

# HOW TO REACH THE GOAL SET

The way which should lead Slovenia to NATO membership has been marked by important milestones in the development of relations between Slovenia and the Alliance. In 1993 the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia passed a Resolution on the starting-points for a national security plan, which enabled the next logical step. With a view to becoming a candidate for NATO membership, Slovenia submitted a Partnership for Peace Presentation Document to the Alliance in 1994, and became an associate member of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) that same year. In 1995 Slovenia began implementing the first phase of the Planning and Review Process (PARP).



March 30, 1994: approach made by the Republic of Slovenia to join Partnership for Peace – quite a “bite” for the then Slovenian Foreign Office, headed by Lojze Peterle and, as a matter of fact, Premier Drnovšek’s Government as a whole.

Photo: NATO

## Decisions made so far

An agreement on the status and movement of IFOR/SFOR forces was signed in 1995. In accordance with this agreement, Slovenia permitted these allied forces unimpeded transit across its territory. In 1996 Slovenia became a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. That same year the accession process shifted to a higher level when the country began its individual dialogue with NATO. 1996 also saw the beginning of dialogue on full membership with NATO in Brussels, based on a decision by Parliament. In April 1997 the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia adopted a declaration on NATO membership. Then, in August 1997, Slovenian president Milan Kučan signed an order establishing the Republic of Slovenia’s Mission to NATO and the WEU.

At its summit in Madrid that same year (1997) the NATO alliance issued a membership invitation to three former East Bloc countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Further, it emphasized that its doors remained open to other possible new members. Although Slovenia and Romania did not receive a membership invitation that year, they were mentioned as the best-prepared future candidates. In October 1997 Slovenia sent members of the Slovenian Army to the SFOR operation. In March 1998 the government presented its national strategy for NATO membership.

A second important event for Slovenia with regard to the country’s aspirations to achieve full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization occurred in 1998, when the “Cooperative Adventure Exchange 98” military training exercises took place. These were the first NATO exercises which the Alliance held in one of its partner nations. During the exercises, Slovenia proved its abilities in the area of “host nation support”, that is, a country’s ability to receive NATO forces on its territory and support their function. Besides the NATO member states, Slovenia and other partner nations also participated in these exercises.

1998 opened a third important chapter in NATO accession, namely, NATO’s intervention in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, during which Slovenia’s deport-

ment was that of an ally. On September 13, 2001 the North Atlantic Council approved a statement wherein its members expressed their solidarity and their preparedness to fulfill the obligations set forth in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, should it be confirmed that the terrorist attack on the United States of America was launched from a foreign country. This statement of solidarity was not limited merely to NATO members. It is necessary to recall the provisions of a second document, in which NATO offered to consult with the active signatories thereof if, at any time, any of them should become aware of a direct threat to its territorial integrity, political independence, or security. This was contained in the “Framework Document of the Partnership for Peace”, which was also an invitation to interested countries to join the Partnership for Peace, founded in 1994. Therefore, mutual interaction among partner countries forms an important chapter in relations between NATO and each individually, for this is also, by its nature, what membership in the Partnership for Peace is all about.

A third, somewhat “connecting” docu-

ment on the road to NATO membership is the Membership Action Plan (MAP), which was adopted at the Washington Summit in 1999. Shortly afterward, individual countries – among them Slovenia – began implementing this plan in the form of their Annual National Program (ANP). This document and the process it initiated closed the circle linking all the activities of the member states, participants in the Partnership for Peace and the nine most ambitious candidates for NATO membership: Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. With the help of the Action Plan, these previously rather scattered activities began to function in a better-oriented manner.

## NATO Membership Action Plan – Origin of the concept and early implementation

We should recall that the NATO Membership Action Plan originated and was presented at a historical moment that represented a breakthrough in NATO’s orientation and quality of development. On the symbolic level, the 50th anniversary of the

27 members of the Slovenian Army’s medical unit were also engaged as part of AFOR, international peace-keeping forces headed by NATO on its mission in Alba, Albania in mid-1999.



Photo: B. Kofic

establishment of this military-political alliance was still in the air. The past met the outlines of the future with the acceptance of the three new alliance members and the planned efforts for integrating them into NATO as soon as possible. At the time of the Washington meeting, the eyes of the international public were fixed on events in the Balkans and NATO's intervention in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The efforts to integrate these new NATO members bore fruit in the important recognition which constitutes the essential value of the concept and document approved at the Washington Summit – the Action Plan, which was to prepare the most serious candidates for the challenges of full membership as well as possible.

The NATO Membership Action Plan is a sort of catalogue, in which NATO indirectly describes the desired profile of a new NATO member in five key areas. The Annual National Program (ANP) for implementing this plan is a tool for individual dialogue with NATO, in which the individual country itself designates, for each of the five areas, the goals, methods and deadlines for implementation that will most effectively bring it closer to the expected profile of a new member. The country thus does not negotiate regarding the contents, but rather consults with NATO and, through an individual dialogue with it, approaches the minimum standards for praxis in planning and joint activity with the nineteen NATO members, in particular, in the areas of political and economic issues, defense and military issues, security issues, and the legal and financial conditions of such activity. At the same time, NATO sets only the implementation conditions for the dialogue, namely, that the country participates in this dialogue by producing an Annual National Program for realization of the Membership Action Plan, that it designates its goals and ranks them according to their importance, that it produces specific time schemes for preparations in each of the five areas, that it documents this process and submits the documents to NATO, and that it participates in the process of evaluating its own progress in achieving the individually chosen goals. The ANP MAP is a document which is approved by the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, while the progress report is a document elaborated and approved by NATO.

Slovenia is now preparing its third ANP MAP, this time for the period from 2001 to 2002. Before examining this period, which is crucial for judging the candidates' suitability, we shall consider the Action Plan as an instrument.

#### **NATO Membership Action Plan – development of the concept and first phase**

Introduction of the NATO Membership Action Plan was a practical expression of NATO's commitment to further enlargement. At the same time, it offered NATO



Photo: B. Knific

**On June 19, 2001, a squad of the Slovenian Army, part of the international battalion made up of international peace-keeping forces from Austria, Hungary and Slovenia, concluded its UNFICYP mission within the framework of UN.**

candidates an action program, thereby supporting their efforts towards (more) thorough preparation for possible membership. Here the principle of individuality applies, which means that NATO holds a dialogue on this matter with each country separately. All decisions on proposed measures are solely in the hands of the individual candidate countries, where both their planning and their implementation are concerned. The Action Plan put the principle of self-differentiation into effect. This means that candidates themselves determine where they require additional forms of participation. The program offers candidates a series of activities, from which they can choose those which, in their judgment, contribute best to their preparation for possible membership. Active participation in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the mechanisms of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) remain the fundamental mechanisms for deepening political and military cooperation with NATO. The Membership Action Plan is not a stage-by-stage contest among the most ambitious candidates. It is an individual process which differs in terms of content for each country. Similarly, it does not provide a timetable according to which individual countries would receive an invitation for membership in NATO. The Action Plan is likewise not a final list of criteria for membership in NATO. This means that the five identified areas do not necessarily exhaust the range of areas which will be subject to scrutiny when assessing candidates for membership. The Action Plan has no notion of still-open or already-closed chapters, such as is found in the accession negotiations for the European Union's process of enlargement. Thus the weight of individual criteria, for instance, on the military level, can

change. Deciding on new members remains completely within the realm of politics, and only one of the apparent criteria has become more transparent and measurable thanks to the Membership Action Plan. The benefits of its implementation, however, are by no means only for NATO.

The NATO Membership Action Plan comprises the five chapters already mentioned. Within each, the Action Plan sets out the issues and mechanisms, and candidates themselves may identify which ones would best contribute to the effectiveness and success of their preparations for possible membership. Thus NATO can support the efforts of candidates in those areas which represent the weakest elements in each individual candidature, namely, by consulting with them, according to the specific features of each, in choosing the most effective route. This is not only a means of deepening communication between NATO and the candidates in terms of content, but also a mechanism for ensuring rational use of the resources which the candidates have invested in the membership preparation process.

By taking part in the NATO Membership Action Plan, each candidate nation has pledged to elaborate an Annual National Program for its preparations for possible future membership. In it, the candidate must designate the aims and goals of such preparations and indicate the measures chosen for achieving them, the official bodies responsible, and the deadlines for implementation. The candidates may modify this program based on lessons-learned during an individual phase or upon achieving a certain goal. With the help of this document, NATO may track the progress of each individual candidate and contribute to each individual national process through feedback, consultation



**Closing ceremony of CAE – NATO members and partner-states manoeuvres held in November 1998: Mr Milan Kučan, president of Slovenia, addressed the participants of the international logistic exercise. CAE brought together 5,000-odd members of armed forces and more than 4,000 vehicles. Wesley Clarke, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces, also made an address.**

Photo: Marjan Garbajš



and its own final evaluation. Using the methodology prescribed by the Action Plan, NATO can observe individual national processes, which are full of particularities, within common areas of activity. The candidates, on the other hand, can use the resources at their disposal more rationally and channel them better thanks to such an approach, while at the same time controlling the process as a whole and the mutual influence between the individual areas. Setting out from the enthusiastic cooperation of candidates everywhere that NATO has offered such an opportunity, the Action Plan and national programs compel planners and implementers to undertake more carefully thought-out planning and measurement of the effective use of the time, personnel and money invested.

During the first phase, i.e. the period 1999–2000, it was typical that candidates understood the methodological value of the Action Plan in their own fashion. While the NATO Membership Action Plan and the national programs for its implementation do enable comparison among candidates, NATO primarily compares the progress made against the NATO membership profile, and not candidates among one another. Yet the candidates wrote their first national programs, to paraphrase the well-known U.S. Professor dr. Simon, like school homework, using comparisons among themselves as their starting point and, intentionally or not, competing for NATO's favor as much as possible. To judge by the example of Slovenia, at least, the consequences were not foreseen by anyone, neither how far-reaching they were nor how obstinate. Moreover, NATO learned something as well. Fortunately somewhat faster than the candidates, for it had within its ranks three nations who could only envy the opportunity for getting better prepared which MAP offered candidates left standing at the door in Madrid.

### **Content of the Membership Action Plan**

Let's take another look. The five areas included in MAP parallel a strategic leader's thoughts on how to effectively ensure the security of a given country: political and economic issues, defense and military issues, financial and personnel resources, and security issues.

#### **Political and economic issues**

Candidates may consult with NATO regarding their preparedness and strengthening their ability to undertake the obligations of the Washington Treaty and the provisions of the Study on NATO Enlargement. At the same time, they must implement the principles on which NATO is founded, besides which it is also expected that they will handle issues involving a dispute with other countries by peaceful means, that they are committed to a legal state and human rights, and that they are capable of resolving ethnic and other international conflicts peacefully, in accordance with the principles of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and in the spirit of good neighborly relations. Candidates must have adequate, well-established and functioning mechanisms for democratic civilian control of their armed forces; refrain from threatening to use or using military force in a manner that does not conform to the Charter of the United Nations; con-

tribute to the development of peaceful and friendly international relations for the benefit of stability and growth; and support and take part in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace. In this manner they must show their dedication to preserving and establishing stability and the development of a market economy, social justice and a proper relationship to the natural environment.

Upon accession to NATO, candidates should be able to contribute forces for collective defense and preserving peace and stability, and to share the responsibility, costs and benefits. They should commit themselves to building consensus within the Alliance on all matters, participate in the process of consulting and decision-making on political and security issues which are in NATO's interest, and commit themselves to maintaining the Alliance's openness to new members, in accordance with the Washington Treaty and the Madrid and Washington Declarations.

It is expected of candidates that their Annual National Programs will describe the development of national policy and practice as directed towards the expectations described above, and present their views, preparedness and ability to implement these aims and goals, as well as others which are enumerated in NATO's Strategic Concept, the document on the development of a European security and defense identity within NATO, and the documents on relations between NATO and Russia and NATO and the Ukraine. Candidates are expected to report annually, in their Annual National Program, on the state of their economy, and to provide macroeconomic indicators and data as well as information on their national budget and planned or anticipated economic growth.

#### **Defense and military issues**

Candidates' ability to contribute militarily to NATO's collective defense, as well as to implementing other NATO tasks, and their preparedness to undertake gradual improvement of their military capabilities are factors which will be taken into account when assessing their suitability for membership in NATO. Complete participation in the more operationally-conceived Enhanced Partnership for Peace program is a key element, since it deepens candi-

### **Planning and Review Process (PARP)**

In this process, which takes place in two-year cycles, a country presents its national defense policy and defense planning, defines its share of peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, and sets out its policy for limiting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Besides this, the written document in which the content of this process is set forth also describes the country's defense plans for a five-year period, the degree to which the goals of interoperability and, now, partnership goals have been attained, and the progress achieved in implementing partnership goals during the past year. The planning and review process actually mirrors the process which takes place among alliance members.



dates' political and military ties to NATO and thus assists them in making preparations for participation in the full spectrum of alliance tasks. New NATO members must be prepared to accept their share of the involvement, risks, responsibility, benefits and burden of common security and collective defense. Candidates are expected to adopt the Alliance's strategy, as set forth in NATO's Strategic Concept and other documents approved by the Alliance's leadership.

Upon joining the Alliance, candidates must adopt NATO's security concept, as stated in NATO's Strategic Concept, provide forces and capabilities for collective defense and other alliance tasks, participate at an appropriate level in the military structure, NATO defensive planning and NATO bodies, and, furthermore, support the Partnership for Peace, the development of cooperation with partner nations, and the achievement of NATO standards and interoperability.

In this area, some measures have been devised to help candidates develop their military capabilities, including strengthening their degree of interoperability and their ability to make a substantial contribution to NATO's military effectiveness.

For this purpose, candidates may, in accordance with existing procedures within the PFP, develop Individual Partner Programs designed to fit their needs, so that they are better able to focus on matters crucial to their candidature for NATO membership. As part of the annual meetings between NATO and the candidates, the latter may receive bilateral and multilateral forms of assistance and consulting. Within the general framework of the Planning and Review Process (PARP) and in accordance with PARP procedures, specific planning goals are developed in cooperation with the candidates concerning those areas which are most relevant in preparing them and their armed forces for

membership in NATO. For this purpose, a process of reviewing progress in achieving the planned goals, with reference to military forces and capabilities, has been established. These goals are determined based on bilateral consulting between NATO and each candidate separately, and may apply to any component of the armed forces, not just those intended for participation in the Partnership for Peace. This process is transparent and open to consulting among candidates themselves as well, not just between candidates and NATO. Candidates may be invited to observe and take part in certain phases of NATO exercises, as determined by the North Atlantic Council and in accordance with the prescribed procedures.

#### Resource-related issues

NATO expects that new members will ensure financial resources for defense purposes in an amount sufficient for fulfilling the obligations that derive from membership in NATO. Therefore, the candidates' national programs should establish the necessary structures for planning and implementing defense budgets that will be adequate to the priority tasks of their defense systems, as they themselves shall determine, and enable the training of army personnel for carrying out staff procedures and work within NATO. These should be the core preparations in the area of ensuring resources. Immediately prior to acceptance into NATO, candidates should allocate sufficient budgetary funds for fulfillment of the obligations of NATO membership, have national structures in place for handling these budgetary funds, be capable of contributing an agreed amount to activities financed from the common NATO budget, participate in NATO structures such as a permanent representative office at NATO headquarters and a military representative office within the NATO command structure, and take



Photo: NATO

part in NATO working committees and agencies, likewise in the agreed scope.

In order to prepare candidates for realizing goals in the area of resources, NATO has offered consulting on the development of national structures, procedures and mechanisms for this purpose. Likewise, forms of assistance in training military and civilian staff for work in NATO and with NATO have been placed at the candidates' disposal.

#### Security issues

Upon acceptance into NATO, candidates should have mechanisms and procedures in place for ensuring the security of the most sensitive information, in accordance with NATO's policies for handling such matters. For this purpose, NATO has offered candidates training programs, which candidates may adapt to their own specific needs. NATO Security Committee may meet with representatives of the candidates whenever it is necessary or beneficial.

#### Legal issues

In order that candidates may prepare to fulfill the obligations of NATO membership, they must become familiar with the legal arrangements and agreements that regulate cooperation among NATO members. On this basis, candidates should review their national legislation and bring it into line with NATO regulations. Candidates must be well-acquainted with the legal procedures for NATO accession itself.

Upon acceptance into NATO, the new members will enter into the North Atlantic Treaty, or Washington Treaty, of 1949, as well as a number of international and technical agreements that regulate NATO's joint activities, the status of different kinds of representative bodies of NATO and the Alliance's members, and defense and technical matters. This concerns the following key documents, among others: the Agreement Between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Regarding the Status of their Forces, i.e. the London Agreement of 1951, the Agreement Between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Regarding the Security of Information, the Agreement on Mutual Safeguarding of Secrecy of Inventions (where these are related to defense

**In early 90-ties Slovenia paid close attention to what was happening in neighboring countries, specifically its former sister republics in the federal state. NATO peace-keeping forces were then deployed in ex-Yugoslavia on an IFOR mission. Sanpshot from 1996: British brigade in action near Šipovo.**



Photo: B. Kečič

**In October 1997 Slovenia contributed a unit of the Slovenian Armed Forces to take part in the SFOR operation, while in March 1998 the Slovenian Government presented its NATO affiliation strategy.**



and have been patented), and the Agreement on Communication of Technical Information for Defense Purposes. For access to information on nuclear technology, new members must enter into a basic cooperative agreement with regard to information on nuclear matters and an administrative agreement on implementation of this basic agreement. For the rest, national legislation should be compatible with the organization and practice of NATO activities to the greatest possible degree.

For this purpose, NATO has offered workshops on legal issues and the neces-

sary measures for achieving such compatibility. Through these forms of assistance, candidates may familiarize NATO with their existing legal order and the steps which will be necessary for entry into all agreements, including questions related to the constitutional and legal framework for such entry, should this exist. Candidates may also receive consulting on the effect of national legislation on immediate and total inclusion in NATO activities.

implementation of the NATO Membership Action Plan. The third phase actually began in May of last year, when Slovenia received its progress report for the period 2000-2001.

The process of generating an Annual National Program for implementation of the NATO Membership Action Plan involves all the relevant ministries, which, according to their area of competence, are active in implementing goals in one or more areas of the Action Plan. The chapters of the document reflect the structure of the Action Plan. The national manager for the Annual National Program is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After this ministry, the second most actively involved is the Ministry of Defense. Of course, this does not mean that dedication to the goals of the Annual National Program is any less, or less important, among the other ministries. The first draft of the document is discussed in the Interdepartmental Working Group (IWG) for cooperation with NATO. The IWG harmonizes the activities and plans of all the ministries and government offices involved, and acts as a motor driving implementation of the NATO Membership Action Plan. The document produced within this forum is then approved by the government. Afterwards, the Republic of Slovenia's Permanent Mission to

eign affairs and defense ministries first meet with NATO regarding the Annual National Program at a session of the Alliance's Senior Political Committee in its reinforced form in the 19+1 format). This year the meeting will occur in October/November. Subsequently, Slovenia will be visited by NATO's numerical expert group, which, at least according to experience from the previous year, will not overlook even the slightest detail in the document. This is the point where two large projects come together: the Annual National Program and the Survey of Overall Interoperability. Although the Annual National Program, specifically its chapters on defense and military issues, also represents the key document in relation to PARP, the latter is crucial for achieving goals in the area of military affairs, and represents an autonomous whole with its own character and dynamics. The product of this process should be actual military forces and the ability to make a substantial contribution to NATO's military effectiveness. Beginning in 2001, this overview also includes a review of activities in the Individual Partner Program.

The meetings with the NATO expert group have become exceptionally demanding, both in terms of content as well as organization. This year as well we can



Photo: Mirjan Garbajs

**Lining up of the "Cooperative Adventure Exchange '98" in end-November 1999 along the runway of the military airport at Cerklje ob Krki.**

This, then, is how future new NATO members are expected to look. As is the case in, for example, the European Union, NATO's expectations represent the image of an ideal member. How consistently the organization which the candidates are trying to enter applies this image, however, is another matter. With regard to the fact that each expansion is a unique and probably unrepeatable experiment in policy and measurable facts, the European Union and NATO are in the same boat.

**The process of individual dialogue**

So this is the Membership Action Plan, as it was defined in 1999. The process of its implementation in the form of the Annual National Programs in each separate country and individual dialogue with NATO has, however, been modified and supplemented as time goes on, and both NATO and the candidates gain experience. Though we do not wish to burden ourselves here with learning from past attempts and errors, let's take a brief look at the process of dialogue with NATO as we expect it to proceed in the third phase of



Photo: T. Polencec

**Elaboration of the NATO membership action plan 2001-2002 - a good opportunity for Slovenia to redefine its priorities and restructure the national defense-and-security system.**

NATO submits it to NATO's International Staff. This took place this year during the first days of October/last days of September. At this time, as well as later, Slovenia may consult with individual NATO members who have assumed the role of sponsor for implementation of the Action Plan, as well as at workshops with NATO representatives regarding those areas (e.g. defense spending, legal issues, public relations) in which the country has determined, in consultation with NATO, that it requires additional advice or training.

Representatives of, in general, the for-

expect the lights at the ministry and the General Staff of the Slovenian Army to go on burning well into the night. Based on the outcome of the meeting and the expert group's report, the defense section of the Slovenian delegation in particular will prepare for a meeting with the Political-Military Steering Committee at NATO headquarters. Based on the dialogue at this forum, and the answers and explanations given in response to the questions asked, NATO will prepare a report for the members of the North Atlantic Council, that is, the ambassadors of the member

states, whom the Slovenian delegation will encounter at the ministerial level sometime before the end of the spring. During all this time, the member states may, on the basis of the Annual National Program or the Survey of Overall Interoperability, as well as the explanations submitted and views exchanged during the two previously-mentioned forums, pose additional questions. The final act in this dialogue is a report on success in implementing the Membership Action Plan, as approved by the North Atlantic Council.

**Experience from the second cycle 2000–2001: emphasis on the chapters on defence-military and resources issues**

Let's say that the first phase was a time of learning for Slovenia as a candidate and for NATO as well. We can then say that the second phase was not really a cycle. Why? First of all, because progress between the two cycles was scant, and, second, because the openness and realism of dialogue and self-evaluation pointed in one direction – back, back to reflection on how to achieve what we declared to be our strategic goal. Already at the time the document originated, and even more so following dialogue with NATO, tension could be detected between what was declared and what was possible, between desires and the actual conditions for realizing them. Decisions which were of strategic significance for the continuing development of the defense system had already been made, and already committed us to making decisions and taking measures on the executive level (one such document is the General Long-Term Development and Equipment Program of the Slovenian Armed Forces), but these were based on a quite differently conceived process of assessment, decision-making and enacting measures, and on a different and differently perceived security reality, namely, one that required the creation of a defense system on a new basis, from scratch, in a not always peaceful security environment. What proved most crucial of all things was not money, but rather time. Time to understand, time for adaptation, time for re-assessing the security environment as well as our own defense system and, furthermore, the national security system.

When the final progress report was received at the end of the second phase there was not disappointment, but relief: thanks to the thought process through which dialogue with NATO had put us, certain matters that had been unclear were now obvious facts. Due to the previously-mentioned facts regarding the change in the role and specific weight of military criteria, the progress report was not favorable. The message – or, more precisely, the question – was finally quite clearly articulated. The whole country would enter NATO, not just its individual systems. Thus, NATO did not pay too

much attention to data and reports regarding the politico-economic part of the national program. Progress in one area did not compensate for inadequate evaluations in others; that is, the evaluation of a country's progress is not the average of evaluations in individual areas. The disproportion between political maturity and economic capability and preparedness in the defense, military, personnel and security areas pointed a finger at the credibility of communication on a working level. Progress and development in other areas remained in the shadow.

So why speak of relief? The Membership Action Plan, as we have seen, comprises expectations and goals. In other words, what needs to be achieved, what final effect this process of implementation ought to produce. So drafting the national program represents our own selection of what, in our evaluation, still needs to be done in order to achieve this. And it's not a question of WHAT we need to achieve, but rather HOW. At the end of the cycle it was finally clear that, as a candidate, we were not competing with other candidates, and that no one was evaluating this competition. The evaluation concerns our achievements in relation to full NATO members. Or, in other words, it concerns creating new or supplementing existing procedures and decision-making processes, which, in the current security environment, should produce, via a comprehensive approach, such a system of national security and, in this case, a defense system whose functioning enables the achievement of the aforementioned goals.

The substance of the achievements from the second phase of implementation of the NATO Membership Action Plan was, therefore, not tangible, material, but rather of a conceptual nature. In fact, we took a step backwards, to speed up the process. As if someone reminded us of our school



**In accordance with the projected requirements, the restructured Slovenian Army will include a substantially larger share of professionals.**

years. Let's begin at the beginning. What are the security threats today? What will threaten us in the foreseeable future and, perhaps, beyond it? And then, how to act preventively? Where? At the national borders or somewhere further away from them? Using what means? And at what cost? Who will do this and how do we train them, so that they will know how and want to do it? Where is the world going? Is it inclined towards communities like ours? Can we make a change, have an influence, in this regard? Can we have an influence and even share in the decision-making? Will we do this in coalitions that arise as the occasion demands, or just in one? The key problems which the second cycle brought to light, and straight to the attention of the strategic leaders, were the tasks of the defense system in changed security environment, the size and structure of the armed forces, its level of training, the procurement of weapons and equipment, what amount of the military budget would per-

**Individual Partnership Program (IPP)**

Based on the Presentation Document which each member of the Partnership for Peace presents upon joining it, as well as additional proposals by NATO and each partner country, the latter produces an Individual Partnership Program (IPP) for a two-year period. The IPP contains the partner country's political goals, as these proceed from the PFP, its military and other capabilities which are available for the PFP, the goals of cooperation with NATO in individual areas of cooperation, and the specific activities which the country will undertake in each area of cooperation. Each partner country chooses these activities itself, based on its own needs and priorities. It selects from among the activities offered in the Partnership Working Program, a collection of all the activities to which both the partner countries and NATO contribute in all areas of cooperation within the PFP.

The Partnership Working Program for the years 2001 and 2002 offers 23 areas of cooperation; these give a broader definition to the area of defense, which means that their content is not only military in nature. They include: air defense, control of air space, leadership and command, communication and information systems, navigation and identification systems, interoperability, procedures and terminology, crisis management, democratic control of the armed forces, defense planning, planning, organizing and managing national equipment programs, defense policy and strategy, military geography, research and development in the defense area, language instruction, logistics, health care in the armed forces, meteorological support, military infrastructure, standardization, and training.



mit the aforementioned tasks and, moreover, how to handle this budget. Although doubts regarding what percentage of the public was inclined towards NATO membership were also heard in the dialogue, NATO brought up the issue of public relation more as a matter concerning approach, and not the then-current percentages for or against. Was NATO right? This too revealed itself to us. We finally understood the questions raised regarding security issues, or the approval of the Law on Protecting Classified Information and its implementation: by delaying we would disqualify ourselves from integration into NATO, since we would lack access to documents that countries invited to become members receive immediately. These form the condition for carrying out the accession procedure itself.

Flying over Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Photo: T. Polencec

The difficulty of dialogue with NATO also increased because its representatives and the representatives of its members based their questions at the forums on their own experience at home. They have already been where we are now. We have not yet arrived where they are today. Thus they know from their own experience where, at which points, it is possible to measure whether a candidate knows how to realize the defined goal or not.

### **ANP MAP 2001–2002**

The Annual National Program for implementation of the NATO Membership Action Plan 2001–2002 thus differs from the two previous ones. Fortunately, the lessons from the second phase tallied with the achieved level of development of the defense system, which offers an opportunity for necessary changes in the defense and security system, or at least well-considered decisions about how to carry them out.

In producing the present Annual National Program, the principles of realism, clear priorities and achievable plans have

been applied as much as possible. The program is still ambitious. The final measure of its success is not its attractiveness but, rather, the degree to which it is implemented. The program is good, better than the previous two; however, if it does not produce results, if it is not carried out, then all the effort in the previous phase was in vain. In elaborating the program, the experience of the previous two phases, NATO's latest progress report, and opinions and advice from consultations with NATO members have all been taken into account.

### **Basic points of emphasis in the ANP MAP 2001–2002**

#### **Basic documents**

On June 21, 2001 Parliament approved a Resolution on National Security Strategy. The new national security strategy is the basis for strategy in this area, within the scope of the defense strategy and the documents on development and doctrines which will be harmonized and submitted to the government for approval by the end of 2001. Defense strategy is in the phase of harmonization with national security strategy, and will be approved in the Autumn of this year. Both strategic documents reflect the assumption that Slovenia's membership in NATO and the European Union is imminent.

#### **Defense planning**

The approval of a national security strategy, harmonization of the defense strategy, and preparation of an outline for a new structure of forces have, in particular, contributed to the progress made at the strategic level of planning. The groundwork has been laid for further development of the entire system of defense planning. A defense planning concept has been produced. Its implementation will begin in 2002.

During the first quarter of 2002 the strategic review of defense will be completed, resulting in more accurate linkage and coordination between national security strategy, defense strategy, the structure of the Slovenian Armed Forces, and the defense budget. The Slovenian Armed Forces General Long-Term Development and Equipment Program will be modified and submitted to Parliament for approval by the end of February 2002. In 2002 long-term, medium-term and short-term plans and a leadership corporate plan will be prepared and interconnected for use from 2003 onwards.

#### **Re-structuring the Slovenian Army**

Re-structuring the Slovenian Armed Forces is the primary goal of defense reform. The new structure of forces is designed for carrying out national defense and for reliable partnership within NATO. It is based on the missions and tasks which the Slovenian Armed Forces will

face in the future, and on the resources which will be available for these purposes. Among the tasks which the Slovenian Armed Forces may anticipate are those which arise from its obligations within the Alliance.

The period through 2004 is planned for accelerated transformation of the Slovenian Armed Forces and reduction of its wartime structure which will, as of the beginning of 2002, number approximately 47,000 personnel.

In order to achieve the aims of transforming and further developing the Slovenian Armed Forces, the size of wartime structure will be reduced so as to correspond to material, personnel and financial resources, to be comparable to the military structure of NATO members, to increase the proportion of peacetime formations, and to channel development, equipment and additional staff primarily towards reaction forces. The new doctrine of military defense will be sent to the government for approval during the first half of 2002. By the end of 2001, the Slovenian Armed Forces will be reduced to 47,000 members; in the first half of 2002 there will be 45,000 members, and by 2004 the army will comprise no more than 30,000 members. Decreasing the size of the Slovenian Armed Forces wartime structure will be achieved by reducing the number of brigades, as well as reducing territorial units within augmentation structures. Within the main forces, all battalions without a peacetime nucleus will be abolished in 2002.

The approved plans for equipping and modernizing the Slovenian Armed Forces have been aligned with goals in the defense and military area. For personnel restructuring purposes, a project for personnel development and a procedural methodology for manning the Slovenian Armed Forces with professional and contractual personnel will be elaborated by the end of 2001, and a system of awards and compensation will be put into effect. The changes in the Defense Act which Parliament will approve by the end of 2002 will enable problems in the areas of education, the promotion of military personnel, and military rank to be resolved. Following the planned improvements, the education and training system will answer to the needs of the new structure of forces and reflect the increased share of professional soldiers within it, as well as the nature of the tasks which the Slovenian Armed Forces will face in the future.

The planned structure of forces comprises professional units (A-echelon), units with a peacetime nucleus and reserve formations (B-echelon) and reserve formation units (R-echelon). The commands in eastern and western Slovenia, which will be maintained during the first phase of the re-structuring, are to be combined to form one operative command in 2003–2004. In accordance with the priority tasks and

plans, reaction forces will comprise up to 1,850 members, including gradual completion of numbers through new hiring as well as the use of contractual soldiers, which will be a supplementary form of manning the Slovenian Armed Forces, taking effect as of 2002. By the end of that year, a 10th motorized battalion will have been formed, equipped and trained as part of the reaction forces.

#### Peacekeeping operations

Slovenia has decided to increase its active contribution to ensuring regional security, namely, by sending additional Slovenian Armed Forces platoon to SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This means that 142 personnel of the Slovenian Armed Forces and police will be involved in peacekeeping operations in 2002, 112 of them Slovenian Armed Forces personnel and 30 police officers; 93% of overall participation in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations will be directed towards activities in the Balkans.

#### Regional interconnection

As part of its involvement in the area of defense in southeastern Europe (SEDM), Slovenia is intensively cooperating in the area of civilian-military crisis management. It has taken a leading role in the area of environmental protection within the armed forces.

As part of its participation in the Central European Nations' Cooperation in Peace Support (CENCOOP), Slovenia will chair its Political-Military Steering Committee in 2002.

The project for the formation and joint functioning of a multi-national land force of units from Italy, Hungary, and Slovenia will be a focal point of Slovenia's regional cooperation during this period. Military cooperation within this trilateral brigade has already begun in practice through military exercises, which will further intensify during 2002. Since September of this year, two officers and one noncommissioned officer of the Slovenian Armed Forces have been employed at the multi-national force's command center in Udine.

#### Implementation of Partnership Goals

Up till now, we have lacked a timetable for realizing Partnership Goals (PGs). Therefore, a plan for the implementation of PGs will be produced, in which all the participants in this process, their tasks, and an assessment of the necessary financial and personnel resources will be set forth.

#### Financial resources

The portion of the national budget which the state has appointed for defense is, in fact, interpreted by NATO as a numerical expression of a country's political and practical preparedness to take on the tasks and duties of possible NATO membership. However, in this regard it is even more important how the country manages



Photo: M. Kuhar

#### Primary goal of Slovenia's defense reform: re-structuring of the Slovenian Army

the resources which are at its disposal. A moderate growth in defense expenditures is only one of the points of entry in the process of defense planning for the future tasks of the Slovenian defense system.

Financial resources for achieving the priority goals of ANP MAP 2001-2002 have been determined by the government for the next two years and the projection of defense expenditures through the year 2007 and submitted to the parliament for discussion and adoption. The available resources do not allow the desired degree of growth in expenditures. Therefore, it will be necessary to make up the difference by using a solution similar to the basic development programs, covering the period of the next 4 or 5 years. There is already agreement to this within the government, based on the idea that Slovenia will achieve moderate growth in defense expenditures of between 1.5% and 1.6% of its GDP. The ministry intends to acquire some funds from the savings it anticipates due to organizational measures in the administrative section of the Ministry of Defense.

#### Personnel resources

The annual program concerning personnel resources remains a problem for which no practicable solutions have been developed, yet. In implementing tasks in the area of personnel management, only the identification of problems and paths to pursue in solving them has been achieved. This part of the plan is not ready for action to a sufficient degree. The development of a system of personnel management is also conditioned on the approval of legislation. This refers to the reform of public administration and amendment of the Defense Act. Despite this, Slovenia's preparedness in this area can still improve before its last meeting with the North Atlantic Council.

In accordance with the requirements of the proposed new structure of the Slovenian Armed Forces, Slovenia intends to substantially enlarge the role of professional soldiers. Growth is planned from 4,134 at the end of 2000 to around 5,300 in 2004, with a final figure of 7,100 in the year 2010. On the other hand, the total number of civilian personnel in the Ministry of Defense and the Slovenian Armed Forces will gradually decrease from the current 2,300 to 1,900.

The main goal of personnel management in the years 2001 and 2002 will be the development of an effective personnel policy. Changes will begin to be put into effect following the approval of modifications and amendments to the Defense Act in 2002.

ANP MAP 2001-2002 is, like the previous two plans, an open, living document throughout the entire cycle, which Slovenia may supplement and modify should it judge that it has made substantial progress in any of the five areas or approved an important decision.

#### Conclusion

The conclusion? There is none. It's not the end. The process which we have launched by implementing the Action Plan, the dialogue which we are holding with NATO, the search for the right questions and useful answers, arguments, the culture of decision-making, all of this will not end with entry into NATO. The process of implementing the Membership Action Plan is actually a mild reflection of the process that is continually unfolding within NATO itself. That one is even more demanding. Only the steps taken along the way have a different name. Partnership Goals become "force goals", while recommendations and progress reports give way to ministerial guidelines, concepts and the like. Recently, a colleague from one of the NATO member states told us: "Don't worry too much. It'll happen. But you'll find out once you get into NATO. Being in the Alliance is one big struggle - of arguments." He was thinking of that sometimes difficult to understand and at times awkward, slow or, in certain cases, unpopular formula, which nonetheless works. Consensus. ■

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