure the building and development of armed forces of the Slovak Republic preferably capable of fulfilling the tasks of defence of the state and to participate at the operations of NATO, and to ensure an active and effective participation of the Slovak Republic and its armed forces at the creation and realisation of the European security and defence policy, while maintaining the complementarity with the NATO.²⁵ In comparison with previous strategic documents, more concrete attitudes can be markedly seen here towards the NATO and the EU, while maintaining the long-term orientation known under the slogan „NATO first“. At the chance of character of the defence, it is reflected in the changeover from the model of the defence of territory to the defence of interests, where at the defence of territory it is considered to utilise the advantages of the common defence according to article 5 of the Washington Treaty, and it is assumed also that the SR shall have a share on the operation outside the Euro-Atlantic space and apart from the article 5. The document expects a strengthening of cooperation in the field of security and defence policy of the EU,

23 Complete wording of the Constitution of the SR – article 7 paragraph 2

24 The purpose of Directive is „In connection with changes of security environment and qualitatively new tasks, which result for the Slovak Republic from the membership in the NATO and the EU, to specify the political-defence framework for a strategic revaluation of the defence of state, including the definition of key fields and requirements of defence policy to the creation of new strategic, conceptual and planning documents in the field of defence of state“. http://www.mosr.sk/documents/smernica_ob_pol.pdf

25 Ibid , article 3.1 „Updating of aims of the defence policy“

with certain specification.²⁶ From the view of an impact to the reform of armed forces, the document consider as necessary to take into account an effective utilisation of common defence within the framework of NATO, to develop and structure the armed forces in favour of the NATO structures. On the base of the said, also financial priorities are assumed, and the assumption exists that also the creation of military capacities of the EU shall be taken into account.²⁷

II.2 Security strategy of SR 2005 and Defence strategy of SR 2005

Both documents were worked out in the same period and they were jointly submitted for the assessment by the Security Council of SR, to the negotiation of SR government, as well as for the approval by the National Council of the SR. Both of documents were approved by Government on July 13Th 2005 and submitted to the Parliament.

In view of that, these documents are sufficiently interconnected and they solve true basic problems in the field of security and defence of the SR. Their certain delay can be arguable. They are being approved one year prior the termination of mandate of present governmental coalition and therefore their realisation shall be in a considerable degree the task of subsequent government. However, this their vulnerability is decreased by the fact that they are being approved by the parliament, and in the case of a wide consensus, their realisation can be problem-free in spite of the fact that their binding character is not till now sufficiently defined.

Security strategy of the SR 2005 takes into account the essential changes of security environment and new commitments of the Slovak Republic after the accession to the NATO and the EU. In comparison with the Security Strategy of the SR 2001, this shift is visible in the defined interests of the SR. The support of the transatlantic alliance and the support for extension of the NATO and the EU remains the basic matter.²⁸ The position in the security environment is understood in connection with the Euro-Atlantic space, where as the part of the collective system of the NATO, the safety and stability of the SR is guaranteed by the allied commitments. With its entry to the EU, the SR is acquiring the guarantees of political and economic stabilization and the possibility of a share on the European security and defence policy.²⁹ In comparison with the Security Strategy SR 2001, active attitudes of security policy against the NATO and the EU are formulated in a more concrete terms. The NATO remains for the SR the main platform for development of cooperation in the EA space, and the Strategy underlines the need to preserve its internal unity, and the need of transformation and adaptation to new security threats. The Strategy expresses at the same time an active approach

26 Ibid, article 3.4.1 point c) „European Union, which shall strengthen the cooperation in the field of security and defence policy and the solidarity; in internal and penal matters, it shall widen the possibilities, which can be used by the Slovak Republic for the defence and protection of its interests, first of all in situations and regions, where the NATO shall not be engaged.“

27 Ibid , article 3.4.3 – changes in the process of reform of the armed forces of SR, point c). „in context with that, the fulfilment of commitments of the Slovak Republic against the NATO (Forces Goals 2004, PCC) is to be considered as the key priorities within the framework of financial coverage of further process of reform of the armed forces of the Slovak Republic; however, it is necessary to take into account at this also the conclusions resulting for the armed forces of the Slovak Republic from the process of creation of the military capacities of EU on the base of the initiative of Headline Goal 2010;

28 Security strategy of the SR 2005, chapter 1, point 5 states among the interests: „to strengthen the transatlantic strategic partnership, to be a joint guarantor of security of the allies; to improve the efficiency of international organisations, member of which is the SR, and to support the extension of NATO and EU“

29 Ibid articles 10 and 11

to further development in the NATO.³⁰ In the relation to the EU, there is expressed an active attitude to joint creation and implementation of **Common Foreign and Security Policy** and the building of capacities of the European Security and Defence Policy, while maintaining the complementarity with the NATO.³¹ In comparison with previous strategic documents, two elements become evident in the strategic orientation, which were not mentioned before. It concerns a special position of relations of the SR with the USA, where the USA are characterised as the strategic ally³², and the formulation of attitude to „ad hoc coalitions“³³. It is fact that although the Security Strategy of the SR 2001 „did not consider ad hoc coalitions“, Slovakia has sent an engineer unit of armed forces of the Slovak Republic to the operation **Permanent Freedom in Afghanistan**. The unit fulfils tasks under the coalition command since September 8, 2002. Another operation in the fight against terrorism is the **operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq**. On May 12, 2003, the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic received the invitation of Poland for the activity in a multinational division within the framework of stabilisation forces in the Iraqi Republic. On the base of resolution of the National Council SR No. 332 of 19 June 2003, the engineer unit was sent to this operation with unlimited mandate concerning the length of activity of the unit in operations.

The **Defense Strategy 2005** will replace the Defense and Military Strategy of the period of the transition from individual to collective defense and concentrates the attention of the Slovak Republic as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union to the fulfilment of the commitments and to the effective utilisation of possibilities provided to it by the membership in these organisations. From the view of the access to NATO and the EU it elaborates the conclusions of BS SR to issues of the defense. According to Article 12 „it will implement the basic objective of the defense policy of the SR from the position of the Euro-Atlantic orientation. The membership in NATO and the EU regards as decisive the guarantee of its security and striking power. It agrees with primary objectives and functions that result

30 Ibid article 68 in second part states: „SR shall support transformation and adaptation of the NATO to new kinds of threats and challenges. It shall reform and build its security system in such a way, which enable the SR to contribute to the development of required capabilities of the NATO, including the participation in the missions and operations of the Alliance outside the territory of its member countries. The SR shall consider also in the future the extension of NATO as the way of strengthening of the zone of security and stability in the Euroatlantic space. The SR shall develop the cooperation with countries involved in the Euro-Atlantic partner structures and the countries of the Mediterranean-Sea Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. The SR shall support common meetings of the NATO and the EU at high level, as well as day-to-day working meetings as the expression of their key strategic partnership. It shall support the development of an effective dialogue and cooperation of the NATO with further international institutions, first of all with the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.“

31 Ibid, article 69 : „SR shall actively jointly form and implement the common foreign and security policy of the EU. The SR shall contribute to the realisation of aims of European integration and the creation of civilisation, civil, legal, internal-security and economic space, which shall be capable of own dynamic permanently sustainable development. The SR shall enforce the fulfilment of aims stipulated in the European security strategy and it shall strengthen the capacities of crisis management with the aim to contribute to the operations and missions led by the EU. It shall support the building of operating capacities of European security and defence policy, so that they were complementary to the capacities of the NATO. In accordance with the clause of solidarity of the EU, the SR shall help the countries attacked or threatened by terrorist attacks and hit by natural disasters. The SR shall support the development of activities of the European Defence Agency, with an accent to full engagement of the Slovak industrial and technological base to the building of European defence market. The SR shall support further enlargement of the EU, which is one of the most effective ways how to overcome the instability and achieve the prosperity of unified Europe. The SR shall contribute to the creation and realisation of common internal-security policy, the asylum, migration and visa policies.“

32 Ibid, article 73

33 Ibid, article 63: The response of the SR to new security threats and the unpredictability of security environment shall be also the support for a purposeful formation of political or military partnerships and coalitions with the aim to discourage these possible threats or to defend against them effectively.

from the Strategical Conception of NATO and from the European Security Strategy. This orientation gives rise to two out of four primary objectives of the defense policy³⁴

- To fulfil all commitments of the NATO member,
- To fulfil commitments of the EU member in the framework of the European Security and Defense Policy.

The building of capabilities respects the order of priority of the commitments to NATO³⁵ and the increase of the level of applicability and operational readiness of the armed forces will be achieved through the Defense Planning harmonised with the Defense Planning of NATO. These priorities are also respected in the plan of the utilisation of the armed forces. According to the Defense Strategy these should be used³⁶

- within full scope in high-intensity operations for the defense of the Slovak Republic;
- within very large scope by the provision of forces up to the size of a brigade team in high-intensity allied operations for the collective defense in NATO,
- within a large scope by the provision of forces in the size of a battalion team in common operations conducted without geographical limitation under command of NATO,
- within a medium scope in the size of a motorised battalion in operations for the support of peace under command of NATO or the EU,
- within a small scope in operations for the support of peace and humanitarian operations under command of UNO, EU or an international coalition in the form of a long-term contribution in the size of a platoon.

In comparison with the Defense Strategy of the SR 2001 and the Military Strategy of the SR 2001 the tasks resulting from the membership in NATO and the EU are concretised and better react to the European Security Strategy and the European Security and Defense Policy. Already in the period of the preparation of the Defense Strategy 2005 the Slovak Republic took into account the fact that in December 2003 the EU Security Strategy was adopted and that on the basis of the new ambition defined therein the Headline Goal 2010 (HG 2010) was drawn up. During the year 2004 the SR started to analyse the reassessment of its existing contribution for purposes of the EU military crisis management. The basis were two basic reasons. First, that the SR declared at the political level that it would reserve for the purposes of the EU equal forces and resources as it reserved for NATO. At the same time, on 23 June 2004, in the Resolution of the Government of the SR No 608/2004 the „Goals of Forces 2004“ and the subsequent change of the timetable of the implementation of the reforms, approved by the Resolution of the Government of the SR No 133 of 25 February 2003, were approved. The result of this reassessment is that a motorised battalion team, the RCHBO battalion, the movement control team (all from the year 2008) and 4 helicopters Mi-17 from the year 2007 were proposed for the EU military crisis management for the purpose of the performance of tasks within the European Security and Defense Policy.

In 2004 the SR started to pay more attention to the issues of the EU civil crisis management and the potential involvement of the SR in this area. The situation in this area is more difficult than in case of military crisis management which is also documented by the deliberations of the Government of the SR on this issue of 10 November 2004. The

34 The Defense Strategy 2005, Article 18.

35 Before the end of the year 2010 to adequately contribute to the defense capabilities of the collective defense of NATO and to military capabilities of the EU, by the year 2015 to increase the ability to make full-value contributions within NATO and the EU to the prevention of conflicts and the solution of global crises, after the year 2015 to achieve the level of applicability 1 to the wide range of operations of NATO and other international organisations. (The Defense Strategy of the SR 2005, Art. 21).

36 The Defense Strategy of the SR 2005, Article 25.

quotation: „*While in the framework of the EU military crisis management the objectives and priorities are fairly clearly defined the area of the civil crisis management remained underdeveloped and the capacity rather non-transparent for a long period*“.

In the framework of the preparation to the EU Conference on the capacity of civil crisis management that was held on 22 November 2004 the Slovak Republic analysed the potential participation in operations of the civil crisis management. During the process of preparation of the contribution of the SR several problems were identified that presently do not allow to the SR to declare with responsibility such contribution that would adequately correspond to its actual possibilities and position within the EU. Although the SR has been involving in the EU civil crisis management since the year 1993 in the form of the participation in the Monitoring Mission (ECMM) and in 2000 (and repeatedly in May 2001) officially declared its commitment to reserve for the EU the capacity of 50 policemen not later than by the end of the year 2003 it did not fulfil this commitment by the end of the year 2004.³⁷ On the basis of the analysis of the situation the Government of the SR by its Resolution 1070 of 10 November 2004 approved the contribution of the SR to the capacity of the EU civil crisis management. The involvement of the SR in the individual priority areas of the building of the CCM will be as follows:³⁸

Police: 33 policemen able of deployment in 90 days for the period of 6 to 12 months;

Civil defense: Team with mobile laboratory for the detection and identification of chemical and radioactive substances (6 persons); Team for search and rescue works (24 persons); Stand-by capacity for long-term accommodation of 400 persons under tents in cases of humanitarian catastrophes (including necessary service personnel of 35 persons); Team of divers for search, rescue and pyrotechnical underwater works (11 persons);

Observer missions: 1 observer for the area of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; 4 observers for border regions; 4 observers for political security issues able of deployment in 90 days for the period of 6 to 12 months; the possibility of sending more experts depending on the specific requirement for the particular mission;

In this context it is necessary to remind that also in the preparation of the Security Strategy of the SR 2005, in spite of the improvement of the approach of the multi-dimensional security and the interconnection of its elements, the authors did not succeed to classify these elements adequately to their weight from the view of the potential development of the security environment. Like in the year 2001, in relation to the security strategy, only the defense and military strategy was prepared; at present period it is the defense strategy. There is the question to what extent other strategical documents will be prepared and how their interconnection will be ensured from the view of the growing complexity of the solution of security problems of the future.

37 Report on the involvement of the Slovak Republic in the building of the capacity of the EU civil crisis management

[http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CC2CB2DFF3F9C336C1256F46004B276B/\\$FILE/Zdroj.html](http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/CC2CB2DFF3F9C336C1256F46004B276B/$FILE/Zdroj.html)

38 Resolution of the Government of the SR 1070/2004

[http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4B5D72692363E1DAC1256F4A0034F42F/\\$FILE/Zdroj.html](http://www.rokovania.sk/appl/material.nsf/0/4B5D72692363E1DAC1256F4A0034F42F/$FILE/Zdroj.html)

III. Comparison of structure of Security Strategy of the SR and the European Security Strategy

European Security Strategy	Security Strategy of the SR
Introduction	Introduction
I. Security environment: global challenges and key threats	I. Security interests of the SR
II. Strategic aims <i>II.1 Facing the threats</i> <i>II.2 Building of security in neighbourhood</i> <i>II.3 International order on the base of an effective multilateralism</i>	II. Security environment of the SR III. Security policy of the SR <i>III.1 Security and defence of state (it solves the facing to threats)</i> <i>III.2 Stability and predictability of security environment</i>
III. Political implications for Europe <i>III.1 More active (wide spectrum of instruments + preventive engagement)</i> <i>III.2 More able (transformation of Armed forces, civil Crisis M, EU-NATO, Berlin +)</i> <i>III.3 more coherent (utilisation of more instruments and capabilities)</i> <i>III.4 Cooperation with partners (common threats, irreplaceable nature of TA relations)</i>	- no special chapter exists, implications are as the part of chapter III
Conclusion	Conclusion

III. 1 Introduction

In the introduction, the European Security Strategy creates the starting point for further text with the aim to prepare the EU to a share on responsibility for the global security - Europe as a global player. Further to previous strategic documents, the introduction to Security Strategy of the SR characterises the SR as the sovereign state respecting the political independence and territorial integrity of all states. It underlines the changes in the security environment and new commitments of the SR.

III.2 Interests

Interests are not in the ESS explicitly stated. The interests of SR are based on the principle of guaranteeing the security of citizen in accordance with international legal standards and the constitution and on the values of freedom, peace, democracy, rule of law, justice, plurality, prosperity, solidarity, respect for human rights and freedoms.³⁹ The quoted values are comparable with the values, which are stated in the proposal of the constitutional agreement

³⁹ Ibid, article 4,5

and which shall be valid also in the case of its non-adoption.⁴⁰ The security interests resulting from these values are:

1. to guarantee the security and protect basic human rights and freedoms of citizens;
2. to guarantee the territorial integrity, sovereignty, inviolability of borders, political independence and identity;
3. to develop the democratic state regime, rule of law and market economy;
4. to create preconditions for permanently sustainable economic, social, environmental and cultural development of society;
5. to strengthen the transatlantic strategic partnership, to be the co-guarantor of security of the allies;
6. to strengthen the efficiency of international organisations, the member of which is the SR, and to support the enlargement of the NATO and the EU;
7. to develop good partner relations and develop all forms of mutually advantageous cooperation with countries, with which we share common interests;
8. to contribute to the strengthening and dissemination of freedom and democracy, observance of human rights, rule of law, international order, peace and stability in the world.

The mentioned interests are comparable with interests, which are defined by the Central-European states in their security strategies.⁴¹

III.3 Challenges and threats

The European Security Strategy divides the problems, to which the EU faces, into two groups

1.) global challenges, which have not an immediate influence, but they influence the vulnerability of the EU because they are interdependent. The chapter characterizes the contradictions in understanding of

- globalisation
- growth of space for non-state groups
- poverty, diseases,
- economic and political failures,
- energetic dependence

2.) key threats

- terrorism
- proliferation of MDW
- regional conflicts
- failing states
- organised crime

The SS of SR characterizes the challenges and threats, even when they are not strictly divided. Prior the characterisation of challenges and threats, it states the tendencies of

40 For details see Draft of Constitutional agreement of EU, article I-2 (respect to human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law and respect for human rights of persons belonging to minorities)

41 See chapter „Strategic documents of Central European countries”, in Slovak only, „Bezpečnostné dokumenty vybraných európskych štátov (stručný analytický prehľad)“ Inštitút bezpečnostných a obranných štúdií MO SR, 2005 http://www.mosr.sk/ibos/docs/bezpecnostne_dokumenty_eustatov.pdf

development of the security environment. As the basic tendency there is understood the tendency of deepening the instability, uncertainty and unpredictability. As further there are stated the globalisation, internal conflicts.

1.) To the challenges it is possible to include ⁴²

- globalisation
- growth of influence of non-state factors
- economic imbalance in the world
- dependence of vital resources
- unbalanced demographic development and spreading of diseases
- *vulnerability of information and communication systems*

2.) Defined threats ⁴³

- terrorism
- proliferation of MDW
- regional conflicts
- failing states
- organised crime
- *illegal and uncontrollable migration*
- *activities of foreign intelligence services*
- *radical nationalism and intolerance*
- *natural disasters, breakdowns and catastrophes*

III.4. Aims and Tasks

At the defence of security and the support of values, the ESS stipulates three strategic aims

- facing the threats (with an accent to concrete measures against threats analysed in chapter II.)
- building of security in neighbourhood (it quotes three regions - Balkan, Middle East and Mediterranean area)
- international order based on an effective multilateralism (it underlines an effective multilateral system on the base of international law, the place of key institutions of this system and individual policies)

The aims and tasks in the SS of SR are defined in chapter III. „Security policy of the Slovak Republic”, which is divided into sub-chapters

- 1) Security of citizen and state (it responds to threats, it is comparable with first strategic aim of the ESS)
- 2) Stability and predictability of security environment, where there are mentioned principles and aims of security policy of the SR, which can be divided according to the contents to
 - membership of the SR in organisations and policy in them (this part of the SS of SR can be only compared with the strategic aim of the ESS - „international order“ in the fact, which organisations are included in the SS of SR. From the view of contents, it is not possible to define that the SS of SR would get closer to the characteristics of an effective

42 Security Strategy of the SR 2005, art. 26, 27,28,30,32

43 Ibid art. 18- 24

multilateralism of the ESS, the problem shall be discussed in details in part „Comparison of contents“)

- the attitude against selected regions and states (contents of this part is comparable with the strategic aim of the ESS „building of security in neighbourhood“. In the SS of SR there are included the problems of West Balkan, Mediterranean Sea and the Near and Middle East. In addition to that, it defines the attitudes to the USA, Ukraine, the CIS, Russia)

III.5. Political Implications for Europe

From the view of the fact that the SS of SR is the „national strategy“, even when it takes into account the commitments from membership in the NATO and the EU, the political implications for Europe characterised in the ESS can be compared from the context, however, they are not a specific part of the SS of SR.

From the view of a response to higher activity, the overall philosophy of the SS of SR assumes a higher involvement of the SR and a share in wide spectrum of instruments of the crisis management, understandably not only the EU, but also the NATO.

If we want to compare the problems of strengthening the capabilities, the SR shall reform its security system in the way enabling it to contribute to the development of required capabilities of the NATO⁴⁴, and towards the EU it assumes the strengthening of capacities of the crisis management, with the aim to contribute to the operations and missions led by the EU⁴⁵. At the application of coherence and cooperation with partners, it is necessary to see the coherence of own means⁴⁶ and the approach to the coherence within the framework of the EU, which is defined rather secondarily. In the partnership cooperation, the transatlantic partnership is underlined in several articles of the SS of SR, and the SR wants to support the common meetings of the NATO and the EU as the expression of their key strategic partnership. Differences can be found in the evaluation of partnership with the USA, which is in the Slovak Security Strategy understood rather as a strategic partnership, as opposed to the „balanced partnership“ in the ESS.

44 Security strategy of the SR 2005, article 68

45 Security strategy of the SR, article 69. The article expresses further the support for building of operating capabilities of the EU, the development of activities of the European Defence Agency.

46 Ibid article 37. Security system of the SR as a decisive means of security policy as a multidimensional complex consisting of foreign-policy, economic, defence, internal-security, social and further instruments and ties among them.

IV. Comparison of Contents of Problems

IV.1. Challenges and Threats

As it was shown in chapter III.3, the comparison of challenges and threats is stated in following table:

European Security Strategy	Security strategy of the SR
Challenges	Challenges
Globalisation	Globalisation
Growth of space for non-state groups	Growth of influence of non-state factors
Poverty, diseases	Unbalanced demographic development, diseases
Economic and political failures	Economic imbalance in the world
Energetic dependence	Dependence on vital resources Vulnerability of communication and information systems
Threats	Threats
Terrorism	Terrorism
Proliferation of MDW	Proliferation of MDW
Regional conflicts	Regional conflicts
Failing states	Failing states
Organised crime	Organised crime
-	Illegal and uncontrollable migration Activities of foreign intelligence services Radical nationalism and intolerance Natural disasters, breakdowns and catastrophes

From the view of comparison, more important is to pay attention to the assessment of substance of these phenomena.

In the preparation of the security strategy of the SR, the authors have proceeded from relatively wide discussion on the problems of challenges and threats, which has taken place already during the preparation of strategic security documents in year 2001. If for instance in the Strategic Conception of the NATO, the security challenges are understood rather as approaching the threats, in the preparation of Slovak documents it concerned rather the understanding of a challenge in accordance with the fact that the coping with it (its grasp) can bring positive results, and the failure of coping with it can have a negative impact (globalisation, informatisation). Therefore among the challenges there were included rather global and more general matters, and among the threats more concrete phenomena, whereby the SS of SR is approaching the understanding of the ESS. In the ESS, the response is aimed more to the threats than to the challenges.

Challenges

The SS of SR is aiming in its response first of all to first four defined challenges. In view to the globalisation, it wants to utilise its developmental potential and to minimise its negative consequences⁴⁷. Towards the non-state factors, it sees the possibilities of active cooperation with non-governmental organisations and private sector at the solution of problems of failing states, conflicts, creation and distribution of humanitarian and developmental assistance.⁴⁸ The SR sees its participation at the stopping of the deepening economic imbalance in the world by the contribution to liberalisation of world trade, the engagement of less developed countries to the international division of work. Equally, it shall engage into the provision of developmental assistance. In the response to the dependence on vital resources, there are mentioned two directions. One – outer is the share of the SR on the increase of security and stability of regions with their extraction and transport. Second – internal is the minimisation of failure of the SR economy, the fulfilment of requirements of the NATO and the EU to the energetic and crude-oil safety.⁴⁹ The SS of SR responds also to the problems of own negative demographic development. Despite opinions expressed during SS preparation, that there shall be connected also a possible modification of controlled migration policy, this idea has not been included into document.

Threats

The defined threats have points of contact and are interconnected. Therefore in the SS of SR – similarly as in the ESS – also in the response to individual threats it is seen the interconnection of response to the interconnected threats. In view of general aiming of such a document as the SS of SR is, it was not possible to specify in details the interconnection of responses to threats, however, they are clear from the context.

In the response to terrorism, in addition to the development of complex internal measures, the emphasis is put to the cooperation with foreign authorities and institutions, including participation of the SR at the „active preventive disarmament“, especially in the case if the terrorism acquires the weapons of mass destruction WMD⁵⁰. The SR declares at the same time its support for the clause of solidarity of the EU.

In the response to proliferation, it shall concern the share in the active policy of the global control of armament and disarmament, with the priority to proliferation of WMD. In addition to the policy of control and prevention, in co-operation with the NATO and the EU, the SR wants to engage itself to the measures for minimising of consequences of the MDW use against the SR citizens, against the armed forces in operations abroad and against the allies. In comparison with the ESS, the SS of SR states also the engagement to the systems and programs of anti-ballistic defence.

The concreteness of response to regional conflicts and failing states seems to be problem both in the ESS, as well as in the SS of SR. The SS of SR states in general an active assistance at the renewal of basic functions of failing states at the application of policy of assistance and sanctions of international organisations. Similarly there is defined an active contribution to the prevention of regional conflicts and the share on post-conflict renewal. At the same time it expresses the contribution to military and civil means in the international

47 First of all the worsening of environment, an excessive extraction of non-renewable resources and the irregular economic and social development of regions. The SS of SR 2005, article 52

48 The SS of SR 2005, article 53 (in addition to that, it quotes also the share at the elimination of structures, the aim of which is to weaken legitimate and legal governments)

49 Ibid , article 56

50 Ibid, article 44

crisis management. Though it is quoted that these contributions shall be proportional to the possibilities, interests, commitments and priorities, The Security Strategy of SR lacks the determination of priorities first of all what concerns the military-political ambitions. The need for definition of military-political ambitions has quoted above-mentioned Directive for Defence Policy 2004.⁵¹

In the response to the threat of organized crime, the SS of SR assumes internal measures for its prevention and elimination, concurrently with the support of international cooperation and an increase of efficiency of its structures.

Similarly, also the facing to further threats is worked out in the measures. According to the contents, big importance is put to the measures for limitation of vulnerability of critical infrastructure, with an accent to information and communication systems (especially to those, which are necessary for the performance of basic functions of the state). In comparison with the ESS, a bigger emphasis is put to the problems of environment, and in this connection also to the nuclear safety (safety of own nuclear facilities of the SR), and equally to the crisis management at natural disasters, breakdowns and catastrophes.⁵² Also when at the definition the radical nationalism, intolerance and religious extremism are not directly stated among the threats (it is possible to classify them as challenges), concrete internal measures in the disclosure and comprehension of their manifestations, including preventive measures in social care, education and in forming of public opinion point out rather to a possible threat. In the relation with external dimension, it is possible to connect it also with the analysis of terrorism⁵³

IV.2. Regional dimension

The regional dimension of „Building of security in neighbourhood“ is in the ESS the part of strategic aims. The Security Strategy of the SR solves this dimension in sub-chapter „Stability and predictability of security environment“ of chapter III., „Security Policy of the Slovak Republic“. However, similarly as for instance in the strategies of the Czech Republic and Hungary, also in the Slovak Security Strategy there exists the coverage of regions, which are analysed and against which are directed the aims of security policy. It concerns West Balkan, Middle East and Mediterranean area.

Towards the West Balkan, the SR wants to promote their European and Euro-Atlantic integration and to help at the building of multiethnic societies and functional governments. In the document (similarly as in the ESS) there are not any concrete standpoints to the solution of problems, which shall be in the limelight of the NATO and also the EU in the period of realisation of the strategy (Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

More general standpoints to the problems of regions Mediterranean Sea and the Near and Middle East are taken in comparison with the ESS, with the accent to stabilisation of situation, overcoming of economic stagnation and measures against the spreading of illegal migration, organised crime and terrorism. The solution of the Israel-Arab conflict through peace means is considered as the strategic priority. (In comparison with the ESS, no standpoint is taken to the Barcelonan process.)

51 Directive art.3.4.4 „The Part of new approach toward defence is the need for first time to define political-military ambitions, that shall come out from defined threats to interest of SR, from the level of preparation and capabilities of Armed Forces and from commitmens of SR (resulted from international treaties on common defence and other treaties)

52 In the EU, this problem is in the proposed clause of solidarity, article I-43 b) of the draft constitutional agreement

53 Security Strategy offSR article 18 „...Terrorism utilises ideologies supporting the racial, ethnic, or religious hatred ...“

For understandable reasons (similarly as at the other Central-European states) the Central-European space is in the SS of SR defined as an important space for the security policy⁵⁴. Therefore also in the measures there is included, in addition to the utilisation of potential of the European Council and the OECD, the Central-European Initiative and the extraordinary position of V 4.

In comparison with previous strategic documents, it formulates more concrete attitudes to Ukraine, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Russia. In the relation to Ukraine, the SS of SR responds to current changes, it expresses the support for pluralistic democracy, political and economic stability as the precondition of regional security, and also security of the SR. In comparison with the ESS, it expresses the interest that Ukraine, following the fulfilment of criteria, should become the member of the NATO and the EU. In the relation to the countries of the CIS, the SS of SR considers as important their wider involvement in the cooperation with transatlantic and European structures, the solution of crises in Transcaucasian and Middle-Asia regions and the strengthening of democracy and rule of law in Belorussia and Moldova. Russia is evaluated as an important subject, which shall influence the security situation in the Euro-Asia region. Slovakia intends to support the development of strategic partnership of Russia with the NATO and the EU⁵⁵.

IV.3 International order

Similarly as the security documents of compared Central-European states, also the SS of SR does not contain the term of „effective multilateralism“. The ESS underlines the commitment to the protection and development of international law, with the accent to the UN Charter and the primary responsibility of the Security Council. As the priority there are stated the strengthening of the UN and its ability to act effectively. In comparison with the SS of SR, the NATO is mentioned only as an important expression of transatlantic relations, which are the key element of international system. As the part of quoted multilateral system there are stated further organisations – World Trade Organisation, regional organisations (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, African Union).

The approach of the SS of SR to the problems of international order is unrelenting already from the assessment of security environment. By its membership in the UN, OSE and other regional organisations, the SR contributes to the overall endeavour of international community. At the same time it underlines, however, the importance of our accession to the NATO as the pillar of transatlantic stability and security and to the EU, first of all with the meaning of political and economic stabilisation. The SS of SR understands the membership in international and regional organisations as the possibility of realisation of its security interests, at which it appreciates the importance of international institutions, at the head with the UN. As a certain response to the change of security environment, the document states, however, that the form of security institutions and international right have to reflect the changes in the character of security threats, and it shall support also the adoption of new international standards, where it is desirable⁵⁶. The SR assumes the guarantee of its security

54 Geopolitical position of the SR in the Central Europe determines the security policy of the SR. The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are members of the NATO and the EU, Austria is the member of the EU. Ukraine, our biggest neighbour, declares the Euro-Atlantic orientation with the aim to achieve the membership in the EU and the NATO. Article 12 of the SS of SR

55 Relations with Russia shall be built on the principle of mutual advantageousness of the economic cooperation. As the member of the NATO and the EU, the SR shall support the development of strategic partnership of these organisations with Russia, including an open dialogue on the resources of instability and potential security threats. The SR shall contribute to the continuation of political transformation, consolidation of democracy and economic reforms in Russia. Article 78 of the SS of SR

56 SS of SR article 64

and the possibility to actively form the security environment primarily within the framework of membership in the NATO and the EU. Also when it is possible to discuss, whether this approach reflects also the order of attitudes to the organisations, in the document they are put in the order - the NATO, the EU, the UN (articles 68-70). Therefore the membership in the NATO represents the guaranteed security, and the SR consider as important, that it should remain the main platform in the development of cooperation in security and military fields in the Euroatlantic space. The SR assumes at the same time an active implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the European Security and Defence Policy of the EU. As far as the UN is concerned, it expresses the support for its reform, which is to increase its readiness for action (the reform is not explicitly mentioned in the ESS), including adoption of universal international standards especially in the field of fight against defined threats and challenges. At the attempt to make the cooperation with the UN and regional organisations more effective, there is mentioned first of all the cooperation with the NAO and the EU.

From the view of comparison of the approach to transatlantic relations, and namely to the quoted balanced partnership with the USA (according to the ESS), the Slovak document attaches an extraordinary position to the relations of the SR with the USA⁵⁷.

Conclusion

In the previous decade Slovakia concentrated to the attainment of two strategic objectives – to become a full-value member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and of the European Union. Both objectives have been attained thanks to the transparent security policy of the Slovak Republic.

By the accession to NATO the Slovak Republic has become a part of the collective defense and security system as a pillar of the Trans-Atlantic security and stability and by the admission to the European Union Slovakia has won guarantees of the political and economic stability, as well as the possibility to actively participate in the formulation, implementation and strengthening of the European security and defense policy.

The Slovak Republic reacted to these changes by the preparation of new strategical documents – of the Security and Defense strategy.

NATO is, from the view of Slovakia, the most important expression of the Trans-Atlantic relations and guarantee of the long-term stability in the region and for Slovakia it represents the decisive security forum. The Slovak Republic regards the Organisation as basic pillar of both European and own security. However Slovakia takes into account the fairly fast development on the field of the European security and defense. In its security the Slovak Republic intends to achieve that NATO remains the main platform for the development of multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the security and military areas within the Euro-Atlantic space. However it also envisages the active involvement in the creation and implementation of the EU common foreign and security policy, the enforcement of objectives defined in the European Security Strategy and the strengthening of the crisis management capacity.

57 SS of SR article 73. Extraordinary position from the standpoint of ..presadzovania.... security interests of SR will have relations between SR and USA. USA are the strategic Allie of SR. SR will strive for USA engagement in building of stable and secure Europe.