

**ROLE OF SMALL STATES IN INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF SLOVAKIA IN THE  
UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The role of small states in international relations is limited due to considerable power disparities in comparison to bigger states. However, this does not imply at all that small states do not matter in the international environment and cannot increase their voice in questions of global importance. This thesis analyses the possibilities provided to small states by international organizations to express their national interests related to issues of international concern and exert an impact on the course of global events. The study focuses on the argument that the United Nations Security Council, dominated by the permanent members leaves significant space also for small states to cover issues of global peace and security. This assumption will be demonstrated by examining the procedural changes in the Security Council brought by the end of the Cold War, which favor the role of non-permanent members. The thesis applies this finding on the surveyed case of Slovakia as a member in this UN body from 2006 till 2007 that successfully contributed to the solution of international problems. Furthermore, the study investigates issue-specificity, leadership and proposing country's specificity as determinants that are perceived as preconditions for the successful role of Slovakia in the Security Council. It traces causal links between these groups of variables and explains the potential of small states to achieve positive outcomes related to global policy matters.

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## INTRODUCTION

The role of small states in international relations and international organizations has been of major focus in several generations of literature. This is of particular concern in current times, because “[s]mall states today enjoy more international prestige and visibility than at any other time in history.”<sup>1</sup> While small states are definitely not the decisive actors in the international environment, I assume that they can and do intervene and defend their national interests in international relations, even if they might not be able to change them.

In this thesis, I will argue that there are ways, which favor the efforts of small states to have an impact on the formation of global politics with the result that “strengths do coexist with weaknesses.”<sup>2</sup> Hence, although small states tend to have a deficit in an autonomous foreign policy decision-making, there are possibilities to reduce such power disparities and strengthen their significance in the international arena mainly through an active and systematic approach in international organizations or through the means of multilateral diplomacy.

In this respect and on the basis of the aforementioned assumptions, the major focus in this thesis will be paid to the UN Security Council (SC, Council) and to an investigation of the current role of small states (non-permanent members) in this UN body. Although, I am convinced about its relevant place in international relations, my intention will not be to demonstrate the effectiveness and relevance of this organ, which has “the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.”<sup>3</sup> Its “elitist and undemocratic” composition (5 permanent members with the power of veto – USA, Russia, China, Great Britain and France – and 10 non-permanent members with a two-year tenure) is

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<sup>1</sup> Jeanne A.K. Hey, “Introducing Small State Foreign Policy”, in *Small States in World Politics. Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior* (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2003), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Alan Chong, “The Foreign Policy Potential of “Small State Soft Power” in Information Strategies.” (Manuscript, 2007) 34, Course Reader, Foreign Policy Analysis, Central European University, Budapest.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter V., Article 23(1), 1945.

a factor that in most cases contributes to the organ's more effective functioning than the General Assembly. One of the principal reasons is that the resolutions adopted by the members of this institution are legally binding for all UN member states without exceptions.<sup>4</sup>

Rather, what I am going to analyze in respect to this UN organ is the space for maneuver provided to the Council's non-permanent members to affect global security issues. Even though, major deficits of these countries do exist in the Council's decision-making in comparison to the *great powers* (permanent members), it is not to say that non-permanent members cannot increase their voice in the Council and influence the international society through this UN organ. I argue and this will also be the main hypothesis of the thesis that there is substantial space for small states or non-permanent members to play significant roles in the UN Security Council and in the decision-making procedures, where global security issues are discussed and approved, despite the strong claim that the Council is dominated by the permanent Five. The case of Slovakia as a non-permanent member in the UN SC (2006-2007) will serve to demonstrate my assumptions and support the hypothesis.

An analysis of the procedural changes that occurred in the Council after the end of the Cold War, when the bipolar division of the world and the dominance of the United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in this body have ceased to exist, will form the basis of my argumentation. Indeed, these changes lie mostly in the fundamentally increased number of the Council's weekly meetings, increased number of approved resolutions and Presidency Statements, considerably decreased number of vetoes and ever growing budget spending on the Council's missions. Also, more attention is paid to one of the main premises of the Security Council to maintain collective security through consensual decision-making. In present days, this occurs predominantly during informal consultations,

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<sup>4</sup> Ivo Samson, "Slovensko v tomto mesiaci predsedá po prvý raz a na dlhý čas zrejme aj naposledy Bezpečnostnej rade OSN. Predsedá Slovensko „nutnému zlu“?", Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, (Bratislava: 2007) 1, <http://www.sfpa.sk/dokumenty/publikacie/137> (accessed , May 27, 2008).

while unanimity and compromise are the main features of these meetings that make the non-permanent members more equal to the permanent ones than ever before. Furthermore, other aspects that may potentially designate the space for non-permanent members to have a say in global security issues concern the procedural rules related to the chairmanship of non-permanent members in the subsidiary bodies of the UN SC, and whatsoever to the monthly Presidency over the Council's business. Here, important tasks related to an overall organization of the Council's meetings, agenda setting and scheduling are entrusted to the member states.

The relevance and uniqueness of my research lies in the investigation of the assumption about these broadened competences of non-permanent members on a specific case of Slovakia in the UN SC, which has not been conducted yet. It is important to handle this particular country's performance during its two-year tenure 2006-2007, because this will demonstrate the fact that even small states are able to succeed on an international merit, while contributing to solutions of international problems through an active and systematic approach in international organizations. The main focus will be paid to Slovakia's Presidency in February 2007, when a far-reaching global policy proposal on the Security Sector Reform<sup>5</sup> (SSR) was presented for thematic discussion in the Council. No power of the veto, permanent membership, physical power capabilities or any other 'means of great powers' were needed for the Slovak delegation to realize its potential and play a key role in this prestigious UN organ.

In addition, it is also necessary for this study to elucidate the main factors, which enabled Slovakia to push on successfully with the SSR's proposal on international levels besides the more favorable working procedures of the Council provided to its non-permanent members. And therefore, the subhypothesis of the third part of the thesis will be based on the

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<sup>5</sup> The Security Sector Reform represents a crucial topic for peacekeeping operations in crises regions targeted towards controlling the security institutions – such as armed forces, police, secret service, guerilla armies as a decisive task for stabilizing these regions and preventing misuse of power.

assumption that the constellation of these factors, which can be materialized in a concrete policy outcome with an impact on global security, was a precondition for the success of Slovakia during multilateral negotiations in the Security Council. The topicality of the discussed case and even the absence of a comprehensive approach towards a particular non-permanent member state's success in the UN SC grounded on theoretical considerations and explanations are to be perceived as the main academic contributions of this thesis.

Answers to the following research questions will help me to support the statement that small states matter in international relations and have considerable space to influence the international life also through the performance in the UN SC. What are the changes that occurred in the working procedures of the SC and do they affect the role of non-permanent members in a favorable way? What are the possibilities for small states to play an active part in the Council's decision-making and influence the international system through the issues coming under the Council's competences?

In the second part of my thesis, I am going to handle the points concerning the presented hypothesis through applying on the case study of Slovakia and demonstrate the main expectations. In this respect, the questions: What were the main motives of the Slovak delegation in their ambitions to find a niche within the issues discussed under the UN SC competences? Who or which institutions were the main agenda initiators during the membership? Why is the Security Sector Reform presented by Slovakia in the UN SC considered as a global security issue of crucial importance?

The third analytical part of the thesis will discuss and elucidate the points that will handle the question: Which factors explain the fact that Slovakia as a small state in the UN SC managed to play a successful role in the Council, if it had the same competences as other small states, most of which did not succeed in issues of international concern to such an extent?

To pursue my study objectives and answer the research questions, there will be several methods that will assist my research and possibly assure significant outcomes. However, as for the main methodological criteria, *process tracing* as a form of case study research will be applied in this thesis. It will serve as the basis for constructing causal links between particular groups of variables (including the changed international environment, new working procedures of the Council, factors that contribute to success of small states in issues of international concern), which will all in all elucidate the positive outcomes of Slovakia achieved during the non-permanent membership in the UN SC (see the Appendix in the process of reading).

The theoretical part in the first chapter will be based on previous studies about the theory of small states, the definition of a small state and its foreign policy behavior in the international environment. The issue started to be discussed during the Cold War, and therefore definitions of several scholars<sup>6</sup> from this time will be presented. They pointed out their views on the role of small states in international relations and supported the assumption that although small states do have major power deficits, they are still able to have an impact on the development of international relations in a significant way, mainly through multilateral diplomacy and international organizations.

The second part of the theoretical framework will be related to the role of small states in a specific international organization – the UN, where I also intend to use scholarly material<sup>7</sup> to elaborate a theoretical basis for my further arguments in regards to the case of Slovakia. A single section in this chapter will be related solely to the SC and the roles of non-permanent members in this organ after several changes in working procedures occurred. Here, the argument about the new working mechanisms of the Council's deliberations will be presented that favor a more effective role of small states in world security issues, which come under the

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<sup>6</sup> David Vital, Robert O. Keohane, Robert Rothstein, Laurent Goetschel, Henrik Larsen, Erling Bjøl, Arne Olav Brundtland, August Schou

<sup>7</sup> Sean F. Lemass, Gunnar G. Schram and Jacques Freymond

competences of the SC. Some of the very relevant pieces of literature<sup>8</sup>, which served as the basis for answering the research questions related to this part of the thesis, were acquired during my research trip to the UN Office at Geneva Library.

The second chapter will be devoted solely to the case study of the Slovak membership in the UN SC. Because of the question's topicality, an analysis of the primary sources<sup>9</sup> will be of specific attention. The main argument of this part will be based on the delegation's proposal of SSR during the country's Presidency in February 2007. I will argue that Slovakia with this specific issue significantly contributed to a concrete security policy, and so, despite its limited physical power capabilities, managed to make use of the room provided for non-permanent members to have an impact on the international society through a wise foreign policy behavior.

Besides the analysis of the primary sources, *semi-structured interviews or consultations* were conducted that released backstage information from the Council's working procedures and supported my hypothesis. Two representatives of the Slovak delegation to the UN were interviewed – on 17 March 2008 H.E. Peter Burian<sup>10</sup>, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic to the United Nations and on 16 April 2008 Imrich Márton, who was dispatched as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Secretary of the Slovak Republic to the United Nations to reinforce the mission in New York for a two-year term and currently, holds the position of Deputy Head of Mission of the Slovak Republic in Hungary.

Unfortunately, both diplomats preferred to be interviewed without recording, and upon mutual

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<sup>8</sup> David M. Malone, Edward C. Luck, Kishore Mahbubani, Susan C. Hulton, Brian Frederking.

<sup>9</sup> Government materials that defined the priorities and framework of activities for the state's representatives at this organ, advices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the membership's assessments, the delegation's Presidency statements, reports and statements of the state's representatives.

<sup>10</sup> H.E. Peter Burian started his professional diplomatic career in 1983 in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (Department of Near East). In 1991 he continued his work in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic (Department of Near East). In 1992 he was dispatched to the diplomatic mission in Washington D.C. and continued to work there until 1996. Afterwards, he was employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak republic and in 1999 he was dispatched to the Slovak mission in the NATO as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. In 2004 after a year spent in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was entrusted with leading the Permanent mission of the Slovak republic to the United Nations as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

agreement I took detailed notes, which served as sources for paraphrasing their views and arguments in certain chapters of the thesis. Apart from this, a consultation with Ivo Samson, Senior researcher – International Security Program in the Slovak Foreign Policy Associations (SFPA) was conducted on 12 May 2008 and was very helpful for pursuing my research objectives.

The third chapter will be devoted to the determinants and arguments that will explain how Slovakia managed to achieve its goals so successfully in the UN SC. In this respect, through support of relevant pieces of literature<sup>11</sup> I will argue that issue-specificity, leadership and the proposing country's specificity are factors, which most likely contributed to Slovakia's efforts to enlarge its voice in international relations.

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<sup>11</sup> Oran R. Young, Christer Jönsson, Alan Chong, Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst, William Zartman, Mark Habeeb, Gunnar G. Schram.

# **CHAPTER 1 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – DEFINITION OF SMALL STATES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT**

The first chapter will be devoted to theoretical considerations that will serve as the necessary background for the topic under discussion. Several approaches to the definition of small states as subjects of the ever changing and developing international environment will be presented and designated for the purposes of this research. The role of small states in international organizations, with the focus on the United Nations will be assessed in the following part of the thesis, while explaining the argument about broader possibilities of non-permanent members to act in a more autonomous way in the Security Council after the end of the Cold War.

## **1.1 Defining the International Environment**

International relations develop constantly, and one may differentiate certain stages of this evolution through changes that have had a global impact on the subjects of international relations. It is the peace of Westphalia from 1648, when the role of states in international relations started to matter. From that time on, one may distinguish four stages of international relations, when the division of power has been altered in a significant way.<sup>12</sup> The current, fourth stage began with the end of the Cold War, a period shadowed by bipolarity and an ideological clash between the US and the USSR, or between countries ‘favoring’ the capitalist approach, or communist respectively, supported by these two superpowers. The post-Cold

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<sup>12</sup> The first one is the period from 1648 (signing the peace of Westphalia) to 1848 (Congress of Vienna); the second from 1848 – 1918 (end of the I. World War); the third from 1918 – 1989 (including the II. World War and the Cold War); fourth from 1989 – nowadays.

War era as I will refer to the current stage of international relations is dominated by the victorious side of the aforementioned ideological clash and the term unipolarity gives a true picture of the contemporary world division of power. From this introductory part, one may already realize that “[a]ny analysis of the international system puts the emphasis on power, and tends to concentrate attention on the great powers, who are credited, over-generously, with an ability to impose their will...”<sup>13</sup>

However, analyzing the role of states in certain stages of their interrelations and shifting the attention towards small states, it is perceivable that “[t]he problems, possibilities and behavior of small states vary considerably according to the types of international systems in which they operate - hegemonical systems, confrontation systems, integration systems, security communities...”<sup>14</sup> As for the current hegemonic system of international order, the voice of small states in comparison to their previous chances to influence issues of international concern has been strengthened. According to Knudsen, the decreased intention of great powers to promote their interests in the post-Cold War era led to a situation, when the roles of small states are perceived to be “prominent” and what is more also “problematic” to world politics.<sup>15</sup>

The military threats of the Cold War and the bipolar division of the world significantly diminished the chances of small states to play, if not a decisive then at least an important role in international relations. While small states became “clients of one of the two blocks,” “pawns in superpower games”, such a relationship has influenced the process of decision-

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<sup>13</sup> Jacques Freymond, “How the Small Countries Can contribute to Peace,” in *Small States in International Relations*, ed. August Schou, Arne Olav Brundtland (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1971), 177.

<sup>14</sup> Erling Bjøl, “The Small State in International Politics,” in *Small States in International Relations*, ed. August Schou, Arne Olav Brundtland (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1971), 29.

<sup>15</sup> Olav F. Knudsen, introduction to *Small States and the Security Challenge in the New Europe*, by Werner Bauwens, Armand Clesse and Olav F. Knudsen (New York: Brassey’s, 1996), xv.

making in small states.<sup>16</sup> However, the ever growing relevance of the international law under the supervision of the United Nations (UN) and the appearance of new small states after the decolonization process has contributed to the higher visibility of these states.<sup>17</sup>

The weak role of small states during the Cold War was also attributed to the factor of military threats that had to be seriously taken into consideration, especially by small states, which did not have (and still do not have) satisfactory military means to compete with the great powers. However, the situation after the fall of the Iron Curtain brought also a significant change in the insecurities that were perceived before mainly in their military aspects. No direct threat of war in the current era, consequently no direct need to be ‘backed’ by any of the superpowers in the international arena, on the one side, and the new global non-military insecurities – such as poverty, environmental problems, terrorism, hunger, organized crime – on the other side are to be considered as the main factors for a more favorable and autonomous role of small states in international relations. While the lack of military capabilities and the bipolar division of the world were the main factors of the diminished role of small states before 1990, nowadays the current world problems and the abilities of small states to provide expertise and services increased their voice in global politics.

## 1.2 Conceptualization of the Term ‘Small State’

Briefly defining the background of the topic and the contemporary international environment, I will proceed with the conceptualization of the term *small state*. There are at least two approaches that define this term – quantitative, based on objective criteria and qualitative, focusing on the psychological dimension. In my understanding, an exact definition of a small state that would be based on a quantitative delineation of the term, for instance according to

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<sup>16</sup> Roberto Espíndola, “Security Dilemmas,” in *Politics, Security and Development in Small States*, ed. Colin Clarke, and Tony Payne (London, Boston, Sydney, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 65 – 78.

<sup>17</sup> Hey, 8.

the number of the population, Gross Domestic Product, size of the territory, or budget spending on military is very precise, but does not reflect the essence of the term for the study in the context of international relations. Paul Sutton tells us that these quantitative factors do not necessarily correspond with a “small scale political system.”<sup>18</sup> “Similarly small size does not automatically translate into vulnerability in the international arena.”<sup>19</sup> Also, Knudsen claims that the “size of the unit” is not the decisive factor, but the relationship towards other nations, which can explain the disparities and inequalities in international relations between small and great powers.<sup>20</sup>

The question then is, how to differentiate among big (great) and small states, if the objective data do not form a correct basis for analysis? Here, one can apply the approach that reflects the qualitative factors that was adopted by the majority of scholars dealing with the issue of small states in the international arena. The perception of the country about itself, to which category of states it belongs to, is the preferable way of categorizing the term small state. According to Hey, this means if the perception about the smallness of a state is accepted by its people and people of other states, as well, then one should put that particular country in the category of small states.<sup>21</sup> The author argues that “small states are deemed small not by any objective definition, but their perceived role in the international hierarchy.”<sup>22</sup> These psychological aspects of the definition were pointed out by Robert Rothstein, as well who rejected “a definition of “small power” based purely on “objective or tangible criteria”” and

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<sup>18</sup> Paul Sutton as quoted in Hey, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Hey, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Olav F. Knudsen, “Analysing Small-State Security: The role of External Factors,” in *Small States and the Security Challenge in the New Europe*, ed. Werner Bauwens, Armand Clesse and Olav F. Knudsen (New York: Brassey’s, 1996), 5.

<sup>21</sup> Hey, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Hey, 3.

thus limited the category of small states to those that “feel that they are potentially or actually threatened by the policies of the Great Powers.”<sup>23</sup> According to Rothstein

A Small Power is a state which recognizes that it can not obtain security primarily by use of its own capabilities, and that it must rely fundamentally on the aid of other states, institutions, processes, or developments to do so; the Small Power’s belief in its inability to rely on its own means also be recognized by the other states involved in international politics.<sup>24</sup>

While Keohane followed this path, his criticism pointed towards the deficit of this definition that he sees in the very broad category of small states that came out of this concept. He claims that there is only a very small number of great powers that can be deduced from Rothstein’s delineation of a small state.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, his definition differentiates among four categories of states, while small states belong to the lowest level in terms of their power in the international arena:

A Great Power is a state whose leaders consider that it can, alone, exercise a large, perhaps decisive, impact on the international system; a secondary power is a state whose leaders consider that alone it can exercise some impact, although never in itself decisive, on that system; a middle power is a state whose leaders consider that it cannot act alone effectively but may be able to have a systemic impact in a small group or through an international institution; a small power is a state whose leaders consider that it can never, acting alone or in a small group, make a significant impact on the system.<sup>26</sup>

Although I accept Keohane’s criticism about Rothstein’s definition – limitation in scope, and vague categorization of small states into a very broad group – both of the definitions properly fit to the purposes of my research. Explaining this argument with the words of Wood “smallness is a comparative and not an absolute idea”, and therefore all of the non-permanent members in the SC are small states in comparison to the great powers with the status of

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<sup>23</sup> Robert Rothstein as quoted in Robert O. Keohane, “Lilliputians’ Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics,” *International Organizations*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 1969) 292, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706027.pdf> (accessed May 27, 2008).

<sup>24</sup> Rothstein as quoted in Keohane, 293.

<sup>25</sup> Keohane, 293.

<sup>26</sup> Keohane, 296.

permanent membership.<sup>27</sup> In this respect, I should not forget to mention that among non-permanent members, there are countries that can, despite their limited roles in the organ, have a greater impact than the others, due to their economic or political power (such as Germany, Brazil, India) in comparison to the ‘smaller’ non-permanent members.

Another scholar David Vital, who handles the issue of small states, conceptualized the term closely to the aforementioned generalized assumptions of Rothstein about small states. He identifies a “legal definition” that suitably fits to the analysis in this thesis, as well. It is based on the UN Charter that differentiates only between the great powers and the others. In this respect Vital considers the great powers as the nuclear powers, or as the permanent members of the United Nations SC.<sup>28</sup> Then the term ‘others’ logically refers to small states, which can have ‘only’ a non-permanent member status in the UN SC and have therefore a diminished power to influence the security issues decided under this UN organ. I agree to this, however, the purpose of my research will be based on the assumption that despite their small state status in the UN SC, they have a substantial space to play a considerable role within the Council. It is not to say, if small states did not have the capabilities in the form of military power at their disposal or the possibilities to rearrange the reality, they could not enlarge their voice through “system-ineffectual” but effective foreign policy behavior targeted towards adjusting to the *status quo*.<sup>29</sup>

Goetschel, who also provides a definition of the term small state, considers the notion of power as the basis of his analysis. His conceptualization of the term small state is based on the division of the dimensions of power to influence (make others do what I desire) and autonomy (protect myself from others’ influence). “[S]mallness can thus be characterized as having the

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<sup>27</sup> Wood D.P.J. as quoted in Colin Clarke and Tony Payne, *Politics, Security and Development in Small States* with a foreword by Colin Clarke and Tony Payne (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), x.

<sup>28</sup> David Vital, “The Analysis of Small Power Politics,” in *Small States in International Relations*, ed. August Schou, Arne Olav Brundtland (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1971), 15.

<sup>29</sup> Keohane, 296.

effect of producing both an influence and an autonomy deficit.”<sup>30</sup> While influence is a category that reflects the qualitative factors (“relational dimension”) that determine the smallness of a country, autonomy takes into consideration the quantitative factors (such as geographical size, power resources). The reader may follow a slight difference of the perception of small states in comparison to the previous authors, who neglected the quantitative factors of power. What is more, the author’s understanding of small states attaches to the definition of this term a third category, which is the psychological dimension – a country’s perception about its smallness, as characterized by Rothstein and Keohane.<sup>31</sup>

Summing up, the term “small state” characterizes a state’s position towards its environment. This position is characterized by a deficit in influence and autonomy. The foreign and security policy chosen by the small state should minimize or compensate for its power deficit. The result is subject to psychological feedback. The final power deficit is the product of interlinked quantitative, relational, and psychological factors.<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, the fact that the role of small states at the international level is limited because of their lack of physical power capabilities definitely does not imply that through a wise foreign policy behavior they may not take an active part on decision-making related to issues of global concern. Usually, scholars tend to define the major foreign policy behavior of small states in a way that coincides with the realist theory. According to this, “the changes in small state foreign policies are considered isomorphic to fluctuations in the structure of the international system and/or the degree of threat posed by the great powers.”<sup>33</sup> This is to say that small states tend to adjust to the path in international relations set by the great powers’

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<sup>30</sup> Hakan Wiberg and Otmar Höll as cited in Laurent Goetschel, “Small States and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU: A Comparative Analysis,” Working Paper No. 14 (Berne: Institut für Politikwissenschaft, 14. May 2000) 4, <http://www.snf.ch/NFP/NFP42/working/WP14.pdf> (accessed May 27, 2008).

<sup>31</sup> Goetschel, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Goetschel, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Miriam Fendius Elman, “The Foreign Policy of Small States: Challenging Neorealism in Its Own Backyard,” *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Cambridge University Press, April 1995) 173, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/194084.pdf> (accessed May 27, 2008).

foreign policy choices. However, what I will argue in the following part is that, while small states tend to have a deficit in autonomous foreign policy decision-making, there are ways to reduce such power disparities mainly through an active and independent approach in international organizations or through multilateral diplomacy. The next section will deal with the issue of small states in international organizations and the possibilities of small states to increase their role in international relations especially through active performance in these institutions.

### **1.3 The role of Small States in International Relations and their Behavior in the International Environment**

There are various issues that concern the topic of small states in international relations including their foreign policy behavior, small states in alliance systems, small states and neutrality, the role of small states in maintaining peace, small states and international economic relations. What I am predominantly interested in and will demonstrate through the case of a small state in the second chapter, is to analyze the role of small states in international organizations, which in general, balance their limited power in the international arena. According to Chong, small states strive to increase their significance to the “international community” through an active approach of “virtual enlargement”. This means that they moderate the power of major actors through psychological tactics (“human resources, intellectual and propagandistic skills”) rather than the country’s size or physical power capabilities.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Chong, 7.

### 1.3.1 *Small States in International Organizations*

While small states do not have much say over international affairs through an autonomous approach, this might be overcome by negotiating on an international merit with a wider number of states. International organizations offer an extremely high potential for small states to get along in issues of particular concern and contribute to the approval of a desirable outcome. This is why small states, despite their “physical vulnerability...have always been interested in a “civilization” of international relations.”<sup>35</sup> A pertinent explanation of the role of small countries in international relations was expressed by the former President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, who stated that

one of the features of the epoch in which we live is the ever more intense participation of small and middle-sized countries to the settlement of international problems...Acting vigorously and with militancy for the defence of their interest and legitimate rights, the small and medium-sized countries can play a remarkable role in international life, they can influence to a considerable extent the trend of events, thus contributing to safeguarding peace and security in the world.<sup>36</sup>

Although this statement was made several decades ago by a controversial ruler, its essence is of even higher relevance in current times. The changes in the international environment as elucidated at the beginning of this chapter significantly affected the situation of small states in international relations in a positive way. This is not to say that the great powers’ influence has been diminished, but small states are ‘allowed’ to act in a more autonomous and sovereign way in international relations than before mainly through the means of multilateral diplomacy. International organizations allow small states to participate on collective decision-making and shape “international attitudes, dogmas, and codes of proper behavior.”<sup>37</sup> Collective decision-making and the possibility to make proposals that have an impact on the system of

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<sup>35</sup> Goetschel, 8.

<sup>36</sup> Nicolae Ceaușescu as quoted in Ion Nicolae, “The Role and Responsibility of the Small and Medium-Sized Countries in maintaining International Peace,” in *Small States in International Relations*, ed. August Schou, Arne Olav Brundtland (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1971), 87.

<sup>37</sup> Keohane, 297.

international relations are consequences of equal positions provided to all countries in international organizations, without regard to their physical capabilities. Of course, there are exceptions, for instance the UN SC, where great powers are more equal than others due to their veto power, however, it is still not to say that small states, or non-permanent members, have no say in issues concerning international security within the competences of this organ. Clearly, there is a considerable space for small states also in the UN SC to make themselves visible and play a key role in the implementation of their proposals concerning crucial security issues.

On the basis of the aforementioned assumptions, it is possible to say that there are other factors than a country's power, or size that determine its standing in global politics. Several surveys have revealed that success of small states in international organizations is determined through capabilities like "bargaining skills, superior training and information, and greater relative resource-commitment."<sup>38</sup> In other words, coalition building among small states, specificity of the issue presented for negotiations at international levels, the attitudes and abilities of the country's diplomacy, delegation's leadership skills in the international organization are all factors that besides great powers may favor small states in their aim to strengthen their voice in the international environment. These are all "parts of multilateral diplomacy" that enable small states to take an active part in the "network of international organizations" and so achieve more equal levels among states in terms of power imbalances in international relations.<sup>39</sup> Obviously, the ability to make use of these factors differs between small countries and one should explain the success or failure in getting on in global politics especially in this regard.

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<sup>38</sup> Goetschel, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, *International Organizations. The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 264 – 265.

A pertinent explanation and the way one should think about the role of small states in international relations is made by Goetschel, who argues that not the resources and physical power components of a state are of major interest, but the outcomes that are reached through the capabilities and effort of a small country. He points out, although the latter is more difficult to measure, especially this coincides with the “definition of power”.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, the effectiveness of a small country in international organizations may be achieved by its own efforts translated through a “room for manoeuvre” allowed by the rules and working procedures of that particular organ.<sup>41</sup> “In a fluid international system,..., the small state must still maneuver in order to prosper, if not to survive. Maneuvering involves making alliances – or finding an appropriate alternative policy...”, and not maneuvering through a country’s physical capabilities, possibly applicable only by great powers.<sup>42</sup>

Concluding this subsection about the role of small states in international organizations, the aforementioned reasons are proper explanations of the current tendency, why small states try to support the existence of international organizations. Those institutions offer them a way to internationalize their views, attitudes, proposals, which are in their national interests and are used to make the country more visible by affecting the decision-making procedures that have an impact on the international environment. In the following part, I am also going to deal with the role of small states in international organization, however, the subsection will be related to a specific multilateral organization – the UN, where small states can and do play important roles.

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<sup>40</sup> Goetschel, 5.

<sup>41</sup> Bjøl, 34.

<sup>42</sup> Keohane, 300.

### 1.3.2 *Small States in the United Nations*

The UN is the only international organization that groups the vast majority of countries in the world in its institutional arrangements. Representatives of 193 states can act in favor of their country and take part in the decision-making procedures as equal actors to other nations on topics of international importance. Despite the doubts about the relevance and effectiveness of this multinational organization, one should bear in mind that it “has made significant contributions in the field of disarmament, of peace-keeping, in providing mediation services and in assisting in the decolonization and the development of the third world. All these have been major contributions to peace and in all the fields the small States have played their part.”<sup>43</sup> It is therefore still relevant to handle the issues that come under the competences of this international institution, which provides a proper explanation of the role of small states in the international environment executed through international organizations. There are different strategies that small states can and do use in various organs of this institution. One of the UN bodies that is considered as a pertinent place for small states to express their national interests with equal voice to other states is the General Assembly. Therefore, most of the literature that handles the role of small states in international organizations focuses predominantly on this organ and the success of small states in issues of global concern achieved through the decision-making procedures in this UN body. However, as I will argue later on, changes in the SC’s working procedures after the end of the Cold War enable small states under certain conditions to influence international problems coming under the competences of this organ, as well.

Lemass, who attributed the General Assembly the highest possibility for small states to show their enthusiastic role in the international system, claimed that coalition building at the UN is

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<sup>43</sup> Sean F. Lemass, “Small States in International Organizations”, in *Small States in International Relations*, ed. August Schou, Arne Olav Brundtland (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1971), 119

the appropriate way for small states to affect the discussed issue. He considered four roles, how small states should perceive their membership at the UN. First, small states as parts of larger independent groups in the General Assembly help in reaching a compromise, and thus “softening extreme positions”. This it to be done through a wise approach in making proposals that have a wide support of member states in the Assembly. Second, should there be a possibility to make a resolution on a specific issue, an integrated small state into a larger group of states can easily achieve its goals in the issue’s approval. Thirdly, being impartial and acting on behalf of the Secretary General, small states can play the role of “conscience of the world” and influence public opinion. Fourth, small states should support those UN agencies that ‘reduce international tension in areas of dangerously acute friction.’<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, Schram points out that unison of small states in the UN can assure significant outcomes made by these countries in the international arena. The situation in the General Assembly according to him looks like the states with greater power capabilities do not deal with, in a significant extent, issue-initiation in this organ due to the lack of interest. Hence, it should be rather small independent states that serve as the main agenda initiators, striving to achieve the approval of their proposals. The author mentions several cases when crucial issues of international concern dealt with a small state’s initiative – Sweden: “human environment”, Malta: “peaceful utilization of the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction,” Iceland: “prevention of general ocean pollution.” On the basis of these cases, Schram identifies two premises as precondition for success of small states at the UN. First, the issue presented must be a “worthy” one, and second, the initiator should “attract the interest”

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<sup>44</sup> Lemass, 117-118.

of other states through “diplomatic efforts” to support the proposal. If these are to be fulfilled, small states can use the room left to them to cover an issue of international concern.<sup>45</sup>

Following the arguments made by the two previous authors, Nicolae also clearly supports the notion that the UN provides major space for small states to tackle international problems on their own ways of solution. “The assertion of these States [small states] and the range of specific problems they bring to the United Nations and to international relations in general are of a primordial importance and invite the international community and the statesmen to deep and responsible consideration.”<sup>46</sup> According to him, this is provable on the basis of historical records within the UN that small states made, and still make, significant contribution to the solution of issues concerning the mankind through “initiation or co-sponsoring” of the presented documents.<sup>47</sup>

The tendencies introduced by the authors concern mostly the UN General Assembly. Here small states, which comprise the major part of this UN body, are able to play a more influential part in deliberations after the end of the Cold War, due to ever broader possibilities of an autonomous and independent foreign policy behavior. Debates on international security issues that come under the competences of the UN SC were during the time of the Cold War in a stalemate, and therefore the authors, whose articles were written in the 1970s, deny the possibility of small states to perform actively in the Council. However, the changes caused by the end of the Cold War significantly concerned this UN body, as well. The ideological clash of the two superpowers as permanent members with the veto right has ceased to exist, and the Council started to adopt new working procedures based on informal consultation, where most of the time consensual decisions are accepted. My argument is therefore based on this rule

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<sup>45</sup> Gunnar G. Schram, “The Role of Nordic States in the U.N.,” in *Small States in International Relations*, ed. August Schou, Arne Olav Brundtland (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1971), 124 – 125.

<sup>46</sup> Nicolae, 89.

<sup>47</sup> Nicolae, 89.

and supposes a wider space for maneuver provided to the ‘small’ non-permanent members, in terms of comparison to the permanent members nowadays and in the past. Issue-initiation and agenda-setting as was presented by Lemass, Schram and Nicolae in concern to the General Assembly are in current time features of small states’ “behavioral power”<sup>48</sup> in the UN SC, as well. The next section will present the basis of my argument about the changed working procedures that favor the non-permanent members in a process of making themselves internationally visible through a wise foreign policy behavior in the UN SC.

#### **1.4 The Role of Non-permanent Members in the United Nations Security Council (The Argument)**

According to a Belgian diplomat at the UN Johan Verbeke, “[e]ven if you are a non-permanent member in the UN SC, it does not signify that you are powerless. It is important how you prove to be, whether you can properly react in an appropriate time. This creates your influence.”<sup>49</sup> Several scholars have given thought to the underlined assumption about the changed working procedures of the Council that according to me favor non-permanent members’ possibilities to influence world politics in global peace and security issues and contribute to the solutions of regional conflicts. These help to show the importance and necessity of the hypothesis that I wish to support about the room, which exists within the SC for small states to take action.

According to Global Policy Forum, which monitors the UN policy making “[s]ince 1990, the Council has dramatically increased its activity and it now meets in nearly continuous session.

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<sup>48</sup> Mark Habeeb as cited in Christer Jönsson, “Diplomacy, Bargaining and Negotiation,” in *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 220.

<sup>49</sup> Johan Verbeke as quoted in Andrej Matišák, “Ako Slovensko mesiac riadilo svet” (How Slovakia governed the world), in *24hodin.sk*, 1 March 2007, [http://matisak.blog.obroda.sk/blog/svet/2007/03/01/ako\\_slovensko\\_mesiac\\_riadilo\\_svet](http://matisak.blog.obroda.sk/blog/svet/2007/03/01/ako_slovensko_mesiac_riadilo_svet) (accessed May 28, 2008).

It dispatches military operations, imposes economic sanctions, mandates arms inspections, deploys human rights and election monitors and more.”<sup>50</sup> The shift in the Council’s effectiveness has been influenced by the new “security interdependent world”, where countries have to coordinate their actions with others through international organizations for the purpose of securing their ‘own citizens’.<sup>51</sup> Such cooperation among particular states appeared also within the UN SC and can be perceived on the basis of several factors that form the post-Cold War functioning of the SC, where autonomous views of non-permanent members are taken into consideration.

First of all, “decisions of the SC on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members and decisions of the SC on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members.”<sup>52</sup> It means that for the adoption of a decision, the permanent Five needs at least four votes of non-permanent members (defined as small states), and therefore the position of non-permanent members definitely matters in the Council.<sup>53</sup>

Secondly, there are major changes that have occurred by the adoption of rules (not formally adopted, however strongly accepted) which emphasize consensual decision-making. Unanimous and consensual decisions are supposed to favor the Council’s members equally, striving to achieve the desired common goal of *collective security*. This is based on cooperation and shared responsibility among the Council’s members, whose major aim should be to maintain peace and security in the world. Obviously, the privileged standing of the permanent Five in the Council stipulates the hierarchy among member states, however, this

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<sup>50</sup> UN Security Council, Global Policy Forum. <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/index.htm> (accessed May 27, 2008).

<sup>51</sup> Brian Frederking, *The United States and the Security Council. Collective Security since the End of the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 29.

<sup>52</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter V., Article 27(2), (3), 1945.

<sup>53</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Peter Burian, Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic to the United Nations, interviewed by author, 17 March 2008, Bratislava, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava.

hierarchy is lowered (“medium levels of hierarchy”) in comparison to the Cold War and the responsibility for collective security and “common good” is, in a limited extent, at the disposal of non-permanent members, as well.<sup>54</sup>

Despite the still present veto power, the relevance of the aforementioned changes lies in the equalization of the 15 member states’ position through consensual decision-making in the Council, which raises the organ’s credibility, legitimacy and “reduces hierarchy within the Council.”<sup>55</sup> Also, the possibility offered to non-permanent members to increase their voice within the issues coming under the body’s competences are of major focus in current times, although in crisis situations this informal rule is rather neglected. Finally, if a small state is not indifferent about the global development and is willing to utilize its prestigious membership in the SC, the Council offers a space for increasing its international influence and affecting the solution of global problems.<sup>56</sup>

Luck discusses extensively the current perception of permanent and non-permanent members in the UN SC. He distinguished them according to what the Council offers for them. In relation to the small countries (non-permanent members) it “offers hope”, however, for the big ones (permanent members)

the prospect of coupling legitimacy with power, thus adding the essential political glue for international coalition building and force multiplying. ...for them, vetoes are a thing of the past and harmony, inclusiveness, transparency, and reform the themes of the present.<sup>57</sup>

An expert definition of the new perception of permanent UN SC members is provided in this quotation, while explaining precisely the main difference in using vetoes in the past and nowadays. Also, in accordance to the small states the author clearly states that hope, meaning

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<sup>54</sup> Frederking, 25.

<sup>55</sup> Frederking, 25.

<sup>56</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN v rokoch 2006 – 2007* (The Evaluation of the Slovak’s Performance in the UN Security Council during the Years 2006 – 2007), (Bratislava, 2008).

<sup>57</sup> Edward C. Luck, *UN Security Council. Practice and Promise*, (New York: Routledge Global, 2006), 129.

the hope for getting on successfully in a country's representation and the hope to have an impact on the approved decisions, is offered for them.<sup>58</sup> It is then up to the member state, whether this possibility will be used effectively for making the country internationally visible or influencing the development of the international system.

The use of vetoes, which were applied in major issues under discussion during the Cold War, was diminished, and so the stalemate of the UN SC's functioning wore off. While permanent members actively used this instrument during the Cold War (193 times between 1946 and 1989), in the subsequent years it was applied only 21 times (from 1990 to 2007)<sup>59</sup>. This tendency is hardly influenced by the established informal working procedures of the UN SC that presuppose consultation prior to official and formal UN SC deliberations. These are done during informal consultations or within the subsidiary bodies of the Council. During these meetings behind closed doors, amendments and changes may be incorporated to the resolution proposals and intensive negotiations for the purpose of consensual decisions acceptable for all Council members occur. Surprisingly, such an unwritten rule was officially adopted during the Cold War under the Secretary General Hammarskjöld, whose aim was to avoid the complete paralyses of the Council's work that would happen during formal discussions, due to the clash of the two superpowers.<sup>60</sup> However, discussions prior to the formal meetings are of greater importance in current times, because in the past the main essential of these meetings was not achieved.

Apart from this, the room that non-permanent members have at their disposal to maneuver is provided for them in the subsidiary bodies.

Because few of these groups [subsidiary bodies] are chaired by permanent members, they provide non-permanent members with opportunities to lead

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<sup>58</sup> Luck, 129.

<sup>59</sup> Subjects of UN Security Council Vetoes, Global Policy Forum.

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/membership/veto/vetosubj.htm> (accessed 23. May 2008).

<sup>60</sup> Nicol Davidson, *The United Nations Security Council. Towards Greater Effectiveness* (UNITAR, 1982), 72 – 73

important aspects of the Council's work, and, because the subsidiary bodies generally operate by consensus, to have a virtual veto over their decisions.<sup>61</sup>

Elucidating this point, informal consultations and meetings in UN SC's subsidiary bodies enable the non-permanent members to discuss matters related to global security as equivalent negotiating partners to the permanent members, for the purpose of achieving a consensual/unanimous decision, which therefore diminishes the use of veto. While observing these procedural changes in the Council, a crucial point to be considered is the chance of non-permanent members to initiate and co-sponsor the discussions with an outcome of approved and binding documents for the UN member states.

These arguments were further elaborated by Mahbubani, who also provides new perceptions on the 'current' functioning of the UN SC in relation to the consensual decision-making:

In the early years its [Security Council's] main function appeared to be the institutionalization of a concert of powers, legitimizing the great power status of the P-5 [permanent members] and ensuring that the UN did not undertake a collision course with any of them. In the 1990s, following the end of the Cold War, the Council gradually transformed itself into a problem-solving institution, living up partially to the founders' vision of providing collective security.<sup>62</sup>

According to the author, the voice of non-permanent members is strengthened mostly in the subsidiary bodies of the UN SC, and when presiding over the Council. At this time, it is within their competence to schedule and coordinate the formal meetings and informal consultations and set the agenda.<sup>63</sup> H.E. Peter Burian also gave this assumption an incremental significance, because non-permanent members have the right to direct and manage the everyday decision-making of the Council.<sup>64</sup> For these reasons, their space to maneuver in the Council's decision-making evolves from the aforementioned managerial functions and opportunities to impact

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<sup>61</sup> Luck, 17.

<sup>62</sup> Kishore Mahbubani, "The Permanent and Elected Council Members," in *The UN Security Council. From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. David M. Malone (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 254.

<sup>63</sup> Mahbubani

<sup>64</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Peter Burian, interview by the author, 17 March 2008.

global security issues through policy initiation and agenda-setting in the Council. Therefore, “apart from the formal privilege of the veto (which is rarely used in practice), one would anticipate few distinctions between the P-5 and E-10 [Elected-10 as for the non-permanent members] in the day-to-day decision making of the Council.”<sup>65</sup>

The striking changes that occurred within the Council and favor the non-permanent members were also investigated by Hulton, who argues that the UN SC members strive to increase consensus building in the Council’s decision-making that enables the 15 members to “behave as a collective body”. According to her, a key element that supports the Council’s unity is the stronger cooperation among the permanent members and the resolutions adopted mostly unanimously in current times.<sup>66</sup> The more favorable position of non-permanent members follows from the formerly adopted, but recently applied working methods that concern, according to Hulton and Mahbubani as well, consensual agreeing on the Council’s agenda.<sup>67</sup> “Votes on the adoption of the agenda are a thing of the past: nowadays agendas are agreed in advance (though not formally adopted) in informal consultations. With its agenda becoming overloaded, the Council has turned its attention more recently to the question of agenda management.”<sup>68</sup> In these tasks, non-permanent members, who predominate in the positions of chairmanship in the subsidiary bodies and according to the UN Charter preside the Council for a one month term, play a considerable role. It has to be mentioned, if a non-permanent member finds an appropriate niche for discussion and assures the issue’s adoption for the Council’s agenda, it has the potential to use the working procedures of the Council to influence global politics, to make the country internationally visible, and thus to achieve success without regard to its smallness.

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<sup>65</sup> Mahbubani, 257.

<sup>66</sup> Susan C. Hulton, “Council Working Methods and Procedure,” in *The UN Security Council. From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, ed. David M. Malone (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

<sup>67</sup> Hulton and Mahbubani

<sup>68</sup> Hulton, 247.

Concluding this chapter, the ‘new world order’ as often termed by George H. W. Bush, launched by the end of the Cold War brought also changes in the perception of the UN SC and in its working methods. Non-permanent members still ‘discriminated’ against the more prestigious position of permanent members have a greater say over the Council’s agenda and with their efforts can play an important part of negotiations during informal consultations. “Often, especially small states can offer and help to mediate solutions in those cases, where larger countries do not get on well.”<sup>69</sup> However, not all non-permanent members are able or willing to make an effective use of the space the Council provides for them in terms of influencing the institution’s outcomes. It has to be emphasized that although there is space for small states to affect global politics in the international system through the SC, other factors to be considered in the following chapters, play at least as important share on a small state’s success as the Council’s new working procedures that obviously favor these countries during the decision-making procedures. Slovakia as I will argue in the following chapter managed to utilize the possibilities offered by the Security Council and found a niche within the thematic issues that could be proposed for successful discussions during its 2007 February Presidency on a crucial topic related to post-conflict regions.

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<sup>69</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic’s Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008) 11.

## **CHAPTER 2 – SLOVAKIA AS A NON-PERMANENT MEMBER IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL – CASE STUDY**

The non-permanent membership in the UN Security Council was perceived by Slovakia as the main foreign policy priority during the period 2006 – 2007. The second chapter analyses this specific case and demonstrates the theoretical assumptions related to the successful role of small states in the international environment achieved through the decision-making procedures in international organizations. Despite the evident power asymmetry among the Security Council's members, I will argue that Slovakia managed to increase its voice during the membership in this UN body. The country accomplished its ambitious foreign-policy objectives and played a key role in the approval of a crucial global policy issue. This will be examined in relation to the country's performance in the Council's subsidiary bodies, but major attention will be paid to Slovakia's Presidency in the Security Council.

### **2.1 The Election of Slovakia to the Security Council. Defining the Membership's Objectives and Significance**

According to Article 23(1), (2) of the UN Charter, there is a possibility for UN member states to apply for non-permanent membership in the UN Security Council “for a term of two years”. It is the General Assembly, which elects these members with a two-third majority vote usually in autumn prior to the beginning of a country's tenure in the Council. The article also spells out that an “equitable geographical distribution” should be ensured with a country's election, while all states within this specific region must approve a country's candidacy.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter V., Article 23(1), (2), 1945.

According to the definitions from the first chapter, Slovakia clearly counts to the category of small states in international relations. The relatively new country, established in 1993 after the split of the Czechoslovak Federation was formally elected as a non-permanent member to the UN Security Council in 2005.<sup>71</sup> Its first candidacy, however, preceded this decision in 1999, when the country's representatives decided to withdraw the application in favor of Ukraine, another member of the formal Eastern European Regional Group (EERG) in the UN. This group, which consists of 22 Eastern European States and has one place in the Council at its disposal, approved Slovakia's candidacy in 2004 as the only one candidate of the represented region. For the country it meant an almost secure place in the Council, however, its state representatives initiated an intensive lobbying for the purpose of obtaining broad support of the UN member states in the General Assembly. In 2004 during the 59<sup>th</sup> session of the GA, the official political representation of the Slovak republic led by President Ivan Gašparovič and Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Kukan launched a push to obtain non-permanent membership in the UN Security Council. The campaign was finalized in 2005 on 10 October during the 60<sup>th</sup> session of the GA with secret voting, when 185 UN member states out of 191 voted in favor of Slovakia's membership in the Security Council for the 2006-2007 term. Such an unambiguous support was perceived by Slovakia as a commitment to other UN member states.<sup>72</sup>

Non-permanent membership posed a new challenge for Slovakia and was prioritized among the foreign policy objectives for the period in concern. As defined in the 2006 Foreign Policy Report, "Slovakia obtained one of the most prominent and prestigious posts within multilateral diplomacy that enables Slovakia to contribute to the implementation of the UN's main

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<sup>71</sup> The Czechoslovak Socialist Federation was represented twice as non-permanent member in the UN Security Council during the Cold War era, first in 1964 and then during the years 1978-1979.

<sup>72</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic's Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

functions in the field of international peace and security.”<sup>73</sup> Along with the other 14 member states, Slovakia was ready to engage itself constructively in the formation of world politics with global impact. Therefore, it seriously assumed a share of “responsibility for stability, peace and security in the world” and perceived this commitment as “unique chance to influence the creation of a new international system, proposals for solutions of regional crises and formation of attitudes of the international community to current security threats.”<sup>74</sup> Apart from this, responsible political organs perceived this as a unique chance to strengthen the country’s international standing and make itself internationally visible as a developed country based on the principles of democracy. Therefore, the ultimate goal as stated in the Foreign Policy Orientation for 2007 during its membership was to “enhance Slovakia’s influence on decision-making in issues of global importance and improvement of Slovakia’s general prestige on the international scene.”<sup>75</sup>

The abovementioned objectives are hardly attainable by a small state that acts independently in the international environment. However, the aims for self-realization may be carried out very effectively through a wise foreign policy behavior applied in an international organization as discussed in the first theoretical part of the thesis. On the declared statements, one may easily follow that from the beginning on, the country aimed to use the Security Council’s membership in an effective way, taking into consideration the procedural possibilities within the Council and other factors that contributed to success. Slovakia’s political organs responsible for taking decisions on foreign policy matters and non-governmental organizations realized the fact that even a small insignificant state can have an impact on issues of international merit, and therefore a dynamic process of preparation preceded the membership in the form of

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<sup>73</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak republic, *Zameranie zahraničnej politiky SR na rok 2006* (Slovakia’s Foreign Policy Orientation for 2006), (Bratislava, 2005) 11.

<sup>74</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Základný rámec pre pôsobenie Slovenskej republiky v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN v rokoch 2006 – 2007* (The Basic Framework for the Performance of the Slovak Republic in the UN Security Council during the years 2006 – 2007), (Bratislava, 2006) 1.

<sup>75</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak republic, *Slovakia’s Foreign Policy Orientation for 2007* (Bratislava, 2006) 12.

“theoretical discussions”, specifically related to the possibilities of a small state to act in the global security environment.<sup>76</sup>

There were several prerequisites that benefited the country on its way to success in the UN Security Council, which were in the end also utilized during the formal discussions, informal consultations and the country’s Presidency. First of all, “valuable experiences from the transformation process, establishment of democratic institutions and consolidation of stability in the Central European region through the development of good neighborly relations and regional cooperation”, all count to preconditions, which helped the Slovak delegation to enrich the discussions in the Security Council and provide expert analysis on questions of international security.<sup>77</sup> Secondly, the country’s engagement in military and civilian missions of the UN, NATO and the EU (mainly in the Western Balkans, Cyprus and Afghanistan) provided “value, power and respect” for expressing arguments and attitudes towards the major crises regions.<sup>78</sup> Thirdly, “Slovakia as a small and less-known country in the world, unencumbered by any power and colonial heritage, did not face any a priori prejudices from some African or Asian countries”, what is also perceived as a clear advantage towards other Security Council member states in the process of negotiating resolutions in concern to these regions.<sup>79</sup> Fourth, the integration of Slovakia to European and Transatlantic structures (EU and NATO) and other relevant international organizations differentiated in a positive sense Slovakia from other represented countries, as well.

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<sup>76</sup> Ivo Samson, “Príprava Slovenskej republiky na nestále členstvo v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN” (The preparation of the Slovak Republic for the non-permanent membership in UN Security Council), in *Ročenka zahraničnej politiky Slovenskej republiky 2005* (Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005), (Bratislava: Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, 2006), 54.

<sup>77</sup> Návrh smernice pre postup delegácie Slovenskej republiky na 60. zasadnutí VZ OSN (Proposal of the directive for the procedure of the delegation of the Slovak Republic on the 60<sup>th</sup> session of the UN GA) as quoted in Samson, 57.

<sup>78</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic’s Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

<sup>79</sup> Samson, 61.

In relation to the reference about the EU and NATO, it is emphasized several times in the *Basic Framework for the Performance of the Slovak Republic in the UN Security Council during the years 2006-2007* that the delegation intends to advance the basic values and interests of the Euro Atlantic community during the Council's decision-making. Therefore, the official positions and attitudes presented in the Security Council were declared in a close cooperation with the partners in the EU and NATO. However, besides this, Slovakia acted independently as a sovereign state, on its own behalf and in accordance to its national interests, for the purpose of influencing global politics despite its power inequality in the Council.<sup>80</sup>

National interests and official attitudes of Slovakia in the Security Council were represented by the Permanent mission to the UN in New York. The delegation and a working group under the supervision of Peter Burian and the Administrating Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs led by the Secretary of State<sup>81</sup> initiated their action in early stages prior to the start of the tenure and were responsible for carrying out the tasks connected to the country's membership in the Council. The effective communication between these two institutional arrangements was carried out by the Coordination Unit for the UN SC as a single section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bratislava. All important aspects of the Council's work related to the non-permanent membership were accomplished by the working group and the Committee as the key actors.<sup>82</sup>

In accordance to the question under discussion about the role of non-permanent members in the Security Council, an essential feature related to the process of coordination and decision-making has to be mentioned: "direct engagement of the government to the formation of

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<sup>80</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Základný rámeček pre pôsobenie...* (The Basic Framework for the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2006) 2.

<sup>81</sup> Newly established section within the organizational structure of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs led by the Secretary of State Magda Vášáryová and responsible for political and conceptual aspects of the membership in the UN SC.

<sup>82</sup> Samson, 58.

instructions for the delegation is expected only in exceptional situations, predominantly in cases of new global crisis, use of force, or in situations that can directly threaten the national and state interests with a direct impact on the international standing of the Slovak republic.”<sup>83</sup>

This implies that the delegation to the UN had in fact broad competences in an independent decision-making on issues discussed in the Security Council.

In this context, the Slovak delegation had to be prepared expertly for an active performance and argumentation to all issues coming under the competences of the Security Council. However, prior to the start of the membership some of them were defined as priority themes – regional and sectional priorities. These were handled with thorough engagement because “the course and results of deliberations were aimed to be influenced [by the Permanent mission] according to the strategic interests and commitments of the Euro Atlantic community.”<sup>84</sup>

Slovakia’s contribution to the solution of global security issues through the Security Council is related predominantly to these priorities. According to them, the membership and even the chairmanship in the Security Council’s subsidiary bodies, which in respect to the theoretical conceptualization in the first chapter provide small states broad competences, was decided. Such competences of presiding were formally assigned to the Slovak delegation and to its leader Peter Burian in three subsidiary bodies – *UN Security Council Committee established pursuant to Resolution 1540 (2004), which deals with the issues of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; Ad-hoc Committee for the revision of the UN Security Council mandates; and UN Security Council Committee established on the basis of Resolution 1718 (2006), which imposed sanctions on the Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea* – in compliance with the officially declared sectional priorities – non-proliferation of weapons of

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<sup>83</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Základný rámec pre pôsobenie...* (The Basic Framework for the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2006) 5.

<sup>84</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Základný rámec pre pôsobenie...* (The Basic Framework for the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2006) 2.

mass destruction, current security threats as terrorism and rogue states.<sup>85</sup> Regarding these subsidiary bodies, mainly the first one among the mentioned, the next section will be devoted to the question of how Slovakia managed to use the space for maneuver and extensively contributed to the negotiated outcomes. Furthermore, one should not forget that the thematic issue presented during the country's Presidency in February 2007 counts also to sectional priorities due to the transformation experiences of the Central European state's and relates to the Security Sector Reform in post-conflict regions. This will be of major focus in the following sections as well.

The second group of formally declared priorities concerned specific regions as regional priorities and were defined according to the national interests. The situation in the *Western Balkans* (mainly the question of future status of *Kosovo*) was of particular attention for Slovakia's delegation due to the regional categorization to the EERG, and also due to historical and cultural commonalities. Apart from this, the *Eastern European conflict regions (Georgia-Abkhazia)* and the *Cypriot dispute* were in the official governmental documents also stipulated as issues of special interest for Slovakia during the Security Council's discussions.<sup>86</sup>

## **2.2 The Impact of Slovakia as a Small State on Global Politics through the Subsidiary Bodies of the Security Council**

Article 29 of the UN Charter spells out that “the Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.”<sup>87</sup> In respect to the first chapter, which theorized also the role of non-permanent members in these subsidiary bodies, they may “lead important aspects of the Council's work, and, because the subsidiary

<sup>85</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic's Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

<sup>86</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Základný rámec pre pôsobenie...* (The Basic Framework for the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2006) 2 – 3.

<sup>87</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter V., Article 29, 1945.

bodies generally operate by consensus, to have a virtual veto over their decisions.”<sup>88</sup> Therefore, the main hypothesis of the thesis that there is substantial space for small states to play significant role in the UN Security Council will be firstly attributed to the contribution of the Slovak delegation to global security issues through the chairmanship in particular subsidiary bodies. Despite the non-negligible outcomes related to the chairmanship of Slovakia in the *UN Security Council Committee established on the basis of Resolution 1718 (2006), which imposed sanctions on the Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea and to the co-chairmanship in the Ad-hoc Committee for the revision of the UN Security Council mandates*, the country’s main contribution through the UN Security Council’s subsidiary organs was attributed predominantly to the *UN Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1540 (2004), which Deals with the Issues of Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Therefore, major focus will be paid exclusively to the latter institution, while the impact of Slovakia on the international environment will be of particular concern.

### ***2.2.1 Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1540 (2004), which Deals with the Issues of Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction***

The selection of Slovakia for the chairmanship in this subsidiary body was most likely influenced by the country’s previous experiences as a chairman of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which deals also very closely with the problem of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). For the duration of two years, Ambassador Burian chaired the meetings of the UN subsidiary body that handles the issue of WMD as a current and destructive global security threat. The purpose of the resolution, which initiated the establishment of this body, is “to refrain from supporting by any means non-State actors from

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<sup>88</sup> Luck, 17.

developing, acquiring, manufacturing, possessing, transporting, transferring or using nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their delivery systems.”<sup>89</sup>

If proliferation of WMD is defined nowadays as a growing global security threat, any contribution of a state that blocks or at least diminishes by any effort its further spread should be perceived as a contribution towards a more secure global community. And such an ambition is definitely not a negligible factor, when considering a state’s impact on the international environment. The question is, whether a small state like Slovakia could succeed in such a complex problem through the chairmanship in the main international body, which deals with this issue.

Despite the major focus in this thesis on the thematic discussion initiated by Slovakia during its Presidency on the Security Sector Reform, the outcomes achieved by Ambassador Burian’s representation in the Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1540 (2004) are also of distinctive significance. A very specific issue within the broad competences of this subsidiary body was chosen by the Slovak delegation as the main agenda for the two-year term. Apart from the ambition to increase the number of countries, which fully implement and enhance the resolution, Slovakia has actively aimed “to create close relations with regional, subregional, and other international organizations as well as with other multilateral arrangements, which substantively focus on some of the intrastate aspects of control of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and respective materials and technologies included in the 1540 (2004) and 1673 (2006) resolutions.”<sup>90</sup>

The aim of the Slovak delegation was directed towards this objective permanently during the tenure, and was materialized during an open debate in the Council in the form of a

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<sup>89</sup> Security Council Committee established Pursuant to Resolution 1540 (2004), “United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540(2004),” <http://www.un.org/sc/1540/index.shtml> (accessed May 28, 2008).

<sup>90</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Príloha k Vyhodnoteniu pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN v rokoch 2006 – 2007* (Annex to the Evaluation of the Slovak Republic’s Performance in the UN Security Council during the Years 2006 – 2007), (Bratislava, 2008) 47.

Presidential statement from 23 February 2007 during the country's Presidency. Consequently, the major outcome reached during Slovakia's chairmanship in this subsidiary body was the enhancement of cooperation with other multinational institutions, mainly IAEA, Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), World Customs Organization (WCO), Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), but also OECD and NATO. Also, during the 2007 February Presidency contacts with parliamentary representatives, who are responsible for the implementation of the Resolution 1540 (2004) in particular UN member states were established for the purpose of its wider implementation.<sup>91</sup>

Preventing the proliferation of WMD is not a simple task that the global community has to deal with in present days. However, major steps were taken to assure the non-proliferation also in accordance to the presented committee's work, which shows relevance since its establishment. In respect to the fact that any contribution to decrease the growing security threat related to WMD, Slovakia definitely managed to contribute to this tendency. This is to say that small states are allowed to shape the international environment through the Security Council and its subsidiary bodies and simultaneously, increase their international prestige and visibility. These are consequences attributed to Slovakia's performance in the particular subsidiary body. What is more, one may point out that some author's assumptions presented in the first chapter concerning the subsidiary organs, which provide non-permanent members the chance to deal effectively with specific issues and reach considerable outcomes beside permanent ones, was supported.

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<sup>91</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Príloha k Vyhodnoteniu ...* (Annex to the Evaluation ...), (2008) 46 – 48.

### **2.3 The Presidency of Slovakia in the Security Council in February 2007. The Impact of Slovakia as a Small State on Global Politics through the Thematic Discussion on Security Sector Reform**

The UN Charter does not define any rule how a country's Presidency in the Council is stipulated, however spells out that "the Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President."<sup>92</sup> This has been done by the approval of the *Provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council*, as amended 21 December 1982 and the Rule 18 says that "[t]he presidency of the Security Council shall be held in turn by the members of the Security Council in the English alphabetical order of their names. Each President shall hold office for one calendar month."<sup>93</sup>

Presidency in the UN SC is perceived as a unique chance for the UN member states to have the greatest possible say over global security issues as clarified in the first chapter by reviewing the claims of several scholars. In general, competences provided to countries during the term of one month include agenda setting and managing of discussions. "The Presidency is the mechanism through which the business of the Council is organized."<sup>94</sup> In comparison to the function of the Council during the Cold War, when two major superpowers and its allies were in a deep ideological conflict, a country in Presidency in current times can exercise major influence, despite the fact that it has no authority over other members of the Council.

In his role [President's] as organizer of the Council's business, there are important elements such as the convening a meeting, the timing of discussions, the subject of debate, fairness in ensuring that all viewpoints are heard, pacing the debate, and achieving an appropriate conclusion of the debate by adopting of a resolution, the statement of a consensus, or by some other appropriate means.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter V., article 30, 1945.

<sup>93</sup> United Nations, "Provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council," Chapter IV., Presidency, Rule 18. New York, 1983.

<sup>94</sup> Davidson, 34.

<sup>95</sup> Davidson, 34.

Through the means of multilateral diplomacy, predominantly negotiations and informal meetings with the members of other delegations, it is possible to achieve desired goals that are set long before the country takes the presidency. The President needs “preparedness, authority and tactical sense” for getting successfully ahead when presiding over the Council’s deliberations.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the effectiveness of the Security Council during the particular month when a member state takes its Presidency greatly depends upon that country’s willingness and efforts. This has been also underlined by the interviewed Slovak diplomat Imrich Márton, who stated that the Council will become what its member states will form of it. In this respect, he claimed that there are always some member states, which perceive the Presidency only as a duty and not as a chance to succeed in the international arena and present their own views.<sup>97</sup> Slovakia realized the potential and effectively used the space for maneuver that the Council provides for non-permanent members, thanks to a consistent and systematic preparation.

### ***2.3.1 The Preparatory Stages for the 2007 February Presidency***

Applying the rotative rule for Presidency on the membership of Slovakia during the 2006-2007 term in the Council, the country’s tenure was set for February 2007, more than a year after taking the position of a non-permanent member. Despite the shortest possible term of the year for Presidency, it seems that the Slovak delegation succeeded significantly because of the approved Presidential statement on SSR, and contributed to the organ’s effectiveness, and simultaneously to the country’s international prestige. However, several meetings and negotiations had to precede the Presidency, already after the approval of the membership by

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<sup>96</sup> Prandler as quoted in Sydney D. Bailey and Sam Daws, *The Procedure of the UN Security Council. Third Edition* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1998) 130.

<sup>97</sup> Deputy Head of Mission Imrich Márton, The Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Budapest – Hungary (3<sup>rd</sup> Secretary of the Slovak Republic to the United Nations during the Non-permanent Membership in the UN Security Council), interviewed by author, 16 April 2008, Budapest, The Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Budapest – Hungary.

the GA before it took the position in the Security Council. There were five diplomats, who were dispatched to the Permanent mission in New York already in 2005 (Imrich Márton counts also to them) for the purpose of reinforcing the diplomatic apparatus and assure the preparation of mission's technical necessities for the non-permanent membership, and simultaneously for the expected Presidency (such as logistics, networking, mechanism for the cooperation with the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs).<sup>98</sup>

Already before the start of the tenure, a thorough and responsible preparation and learning from 'more experienced' delegations that already accomplished their mission were carried out as a precondition for achieving the Council's current procedural needs of approving decisions successfully on a consensual basis. Regular formal, informal and private meetings and consultations were organized with former non-permanent members in the UN SC, but also with the future ones that Slovakia had to share responsibility with for maintaining global peace and security during the two-year term. Alongside these meetings, a working group chaired by Peter Burian was established in 2005, which assumed the responsibility for the systems-related tasks for the future membership. The group closely collaborated with the Administrating Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bratislava, composed of heads of particular departments in the Ministry that managed the political and conceptual aspects of the membership.<sup>99</sup> The co-operation of these units significantly contributed to the identification of the specific issue of SSR as the detected niche for a thematic discussion for the country's Presidency.

The SSR was evaluated as very useful, practical and appropriate issue that should be discussed within the Security Council, because it deals with the reconstruction of post-conflict

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<sup>98</sup> Deputy Head of Mission Imrich Márton, interviewed by author, 16 April 2008, Budapest.

<sup>99</sup> Samson, 58.

regions through the reform of armed forces.<sup>100</sup> Although this theme was not unknown to the UN before Slovakia entered the SC and several discussions occurred to the related problem, no specific attention had been paid to it.<sup>101</sup> “What has been absent to date is a comprehensive, coherent and co-ordinated UN approach to SSR.”<sup>102</sup>

At this early point of analysis of the Slovak Presidency in the UN SC, it also has to be mentioned that, according to H.E. Peter Burian, there was no external pressure on the Slovak delegation from any of the great powers to pursue the issue of SSR as the neorealist theory of international relations would assume. According to this theory the “foreign policy [of small states] will reflect an attentiveness to the constraints of the international environment and foreign-policy goals will be less constrained by the domestic political process.”<sup>103</sup> The decision on the proposal of the issue was made by the Administrating Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in cooperation with the Permanent mission. This implies that despite respecting the basic values and interests of the European community, not even the partially coordinated foreign and security policies of the EU member states under the ‘Article 19 meetings’<sup>104</sup> at the UN headquarters in New York influenced the approval of the agenda for Slovakia’s Presidency. H.E. Peter Burian stated that the EU Member States were informed

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<sup>100</sup> Slovenské Predsedníctvo v BR OSN (Slovak Presidency in the UN SC), in *Slovensko v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN (Slovakia in the UN Security Council)*, <http://www.unnewyork.mfa.sk/App/WCM/ZU/NewYorkOSN/main.nsf?Open> (accessed April 25, 2008).

<sup>101</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic’s Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

<sup>102</sup> United Nations Security Council, *Slovakia’s Presidency of the Security Council in February 2007. Maintenance of International Peace and Security – Role of the Security Council in Supporting Security Sector Reform. Concept paper prepared for the Security Council open debate*, 1, <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/SSR%201%20Concept.pdf> (accessed May 28, 2008).

<sup>103</sup> Elman, 175.

<sup>104</sup> The ‘Article 19 meetings’ are an institutionalized mechanism, established to coordinate positions on foreign and security policy issues among EU Member states’ permanent missions in New York. However, these meetings do not correspond to this objective and they serve mainly as a forum, where information from the Security Council meetings are provided to EU Member states, which are not represented in the Council.

about Slovakia's intention related to the SSR, though they did not have any say during the preparatory stages.<sup>105</sup>

During the whole year 2006 after identifying the theme for the open discussion that took place in February 2007, Slovakia was very intensively and systematically preparing the expert background for a successful presentation and approval of a thorough approach towards post-conflict regions. Several expert initiatives were organized in 2006 in cooperation with non-governmental organizations (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces DCAF was of major significance) that preceded the finalization of the main document to be presented during the Presidency. In July 2006, an international workshop 'Developing a Security Sector Reform (SSR) Concept for the United Nations' took place in Bratislava that defined the cornerstones of this global security issue. Afterwards, two round tables (The Role of the United Nations in Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform (SSR), Multilateral and Regional Approaches to Security Sector Reform: Lessons for the Development of a UN SSR Concept) were organized in New York in cooperation with the Netherlands and Canada in November and December 2006.<sup>106</sup> These "mainly focused on the task of the UN in post-conflict reform of the security sector and the cooperation of the UN with regional, sub-regional and other international organizations in the drafting of the UN policy in the security sector reform..."<sup>107</sup>

One of the decisive moments during the preparatory stages for the SC's Presidency was the detailed stipulation of the agenda for the whole monthly tenure. The subject, timing and form of all debates of the SC in February had to be considered in detail, prior to the beginning of the Presidency. Simultaneously, major issues on the agenda were subject of negotiations with

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<sup>105</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Peter Burian, interview by the author, 17 March 2008.

<sup>106</sup> Ivo Samson, "Pôsobenie SR v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN" (The Performance of the Slovak Republic in the UN Security Council), in *Ročenka zahraničnej politiky Slovenskej republiky 2006* (Yearbook of Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic 2006), (Bratislava: Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, 2007), 49 – 50.

<sup>107</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak republic, *2006 Slovak Republic's Foreign Policy Report* (Bratislava, 2006), 20.

other SC members, because this is considered as an important task for assuring a smooth course of discussions with the outcomes of approved decisions (resolutions, Presidency statements). This has been done also with particular departments of the UN Secretariat and NGOs, which matter in a significant extent during the decision-making procedures in the UN bodies in present times. The purpose of these negotiations, mainly with the members of the UN SC is to prevent a deadlock of deliberations and inform other countries about the intentions to be done during the Presidency. Slovakia's effort to accomplish this task in a detailed manner was a prerequisite for success, which was achieved during 28 days, when presiding the Council. Sensitive and potentially problematic questions of the discussions were negotiated in advance. Therefore, the formal discussions that took place in February 2007 occurred in a very smooth and successful way.<sup>108</sup>

The preparatory stage presented in the abovementioned paragraphs is being perceived as a proper way for success even for non-permanent members, who can manage the Council during the one-month Presidency. There are only few states, which prepare for the Presidency in such a detailed and thorough engagement so long before taking the presiding position as did the Slovak Permanent mission.<sup>109</sup> Slovakia's impact on the international environment is attributed predominantly to this factor, being more specific, as I will argue in the last chapter leadership, issue specificity and the proposing country's specificity are decisive aspects that influenced the preparatory and implementary stages of the membership.

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<sup>108</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone predsedníctva SR v Bezpečnostnej rade OSN (február 2007)* (Information about the Performance of the Presidency of the Slovak Republic in the UN Security Council (February 2007)), (Bratislava, 2007), 3.

<sup>109</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic's Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

### 2.3.2 *Presiding the Security Council in February 2007*

“Leading the UN SC is, obviously, the peak of the whole membership. The decisions of this most important body of a multinational organization affect the events in the whole planet.”<sup>110</sup>

28 days of Presidency in the Council that were provided to Slovakia according to the adopted rules, served the country to use this space for maneuver and have an impact on issues concerning global security despite its smallness in international relations.

There were significant outcomes reached during the Slovak Presidency, besides the issue of the approved SSR – three open discussions (SSR; non-proliferation of WMD; current situation in the Near and Middle East, the Palestinian question inclusive), one public debate on the situation in East Timor, eight informal consultations on the agenda of the UN SC (mainly on the conflicts in Africa), two lunches with the members of the UN SC and Secretary General Ban Ki-moon (one of them specifically related to the SSR with the presence of the Slovak Foreign Minister Ján Kubiš). The tangible results during the monthly tenure were four resolutions (extension of the peace forces’ mandates in the Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, Haiti and the authorization of a mission in Somalia), two Presidency Statements (SSR, non-proliferation of WMD) and seven press releases.<sup>111</sup>

Most attention from the abovementioned achievements was attributed to the open thematic discussion on the SSR that took place on 20 February 2007 and was led by the Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Ján Kubiš. There were no such high expectations from the Slovak delegation as the outcomes reached through the acceptance of the Presidential statement on SSR, which is considered to be the decisive element for the reconstruction of post-conflict regions and prevention of conflicts’ renewal. It is a cross-sectional topic that can be applied generally to the post-conflict regions, though the first intention of Slovakia was to apply it

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<sup>110</sup> Matisák

<sup>111</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic’s Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

solely to the African region, but afterwards a document that is generally applicable to developing countries was approved.

Slovakia's initiative related to an issue of international concern is perceived as current and demanding that might definitely contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in practice, as well. This can be argued also through the fact that the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon was present during the whole thematic discussion of 20 February 2007, because it happens during the formal discussions or informal consultations of Security Council rather rarely. Besides this, the Secretary General accepted his personal commitment to deal with the issue of SSR prioritely after Slovakia's Presidency, as well and to present a complex report on SSR to all relevant UN bodies.<sup>112</sup> Such a direct engagement of Ban Ki-moon to the issue of SSR can be perceived as a proper start for the issue's implementation in regions, where this might solve the post-conflict reconstruction. The seriousness of the Secretary General's position and attitudes by other UN bodies, multinational organizations and what is more particular countries, mainly developing ones, can assure the acceptance of the SSR proposal not only in theory (approval in the UN system) but also in practice. Therefore the "course and outcomes of the thematic discussion of the UN SC on the SSR have gained a very positive feedback in the whole UN system and also among other UN member states."<sup>113</sup>

The success of Slovakia and relevance of the elaborated and presented issue can be proved also by the presence of particular UN organs' high representatives during the thematic discussion, whose competences concern the SSR, as well - the chairwoman of the GA's 61. session sheikh Rašíd Al-Chalif, the chairman of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Dalius Čekuolis and the chairman of the Organizational Committee of the UN Peacebuilding Commission Ismael Abraã Gaspar Martins. According to a Russian diplomat at the UN Vitalij

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<sup>112</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone...* (Information about the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2007) 2.

<sup>113</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone...* (Information about the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2007) 2.

Čurkin, “Slovakia can be very proud of its first Presidency [at the UN SC]. After all, it happened the first time during open thematic discussions that the new UN Secretary General and chairwoman of the General Assembly sat at one table in the Security Council.”<sup>114</sup>

Due to the applicability of the SSR generally to post-conflict regions, and its non-specificity to any of the crises regions, the form of a Presidential statement rather than a Resolution was chosen by the Slovak delegation to present the topic for approval in the open discussion. According to H.E. Peter Burian the most difficult task the Permanent mission had to face was related especially to the formulation of the Presidential statement. Particularly the negotiations with the permanent and non-permanent members prior to the thematic discussion on the SSR were the most demanding tasks for the delegation during the Presidency. Paragraph by paragraph, phrase by phrase and word by word of the Presidential statement had to be discussed with each member state, for the sake of making the document consensually acceptable on the formal discussion. This was the only way, how to avoid complications with the process of approval and assure the main objective of the mission to make the Central European country globally visible through an issue proposal, which is of international concern.<sup>115</sup>

However, during the phase of negotiations, despite the non-controversiality of the topic, several UN SC member states had some major objections to the SSR. According to Imrich Márton, predominantly Russia and China, two of the Council’s permanent members, did not agree that the issue comes under the competences of the UN SC, and would rather prefer the GA or the C34<sup>116</sup> group to deal with this problem. However, this problem was tackled by the argument that even the name of the proposal for thematic discussion – SSR – includes the

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<sup>114</sup> Vitalij Čurkin as quoted in Matišák

<sup>115</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Peter Burian, interview by the author, 17 March 2008.

<sup>116</sup> United Nations Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations

word security, which is of particular concern for the SC.<sup>117</sup> The approval of the Presidential statement by all 15 member states of the SC on 20 February 2007 is a clear evidence that the diplomatic efforts of the mission succeeded during the formal and informal negotiations, which preceded the thematic discussion.

In the previous section about the impact of Slovakia on the international environment through the subsidiary bodies of the Council, it was already stated that another Presidential statement besides the one regarding the SSR was proposed and approved on 23 February 2007 also during a thematic discussion presided by Minister Kubiš. It concerned the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, which is also a tangible outcome of the country's chairmanship in the UN Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1540 (2004), which Deals with the Issues of Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. It happens rarely in the SC that during a country's Presidency more than one thematic discussion from a country's own initiative is organized.<sup>118</sup>

### ***2.3.3 Why is the Security Sector Reform Presented by Slovakia in the Security Council Considered as a Global Security Issue of Crucial Importance?***

If the main argument of this thesis about the space for maneuver provided to small states, or non-permanent members for influencing global politics through the UN SC is being supported by the case of Slovakia and the proposed SSR, then one should understand the reason, why the SSR is so crucial for the international environment, and why is it perceived as an unambiguous success for Slovakia. This is going to be the purpose of this subsection, while presenting the essence and indispensability of the SSR for post-conflict regions supported by expert analysis.

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<sup>117</sup> Deputy Head of Mission Imrich Márton, interviewed by author, 16 April 2008, Budapest.

<sup>118</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone...* (Information about the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2007) 3.

“A narrow definition of the security sector focuses on the provision of public security, encompassing all organizations and agencies authorized to threaten or use violence in order to protect the state, its citizens or its external environment.”<sup>119</sup> A specification and categorization of these organizations and agencies is provided also in the Presidential statement proposed by Slovakia to the UN SC: “core security actors including law enforcement institutions (such as armed forces, police, intelligence and security services); security management and oversight bodies (such as parliament, government, ministries of defense, foreign and internal affairs); justice institutions (such as justice ministries, prisons, judiciary) and non-statutory security forces (such as liberation armies, private security companies).”<sup>120</sup> Therefore, talking about the reform of the security sector, this concerns all stated bodies that directly or indirectly have affect on a country’s security and justice.

According to Brzoska, the post-conflict regions are often featured by “politicization, ethnicization and corruption of the security services; excessive military spending; lack of professionalism; poor oversight and inefficient allocation of resources.”<sup>121</sup> These obstacles “to peace, stability, poverty reduction, sustainable development, rule of law, good governance and the respect for human rights” often hinder the process of reconstruction in the post-conflict regions, and may, in fact, affect the renewal of conflicts (this has been the case in East Timor and Haiti, where the relatively peaceful situation degraded to the preceding conflict).<sup>122</sup> Thus, the main purpose of the SSR is to ensure a democratic control over the aforementioned subjects, increase the effectiveness of the armed forces and prevent further discords, while the legislative bodies supposed to play the most significant role in this process.

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<sup>119</sup> Michael Brzoska, introduction to *Security Sector Reconstruction and Reform in Peace Support Operations*, by Michael Brzoska and David Law (Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2007), iii.

<sup>120</sup> United Nations Security Council, “*Slovakia’s Presidency of the Security Council in February 2007. Maintenance of ...*, I.

<sup>121</sup> Brzoska and Law, i.

<sup>122</sup> United Nations Security Council, “*Slovakia’s Presidency of the Security Council in February 2007. Maintenance of International...*, I.

[T]he overarching objective of SSR is to ensure that the security institutions perform their statutory functions – to deliver security and justice to the state and its people – efficiently and effectively in an environment consistent with democratic norms and the principles of good governance and the rule of law, thereby promoting human security.<sup>123</sup>

According to Samson and Korba, the control of armed forces was also the major precondition for the transformation of post-communist countries and their successful integration to the Euro Atlantic structures.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, the unique experience of Slovakia from such transformation policies and the need for a more systematic UN approach towards this issue were the most appropriate prerequisites for success with the SSR in the UN SC.

Multinational organizations are the major actors involved in the process of SSR policy formation and implementation. The OECD, EU, UN, NATO, OSCE, Council of Europe, all of them deal with the issue of SSR, however, majority of them do not have an ‘overall approach’, which could be applied to countries in concern. Only recently, the UN, the EU and the OECD initiated a systematic approach towards the SSR, although this has not been fully implemented into practice, yet. The engagement of the UN in tackling this issue on a regular basis started after Slovakia’s Presidency in the UN SC, what definitely influenced “the organizational structure of the Secretariat” and led “to the UN developing its own SSR concept.”<sup>125</sup> “[N]o common understanding, much less a comprehensive policy framework, that would guide UN support to SSR programmes in a coherent, co-ordinated and thus sustainable way” were the main incentives identified by Slovakia and were used as a niche to succeed during its membership in the UN SC.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> United Nations Security Council, “*Slovakia’s Presidency of the Security Council in February 2007. Maintenance of International ...*, 2.

<sup>124</sup> Ivo Samson and Matúš Korba, “Reforma bezpečnostného sektora. Skúsenosti Slovenskej republiky” (Security Sector Reform. Experiences of the Slovak Republic), Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (Bratislava, December 2006) 7, <http://www.sfpa.sk/dokumenty/publikacie/137> (accessed May 27, 2008).

<sup>125</sup> David M. Law, “Intergovernmental Organizations and their Role in Security Sector Reform,” in *Intergovernmental Organizations and Security Sector Reform* (Zürich, Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007) 11 – 12.

<sup>126</sup> United Nations Security Council, “*Slovakia’s Presidency of the Security Council in February 2007. Maintenance of International ...*, 2.

Last but not least, one has to consider the advantages that the implementation of SSR in post-conflict regions implies for multinational organizations, specifically for the UN, which are engaged through their military or civilian missions in the post-conflict regions. Had the implementation of SSR been successful and the domestic forces under the effective control, then the army units of a particular international organization could have been withdrawn from the region (the UN uses the term *exit strategy* for these cases). Consequently, an increase in financial effectiveness of the international organization involved in the region could be reached, because the necessity to fund the mission would cease to exist.<sup>127</sup> This argument and the contribution of the SSR for post-conflict regions definitely support the assumption that Slovakia through an active approach in this issue, managed to play a key role in the prestigious UN organ and make itself internationally visible, predominantly within the UN system.

### ***2.3.4 The Leading Role of Slovakia in the United Nations on the Issue of Security Sector Reform after the Presidency in the Security Council***

The end of Slovakia's 2007 February Presidency in the UN SC did not mean at all that the country will not continue its active engagement at an expert level on the further elaboration and implementation of the SSR in post-conflict regions. On the contrary, Slovakia's proper finding of a niche, which enabled it as a small state to make itself visible within the UN system, assured the country a leading role within the issue of SSR in other, also newly formed UN bodies. Slovakia is perceived as the driving force for the implementation of a complex and systematic approach towards the SSR.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Deputy Head of Mission Imrich Márton, interviewed by author, 16 April 2008, Budapest.

<sup>128</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, "Minister J. Kubiš rokoval s Pan Ki-munom a jeho námestníkmi" (Minister J. Kubiš debated with Ban Ki-moon and His deputies), 13 May 2008, [http://www.mzv.sk/servlet/content?MT=/App/WCM/main.nsf/vw\\_ByID/ID\\_60BFE0A6939BE901C125708400](http://www.mzv.sk/servlet/content?MT=/App/WCM/main.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_60BFE0A6939BE901C125708400)

In close cooperation with the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, the Slovak delegation was involved in the process of establishing the institutional arrangements within the UN system that would assure a more systematic and thorough attention to the SSR. On the basis of Ban Ki-moon's decision, an UN inter-agency working group for the SSR has been established, which is organized by the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the UN Development Program (UNDP). The core group of this institutional arrangement consists of nine countries and Slovakia is one of these representatives.<sup>129</sup>

“There had been a very positive response to the Slovak initiative to create a United Nations group of friends on security sector reform, which now had more than 30 members.”<sup>130</sup> Slovakia was appointed as the coordinator of the whole group and manages its agenda related solely to the SSR. Apart from this, the issue of the SSR dynamically branched to the agenda of several other UN organs, and what is more, a more systematic and thorough approach has been launched in other international organizations – NATO, OSCE, EU after the initiative of Slovakia, a fully integrated member to all of these institutions.<sup>131</sup>

After 31 December 2007, when Slovakia finished its tenure as a non-permanent member in the UN SC, a complex Report of the Secretary-General on “Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform”<sup>132</sup> was issued (23 January 2008). Right at the beginning of the report, the request to present a report by the SC Presidential statement of 21 February and the GA Resolution 61/291 are emphasized as the

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<sup>129</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Vyhodnotenie pôsobenia Slovenskej republiky...* (The Evaluation of the Slovak Republic's Performance...), (Bratislava, 2008).

<sup>130</sup> UN Document SC 9327, 12 May 2008, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sc9327.doc.htm> (accessed May 28, 2008).

<sup>131</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Peter Burian, interview by the author, 17 March 2008.

<sup>132</sup> UN Document A/62/659 – S/2008/39, 23 January 2008, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/216/06/PDF/N0821606.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed May 28, 2008).

main impetus for the Secretary General to issue the abovementioned complex report.<sup>133</sup> This can be considered as the most significant outcome that has been reached in accordance to the SSR, an issue of international concern presented the first time in a more comprehensive way by Slovakia.

The successful outcomes of Slovakia's efforts in the UN SC were positively assessed and appreciated by the official visit of the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in Slovakia on 27 – 28 January 2008. His acceptance of President Gašparovič's invitation has been perceived by the country as an honor for the accomplished tasks related to the SSR, which in present days counts to the UN's policy priorities for the reconstruction of post-conflict regions.

The leading role of Slovakia for the issues related to SSR within the UN system was recognized by other member states, which carry on the discussions on SSR in the UN SC. The British Presidency in the SC, which was held in May 2008, invited the Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Ján Kubiš for a briefing on the SSR, where he delivered a speech on 13 May 2008 right after the Secretary General's performance. During his stay at the UN in New York, an open discussion was organized by the Permanent mission of Slovakia, which was devoted already to a specific region, where the SSR is the most suitable to apply and implement in current days – East Timor and Haiti.<sup>134</sup> The course of these events can be explained in a way that was declared in the official governmental document *Information about Slovakia's performance in the Security Council of the UN* that the success achieved during the Presidency in the UN SC "binds Slovakia and evokes expectations from other countries" to continue with its active engagement in the issue of SSR also after the end of the non-permanent membership.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> UN Document A/62/659 – S/2008/39, 23 January 2008

<sup>134</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, "Minister J. Kubiš rokoval ..." (Minister J. Kubiš debated ...), (2008).

<sup>135</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone...* (Information about the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2007) 4.

The aim of this chapter was to support the assumption raised in the theoretical framework of this thesis, which points out that states with lack of physical power capabilities are able to make themselves internationally visible and contribute to crucial decisions in the international arena through a thorough and active approach in an international organization. It is to say that “[e]specially small states are often able to offer and mediate solutions in those cases, where larger countries do not get on well. Slovakia managed to do so more often, also during its non-permanent membership in the UN SC during the period 2006-2007.”<sup>136</sup> Hence, the case of Slovakia in this UN body was chosen to demonstrate and build up the argument from the theoretical part that the UN SC provides considerable space for maneuver for its non-permanent members, despite the power asymmetries during deliberations. A support of this assumption by a specific case of a non-permanent member in this chapter elucidated the opportunities to affect the outcomes of discussions on themes belonging under the competences of the UN SC.

In this respect, major focus was paid in this chapter to Slovakia’s performance in the Council’s subsidiary bodies and the February 2007 Presidency. Mainly, the Presidency in the UN SC is being perceived by Slovakia as a possibility, which “may in a significant extent contribute to a country’s and its diplomacy’s visibility, while this peculiarly goes for small countries.”<sup>137</sup> These opportunities to lead the Council’s functioning enabled the country to put effort in having an impact on global politics, being more specific through the proposal of two Presidential statements on the prevention of proliferation of WMD and on the SSR during its 2006-2007 membership. Considerable success is attributed to the Central European country’s performance in the UN SC especially in relation to the SSR, although, despite the approved complex report of the Secretary-General, there is no empirical evidence yet, which would

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<sup>136</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone...* (Information about the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2007) 5.

<sup>137</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Informácia o výkone...* (Information about the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2007) 1.

even more emphasize the overall effect of a small state's initiative carried out through the UN SC. The main explanation for this fact is the statement's topicality and very early stage of the policy's implementation. However, the active engagement of several UN bodies, UN Secretary General, UN member states, and other multinational organization on the one hand and the ever growing necessity to implement the policies of SSR in post-conflict regions to prevent the conflict's renewal on the other hand, can be perceived as factors that will follow through the Slovak proposal to a practical and effective end.

The case of Slovakia shows that a small state can make use of the space for maneuver provided by the Council. However, at this stage of analyses it still has to be discussed, which factors are decisive and can contribute to the effort of a small state to play a key role in international organizations or more specifically in the Security Council, an organ that is responsible for the maintenance of global peace and security. Therefore, the following third chapter will focus on leadership theories, issue specificities and the proposing country's specificities as determinants of success for small states in affecting the international society. These will be considered as major factors, which played considerable role in the aim of Slovakia to influence global politics and make itself globally visible through the membership in the UN SC.

### **CHAPTER 3 – FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUCCESS OF SLOVAKIA DURING ITS NON-PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL**

The previous chapters (theoretical considerations supported by a case study) were predominantly related to the main hypothesis that the UN SC provides space for maneuver for non-permanent members, as well, which are perceived as small states in comparison to the permanent Five, because of their limited competences due to the great powers' right of veto. To complement the analysis, the main aim of the final chapter will be to specify and investigate the determinants, which are supposed to answer the main research question for this part of the thesis, how did Slovakia as a non-permanent member manage to play a successful role in the UN SC if the same competences and working procedures of the Council go for each non-permanent member, most of which did not succeed to such an extent. The subhypothesis related to this part of the thesis suggests that the interplay of the defined factors can be understood as the precondition for success during multilateral negotiations in the Security Council.

While the Council's new working procedures stake out the boundaries, within which the non-permanent members are allowed to influence international security processes through the activities of the UN SC, it does not directly imply that these members are willing to make an effective use of these possibilities. In this regard the decision is up to them, whether they will intend to succeed with a striking international security issue. If a country represented as a non-permanent member in the UN SC realizes the potential provided to it to influence events of international concern despite the power asymmetry, other factors than the Council's new

working procedures favoring these countries come into consideration. Indeed, “[b]y analyzing the roles of small states in the networks of IGOs, one can discover how skillful use of multilateral diplomacy can alter the power equation, leading to outcomes that serve the interests of people, groups, and states that are not necessarily considered powerful.”<sup>138</sup> Some of these ‘elements of success’ as means of multilateral diplomacy are, however, not generally applicable to all non-permanent members in the UN SC, but will follow from the presented case of Slovakia. Nevertheless, most of them are learnable and acquirable by small states for the purposes of increasing their voice in the international arena.

In particular, *issue-specificity* (“issue-specific structural power”<sup>139</sup> as “the power of ideas”<sup>140</sup>), *leadership* (negotiating abilities of leaders to attract the interest of other states and to use the means of multilateral diplomacy during bargaining as the “behavioral power”<sup>141</sup>) and *the proposing country’s specificity* (such as historical predispositions, non-alignment, political and economic development) are determinants, which the following analysis will be devoted to. The constellation of these three factors in addition to the new working procedures of the UN SC, which seemingly favor non-permanent members, is to be considered as the formula, which enabled Slovakia to contribute with its own initiative to the development of a complex approach of the UN on a specific issue of considerable significance – SSR.

### **3.1 Considering Issue-specificity as the First Precondition for Slovakia’s Success**

The Security Sector Reform was the priority issue of the Slovak membership in the UN SC presented during the 2007 February Presidency, which was chosen as an appropriate theme to overcome the power asymmetry of the Council (permanent vs. non-permanent members). The

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<sup>138</sup> Karns and Mingst, 264.

<sup>139</sup> Mark Habeeb as cited in Jönsson, 220.

<sup>140</sup> Laurent Goetschel, Goldstein, Robert O. Keohane, Young

<sup>141</sup> Habeeb as cited in Jönsson, 220.

Slovak delegation tried to compensate the country's power deficit through other means than physical capabilities or structural power, which the small Central European state does not have at its disposal. A wise foreign policy behavior executed through "qualitative virtues" based predominantly on the "power of ideas"<sup>142</sup> supposed to be the formula for achieving the stipulated objectives – to have an impact on the decision-making procedures related to issues of global significance and, simultaneously, to raise the prestige of the country at the international level.<sup>143</sup>

The strategy picked by Slovakia to achieve its goals in the UN SC, based on a specific issue's necessity for the Council's responsibility to maintain international peace and security, became the priority around which the country's limited resources were concentrated.<sup>144</sup> The ambition of Slovakia came out of the conviction that even small states are provided with the opportunity to increase their voice in international relations through the performance in international organizations, however, the focus was on soft power capacities rather than hard power capabilities. "As many scholars on soft power have noted, the international power of getting others to want what one wants through attraction instead of coercion, defies sovereignty-bound ways of comprehending power."<sup>145</sup> The attraction in the case of Slovakia was mostly influenced, first by the specificity and the nature of the issue of SSR related generally to post-conflict reconstruction and second by the choice, which has not been based on an accidental stipulation, but was rationally connected to historical and empirical particularities of the country. Consequently, the "issue-specific power", which "is determined by available alternatives, commitment and control (the degree to which one side can unilaterally achieve its preferred outcome)"<sup>146</sup>, draw the attention of the other 14 SC's

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<sup>142</sup> Goetschel, 4 – 5.

<sup>143</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak republic, *Slovakia's Foreign Policy Orientation for 2007* (Bratislava, 2006) 12.

<sup>144</sup> Karns and Mingst, 264.

<sup>145</sup> Chong, 7.

<sup>146</sup> Jönsson, 220.

member states and evolved their interest to such an extent that Slovakia managed to win recognition in the whole UN system thanks to the issue's approval.

The next point to be elucidated are reasons for, why the particular issue of SSR is to be considered as specific with the potential to succeed and what were the major aspects that led Slovakia to the adoption of the topic for its performance in the UN SC. These can be generalized to some 'touchstones of success' for other future member countries in the Council that might also be intensely willing to play a key role in the UN SC.

Firstly, the issue to be presented in the UN SC for a thematic discussion might be destined to succeed, if the initiator is/was directly involved in the problem, is familiar with the specific issue's area or has direct experiences with the presented topic. Such historical and empirical peculiarities potentially raise the trust, responsibility and positive perception about the expert background among the Council's members. Thus, if one of the abovementioned factors is fulfilled, the Council's members might be more easily convinced about the presented issue's necessity. Obviously, this is the case of Slovakia, which utilized its direct experience from SSR in the post-communist transformation period and, on the basis of the rapidly and effectively implemented reform of the security and justice components, managed to cope with changes leading to democratization. The opportunity to involve the country's experts on SSR and the interest to share the valuable transformation experiences<sup>147</sup>, are both elements of soft power that were materialized in the success of Slovakia during its non-permanent membership. Therefore, the informational potential and know-how a country has at its disposal, may also very likely determine the overall performance and results of that particular country's UN SC membership and help to specify the issue to be materialized in an impact on global politics.

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<sup>147</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, *Základný rámec pre pôsobenie...* (The Basic Framework for the Performance...), (Bratislava, 2006) 5.

Secondly, when considering the specificity of the issue to be presented in the UN SC, or in international organizations in general, the initiator has to respect the questions and problems that come under the competences of this organ. The fact that the UN SC is responsible for the maintenance of global peace and security means that 70-80% of its priority agenda relates to the African region regularly encumbered with armed conflicts.<sup>148</sup> Therefore, this fact and the global responsibility to handle the problems of this particular region generate an overall effect, which commits the Council's 15 members to achieve tangible results by policy approvals and their implementations for the African conflict regions. Also, the permanent Five is less prone to apply the power of the veto in questions related to the African continent, because the arguments of African countries about the great necessity to approve resolutions and Presidential statements solving their problems are difficult to neglect or refuse.<sup>149</sup> Again, the issue of SSR suitably fits to this specification, because, despite its general applicability to post-conflict regions, most of the regions expecting a SSR are located on the African continent. Because of these reasons, the issue-specific power that Slovakia had with SSR at disposal, supposedly, influenced the success of the country achieved through the presented proposal in the UN SC.

Last but not least, the way how to overcome power disparities in the UN SC through issue-specificity relates to its future prospects and the degree of controversiality. If a presented issue is of long-term importance, such as the SSR, there is a higher potential for approval due to the need of paying permanent attention to problems that come under the organ's competences. Furthermore, if the presented issue is non-controversial, or does not imply an impression (predominantly on the great powers) that the initiator has some geopolitical demands to involve the region in concern under its sphere of influence, there is a great potential for success in the UN SC. This has been proven through the Slovak initiative, whose proposal on

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<sup>148</sup> Samson, 62.

<sup>149</sup> Deputy Head of Mission Imrich Márton, interviewed by author, 16 April 2008, Budapest.

SSR is neutral and non-controversial on the one side, but crucial and indispensable for maintaining sustainable peace and security on the other side.<sup>150</sup>

The issue-specific power as the first of several determinants for success to be mentioned in this chapter was related to three, respectively four dimensions in the abovementioned discussion – a country’s historical and empirical experiences with the issue, match with the organ’s main priorities (sectional and regional), the issue’s long-term applicability and non-controversiality. However, the positive outcome of a non-permanent member’s effort in the UN SC depends on other factors, as well, predominantly on the role of leaders, which is going to be discussed in the following section.

### **3.2 Considering Leadership as the Second Precondition for Slovakia’s Success**

The role of leaders, as representatives of particular states, is of considerable significance during negotiations in international organizations.<sup>151</sup> According to Oran R. Young, leadership “is a critical determinant of success or failure [but not sufficient] in the process of institutional bargaining that dominate efforts to form international regimes or, more generally, institutional arrangements in international society.”<sup>152</sup> This implies that countries represented in international organizations can make an effective use of leaders, who are capable of having a positive impact on multilateral negotiations, during which issues of international concern are discussed and approved. Hence, small states, which do not possess physical power capabilities (quantitative factors) that can be efficiently applied to maneuver during negotiations in international organizations, should care about substitutive factors (qualitative), namely skillful leaders, who can reach positive outcomes.

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<sup>150</sup> Ivo Samson, consultation, 12 May 2008, Bratislava.

<sup>151</sup> See Christer Jönsson, Margaret Hermann, Malnes, Sjöstedt, Underdal, Young, Colin Clarke, Tony Payne.

<sup>152</sup> Oran R. Young, “Political Leadership and Regime Formation: on the Development of Institutions in International Society,” *International Organizations*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer, 1991): 281, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706733.pdf> (accessed May 29, 2008).

Thus, in relation to the UN SC, in which major attention is paid to multilateral negotiations during informal meetings and consultations in present days, member states should be represented by experienced and competent leaders. The objectives of these leaders in the Council refer “to the actions of individuals who endeavor to solve or circumvent the collective action problems that plague the efforts of parties seeking to reap joint gains in process of institutional bargaining.”<sup>153</sup> The contribution of this factor to successful outcomes is of higher significance in the case of non-permanent members in the UN SC, which do not, as already mentioned in relation to small states, have such a physical and procedural (veto) power constellation at their disposal as do the permanent members. However, by leaders, one does not only mean particular members of permanent missions at the UN, which are responsible for conducting the business in the UN SC, but also leaders in the homeland, who may have an impact on the attitudes presented in the Council (such as Ministries, NGOs). It is therefore, important to distinguish among several forms of leaders, who can be at the same time involved in the process of striving for success of international merit through the performance in the UN SC. Young’s<sup>154</sup> categorization of leadership forms to structural, entrepreneurial and intellectual will be applied on the case of Slovakia, and afterwards a generalization of this issue as a precondition for success of non-permanent members in the Council will be provided in this section.

*Structural leaders* are individuals, whose advantage during negotiations relies mostly on their abilities to translate the structural power of the country they represent (when considering the structural power, the author clearly refers to great powers or countries with a significant potential of physical power capabilities) into “bargaining leverages”. According to Young, this implies that structural leaders do not necessarily have to have other special abilities, such as intellectual or bargaining skills at their disposal, because of the reason they use the strong

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<sup>153</sup> Young, 285.

<sup>154</sup> Young, 281 – 308.

position of their homeland in international relations as a backing and advantage in achieving the outcomes related mostly to their own country's interests.<sup>155</sup>

Although, I assume that this component did most probably not play a role in Slovakia's success in the UN SC, it was necessary to mention it from the perspective of other non-permanent member states, which are greater powers in comparison to, for instance Slovakia in the Council (like Germany, Brazil, India). These, despite their limited roles in the Council due to the veto power of the permanent Five (which is, as clarified earlier, not used to such an extent in current times than before) can still make use of their structural power in this UN organ during multilateral negotiations.

Considering the power of structural leaders during negotiations in the UN SC, there is another point, which should be mentioned in relation to Slovakia's success and the author's thoughts. Young argues that the structural power may play a key role also in cases, when "coalitions of advanced industrialized states" are formed, while strengthening and preserving their common position in relation to other negotiating powers.<sup>156</sup> In this respect, Slovakia as an industrialized and democratic state, fully integrated into Euro Atlantic institutional arrangements, could have a structural support during negotiations of other states belonging to this community, which were represented in the Council during the same term (Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium). However, because of rather probabilistic or speculative approaches to this assumption, I will base my argumentation on the following two forms of leadership and their interplay that will elucidate Slovakia's path for success in a more profound way.

Proceeding with *the intellectual leadership* that should be considered priorly to the entrepreneurial one, when analyzing the role of leaders in relations to Slovakia's success in

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<sup>155</sup> Young, 288 – 293.

<sup>156</sup> Young, 291.

the UN SC, according to Young, an intellectual leader is a person, who uses his/her “power of ideas”<sup>157</sup> or intellectual skills to form the “perspectives” of individuals, who will afterwards interpret and present them in international organizations through their bargaining skills (entrepreneurial leaders). In this respect, intellectual leaders are in my understanding individuals, who are familiar both with the competences and possibilities provided by the appearance in a particular international organization and the power potential (quantitative or qualitative) of their own countries. The combination of these expert understandings enables them to define an appropriate and specific niche with a potential for success, and consequently these leaders can have an impact on individuals directly involved in the coordination and negotiation procedures in international organizations.<sup>158</sup>

When looking at the membership of Slovakia in the UN SC, or being more specific at the presented issue of SSR, one may apply Young’s theoretical approach to the role of intellectual leaders in international organizations on this particular case. The second chapter (the subsection about the preparatory stages for the country’s Presidency) already discussed the process of identifying the specific issue for the thematic discussion during Slovakia’s 2007 February Presidency. Here, it was stated that the Administrating Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs managed the political and conceptual aspects of the membership in a close cooperation with the working group led by Peter Burian already before the start of the tenure and contributed to the specification of the issue to be presented by the Permanent mission in the UN SC during Presidency. In relation to Young’s delineation of three leadership forms, this Committee can be perceived as a group of intellectual leaders, who translated their intellectual capital to the issue of SSR, which was then stipulated as the main theme for the country’s performance in the Council.

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<sup>157</sup> Laurent Goetschel, Goldstein, Robert O. Keohane, Young

<sup>158</sup> Young, 298 – 302.

However, “they [the intellectual leaders] generally have little ability to control the uses that others make of their ideas...”<sup>159</sup> This is the point, where the power and advantages of entrepreneurial leaders, as the last, very important form of leadership, comes into consideration.

*Entrepreneurial leaders* are individuals, who apply their negotiating skills in practice during bargaining in a way that assures success materialized in a decision, which particularly reflects their and their country’s interests respectively. If skillful entrepreneurial leaders were not present in place during multilateral negotiations, then most probably a country’s effort to have an impact on the international society through an issue proposal would not be successful. These actors are supposed to follow the national interest and perform on behalf of their home country.<sup>160</sup>

For the most part, they function as (1) agenda setters shaping the form in which issues are presented for consideration at the international level, (2) popularizers drawing attention to the importance of the issues at stake, (3) inventors devising innovative policy options to overcome bargaining impediments, and (4) brokers making deals and lining up support for salient options.<sup>161</sup>

These are mostly the objectives and tasks to be carried out by entrepreneurial leaders and one may easily follow the match of these functions with those a country in Presidency has to cope with in the UN SC (see section 2.3.). Therefore, I strongly assume that the entrepreneurial skills of diplomats, who represent their countries in the Council matter to a significant extent, when discussing the factors that affect positive outcomes in this UN body. These skills actually represent the “behavioral power”, a category defined by Mark Habeeb as a crucial factor for

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<sup>159</sup> Young, 301.

<sup>160</sup> Young, 293-298.

<sup>161</sup> Young, 294.

success during asymmetrical negotiations besides the “issue-specific power”.<sup>162</sup> His claim is supported by William Zartman, as well. He states that “weak parties can often make use of procedural manipulations when substantive equality eludes them”<sup>163</sup> and this is of even more significant importance in case of the Security Council, where the ‘new’ working procedures enable small states to maneuver in issues of international concern, if they are willing to do so.

The role of entrepreneurial leaders or behavioral-power in case of Slovakia’s membership in the UN SC can be definitely attributed to the Permanent delegation to the UN in New York led by Peter Burian, an experienced and skillful Slovak diplomat and negotiator. He played the key role in advancing the SSR as the nation’s interest in the UN SC, and he was perceived by representatives of the Permanent mission as the “child of this issue”, due to his active engagement right from the start of planning Slovakia’s two-year membership.<sup>164</sup> His main functions during the tenure lied in the accomplishment of coordinative tasks of the delegation in the issue of SSR, above all, in negotiating acceptable outcomes that would reflect Slovakia’s interest on an international merit and at the same time in the contribution to the main functions of the UN SC in maintaining global peace and security through maneuvering on the basis of the Council’s working procedures. However, as claimed by Young, prioritizing and making an issue acceptable for other members of multilateral negotiations, efforts and the appearance of “multiple leaders” is required, as well, besides the one, who takes the major responsibility.<sup>165</sup> Therefore, the success accomplished through entrepreneurial and behavioral negotiating skills shall be attributed to the whole Permanent missions to the UN with its 15 members, who

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<sup>162</sup> Habeeb as cited in Jönsson, 220.

<sup>163</sup> William Zartman as quoted in Jönsson, 220.

<sup>164</sup> Deputy Head of Mission Imrich Márton, interviewed by author, 16 April 2008, Budapest.

<sup>165</sup> Young, 297.

applied their skills in materializing the SSR proposal, as the idea that had power, in an approved decision.<sup>166</sup>

As a result, Young came up with several hypotheses, which are to a larger extent supported by the case of Slovakia in regards to the role of leaders in negotiating positive outcomes through international organizations. Firstly, although, leadership is a necessary determinant for reaching agreements in multilateral negotiations, it is not the only precondition for success. An interplay with other factors, not specified by Young, but according to my understandings in relation to the UN SC and Slovakia's membership in this body, issue-specificity, behavioral-specificity and the proposing country's specificity are those, which should be considered, as well. Secondly, in most cases the interaction of at least two forms of leadership is required, because otherwise the possibilities for reaching positive results during negotiations are rather low. The case of Slovakia supports his assumption again, while the interplay of intellectual (The Administrating Committee) and entrepreneurial (permanent mission) groups of leaders are considered as factors that served for the country's success in the Council.<sup>167</sup> Thirdly, Young's last hypothesis suggests that "[m]uch of the real work of regime formation in international society occurs in the interplay of bargaining leverage [structural leadership], negotiating skill [entrepreneurial leadership], and intellectual innovation [intellectual leadership]."<sup>168</sup> However, the case of Slovakia barely supports this assumption, because of the already stated reason about the lack of structural leadership that would be assured through the country's physical power capabilities, which are missing in the case of Slovakia.

Consequently, I argue that his second hypothesis is sufficient enough to explain a country's (even a small country's) success achieved through multilateral negotiations in international

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<sup>166</sup> The mission's or the entrepreneurial leaders' behavioral power lied in a strategy called "power steering", because according to Peter Burian, the Slovak representatives first contacted a smaller group of countries with the request for the SSR's support (non-permanent members) and then the core group, permanent members (United States among the first).

<sup>167</sup> Young, 302 – 307.

<sup>168</sup> Young, 306.

organization, though other factors contributing to success have to be involved in this process, as well (support of Young's 1<sup>st</sup> hypothesis). One of these factors was elucidated priorly to this section (issue-specificity) and another one is going to be discussed in the two following part (the proposing country's specificity).

### **3.3 Considering the Proposing Country's Specificity as the Third Precondition for Slovakia's Success**

The category of the proposing country's specificity counts in my understanding among the factors within the constellation of proper explanations for the positive results of Slovakia's performance in the UN SC. Under this factor, I consider the character of a state that could use its position in a more favorable way than other states during multilateral negotiations. This category might to a limited extent resemble what was presented as structural leadership/power in the previous section, but other factors than physical capabilities or material resources (as defined by Young in his thoughts about structural leadership) are coming into consideration in this case as possible structural advantages during multilateral negotiations.

The specificity of Slovakia on its way for success through the UN SC lies mostly in the historical context of the country, being more specific in the fact that it is unencumbered by colonial and power heritages, which could otherwise create possible obstacles in the Council, where clashes often occur between former colonial powers and 'their' colonies. Therefore, I assume that the country's relative neutrality, in respect to its colonial past might have partly assured smooth negotiations on the issue of SSR, which were not affected by any prejudices or stereotypes with the negotiating partners.<sup>169</sup> What is more, the SSR is a theme, which to a large extent refers to the African region, and therefore, if the presenter was a country with post-

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<sup>169</sup> Samson, 61.

colonial reminiscences, a consensual decision on this particular issue could be apparently blocked.

In respect to the main theoretical concept of the thesis related to the role of small states in international organizations, it is often emphasized that small and inconspicuous countries, which do not have any power claims and have a predictable foreign policy behavior, may most presumably succeed in a specific issue's proposal more than those, whose intentions could be unpredictable. Larger countries, not even counting to the category of great powers, do not in some cases have the chance to play a considerable role with a global policy proposal in international organizations, because other larger states could contest their efforts as aims to enlarge their sphere of influence. Providing an example, Ivo Samson during our consultation argued, if for instance Poland as a country of considerably larger size and less predictable foreign policy than Slovakia, proposed the issue of SSR, it could make other countries suspicious about the Central European state's intention with a consequence of the proposal's non-approval.<sup>170</sup>

Last but not least, small states such as Slovakia can and do succeed in issues of international concern through performance in international organizations, because "their very smallness, their democratic tradition [this is a relative factor in the case of Slovakia, though the country already launched high levels of democratic consolidation] and their relative non-alignment makes them comparatively non-suspect in the field of international relations, and gives them there an important role to play."<sup>171</sup> These factors and economic development as qualitative features of the proposing country may imply significant advantages towards other participants of multilateral negotiations, due to high degrees of credibility and trust.

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<sup>170</sup> Ivo Samson, consultation, 12 May 2008, Bratislava.

<sup>171</sup> Schram, 127.

In short, the third discussed factor, which most likely had an impact on the positive results achieved by Slovakia at international levels, as well, is a very specific one, related to the political or economic character of a country. Therefore, this determinant is hardly generalizable and applicable as ‘an element of success’ to all non-permanent members and rather follows from the specific case of Slovakia. At the same time, unlike issue-specificity and the role of leaders as preconditions for success, which are learnable and suggestible through special skills of individuals, the proposing country’s specificity is heavily susceptible and depends purely on political and economic stances of that particular country in the system of international relations. However, in the case of Slovakia, this factor might have played a significant advantage, when negotiating the desired outcomes with the rest of the Council’s members.

In conclusion, the third chapter considered the determinants of multilateral negotiations that contribute to the performance of small states in the UN Security Council with tangible outcomes and effects on global politics. The provided discussion was necessary due to the gap resulting from the fact that, despite the supported hypothesis about the significant space to maneuver in issues of international security provided by the Council to its non-permanent members, there are other factors needed for succeeding on an international merit through the UN SC. To enumerate these means of multilateral negotiations with positive outcomes, *issue-specificity*, *leadership* and *the proposing country’s specificity* were identified as prerequisites that truly enabled Slovakia to make itself internationally visible and to have a decisive say in a crucial issue of global security.

The subhypothesis for this chapter that the constellation of these three conditions for success helped Slovakia to make an effective use of the Council’s ‘new’ working procedures was supported. While the specificity of the issue, identified by the proposing country’s intellectual

leaders presented for multilateral negotiations can draw the attention of the Council's members, the entrepreneurial leaders with their behavioral power, as was the case of Slovakia, have the negotiating skills to materialize these ideas in concrete decisions. In addition, political and economic characteristics of the proposing country may contribute to smooth negotiations with successful outcomes. Slovakia as a non-permanent member in the UN SC managed to achieve its goals during the 2006-2007 tenure, due to the interplay of these factors. The SSR identified by the country's intellectual leaders priorly to the membership, an active and expert role of the entrepreneurial leaders at the UN in New York and the country's credibility as an integrated democratic state with a considerable economic development are all factors, which affected the overall Slovak success of international merit achieved in the UN SC.

## CONCLUSION

Since states as actors of international relations started to matter, notably the present era makes a time when small states start to matter more than ever. Small states, whose smallness is determined not by quantitative factors such as country size, population size, physical power capabilities, but rather by qualitative ones including their and other countries' perception about the smallness, are definitely not the decisive actors in the international environment. However, by virtue of prudent behavioral approaches, there are ways provided to small states to express their sovereign and autonomous attitudes, through which an impact on the international society is attainable. In particular, international organizations are forums that enable small states to participate in decision-making procedures as equal partners with other countries, where issues of international concern are discussed and approved.

This assumption was tested on the specific case of the UN Security Council, in which non-permanent members operate in a power asymmetry in comparison to the permanent ones as the great powers. Nevertheless, changes after the end of the Cold War stoke out new working procedures in the UN SC as boundaries, within which non-permanent members are allowed to act in the process of influencing the maintenance of global peace and security. Consensual decision-making that emphasizes the assurance of collective security through unanimity in the Council's deliberations, accordingly reduction of vetoes cast by the permanent Five and the ever growing number of informal consultations, where issues are consulted prior to the formal meetings, are to be perceived as factors that compensate the power disparities in the Council's functioning.

However, the main hypothesis of the thesis that there is substantial space for small states or non-permanent members to play significant roles in the UN Security Council and in the

decision-making procedures, where global security issues are discussed and approved, despite the strong claim that the Council is dominated by the permanent Five, was firstly supported through theoretical considerations related to the chairmanship of non-permanent members in the Council's subsidiary bodies and the monthly Presidency. In these posts, non-permanent members, in some cases as insignificant actors in international relations, may utilize the agenda-setting, managerial and issue-initiation competences to increase their voice within this prestigious UN body and influence the adoption of issues of global concern.

The aforementioned assumptions were applied and documented on the case study of Slovakia in the UN SC during its tenure 2006-2007. This particular non-permanent member's performance certainly served as evidence that small states are able to utilize the Council's space for maneuver in security issues through an active appearance in the subsidiary organs and during Presidency. The success of international importance was achieved by the country in relation to the presented issue of Security Sector Reform during the Presidency in February 2007. As a result an unanimously approved Presidential statement filled the missing coherent and comprehensive UN policy framework towards the problem related to post-conflict regions. Slovakia's efforts to materialize the experiences from transitional SSR were driven by the country's attempts to contribute to global peace and security and increase the country's international prestige and visibility. A thorough, precise and expert preparation for the issue's approval, which were carried out predominantly by the Permanent mission to the UN, also demonstrate the fact that Slovakia has continuously a leading role in the UN system in issues related to SSR.

Moreover, although the statement that the UN SC provides significant space also for small states in issues of international concern, this does not directly imply that these states do activate their efforts and utilize such possibilities. Therefore, besides the group of variables related to the Council's working procedures that favor non-permanent members, as well,

another group of variables were needed to be elaborated and elucidated as prerequisites for potential success achieved through the performance in the UN SC. Again, the case of Slovakia was helpful in categorizing this group of variables into three factors as prerequisites for positive outcomes during multilateral negotiations going on in the UN SC. Issue-specificity, materialized in the case of Slovakia in the proposal on SSR, reflects the importance to find the right niche for thematic discussions organized during monthly Presidencies in the Council. Intellectual leaders are mostly capable of forming such issues, and these are then presented through the means of expert negotiating skills by entrepreneurial leaders. As observed on the case of Slovakia, the proposing country's specificity can be perceived as the third factor, which had a positive impact on the course of negotiations because of high degrees of mutual trust and confidence with the partners.

However, one should consider that, even if success has been attributed to Slovakia due to an active and very positive engagement in the SSR, the phase of the policy's implementation into practice is still missing. A complex report on SSR issued by the UN Secretary General in 2008 is the right sign that there is a strong will from the side of the UN to launch these processes in regions in question. Anyway, the topicality of the issue does not allow any current investigation related to the impact of SSR on a specific post-conflict region. Therefore, this can be perceived as a challenge for future research, which could be potentially based on empirical studies of the SSR's effectiveness in concrete regions.

The case of Slovakia backed by theoretical considerations discussed and analyzed in this thesis can be used as an overarching argument that elucidates the role of small states in international organizations and supports the assumption that also small states do matter to a certain extent in international relations. The perception of small states about their smallness in the international arena does not imply at all that there are no other ways than physical power capabilities to be used by small states to exert impact on global events. There are situations,

when an initiative approach of a small state, predominantly through international organizations may increase the influence in the decision-making procedures, during which issues of international significance are discussed and approved. Furthermore, a small state, which takes the initiative to succeed in an issue of international concern, can at the same time contribute to the credibility and effectiveness of the particular international organization that provided the space for an autonomous approach. Consequently, the performance and significance of the Security Council could be risen through a more frequent and thorough behavior of non-permanent members, which can utilize the opportunities offered by this UN body to maintain international peace and security.

# APPENDIX

## The international environment

## Factors as preconditions for success

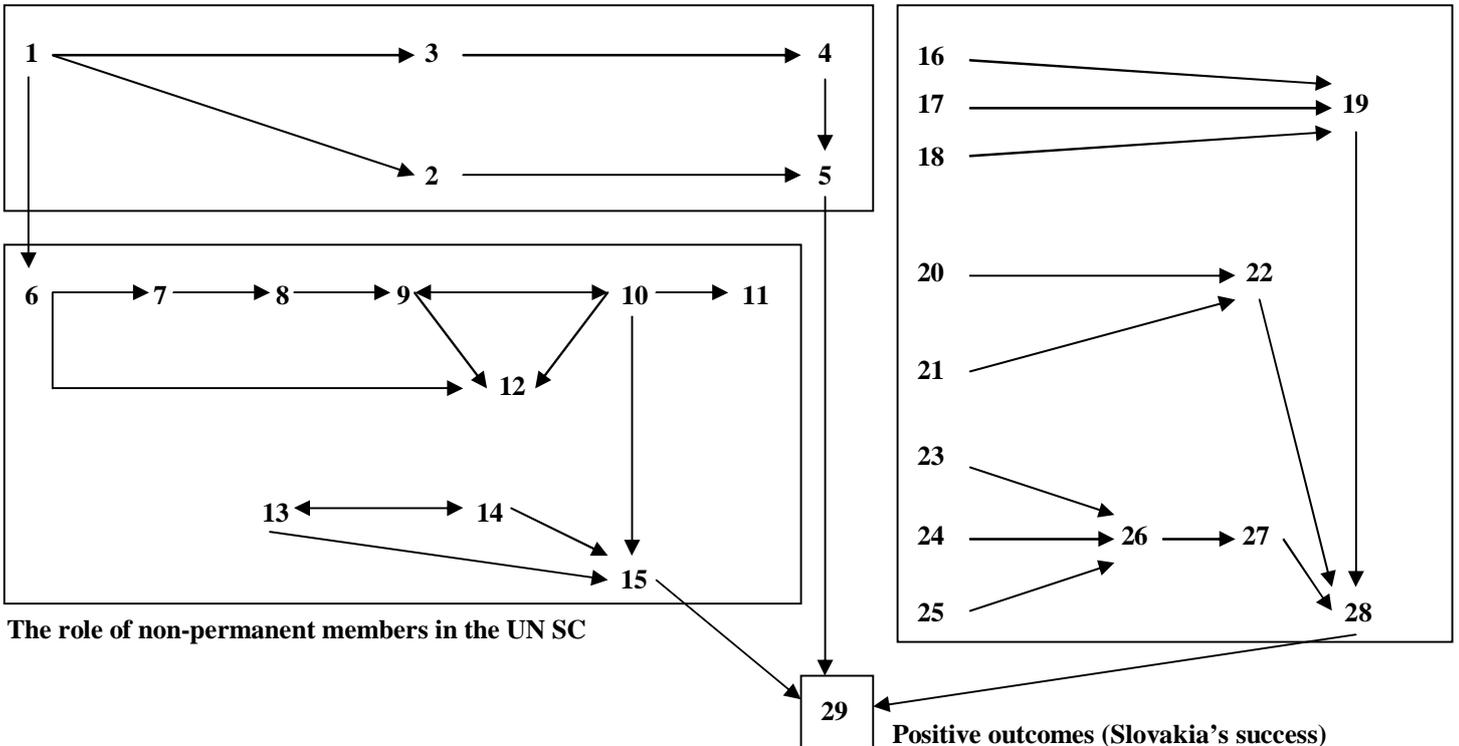


FIGURE – Causal links

1. The end of the bipolar division of the world, 2. Hegemonic system of international order, 3. Changes in insecurities from military (war) to non-military threats (poverty, environmental problems, terrorism, hunger, organized crime), 4. Significant room for small states to provide expertise and services in current world problems, **5. Strengthened voice of small states in comparison to their previous chances to influence issues of international concern**, 6. Increased activity of the Security Council, because the ideological clash between the two superpowers (US and USSR) ceased to exist, 7. Increased number of the Council's weekly meetings, 8. 'New' working procedures in the Security Council, 9. Growing number of informal consultations, during which amendments and changes may be incorporated to the resolution proposals, and intensive negotiations for the purpose of consensual decision-making occur, 10. Consensual decision-making that emphasizes the assurance of collective security through cooperation, shared responsibility and unanimity in the Council's deliberations, 11. Reduced hierarchy within the Council between its members (permanent and non-permanent), 12. Considerably decreased number of vetoes, 13. Subsidiary bodies of the Council are chaired predominantly by non-permanent members and they are entrusted with important responsibilities to lead very specific aspects of the Council's work, 14. The monthly Presidency in the Security Council, during which non-permanent members can efficiently utilize the agenda-setting, managerial and issue-initiation competences to increase their voice in issues related to international peace and security, **15. Existence of substantial space for small states or non-permanent members to play significant roles in the UN Security Council and in the decision-making procedures of this UN body**, 16. Historical and empirical experiences of a country with the issue to be presented for approval in an international organization, 17. The issue coming under the competences and priorities (sectional and regional) of the organ, 18. Long-term applicability and non-controversiality of the issue, 19. Issue-specificity as a precondition for potential success of a small state in an international organization, 20. Intellectual leadership (The Administrating Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 21. Entrepreneurial leadership (Permanent mission), 22. The role of leaders as a precondition for potential success of a small state in an international organization, 23. Historical context of a country, 24. Countries with predictable foreign policy behavior, which do not have any power claims, 25. Political and economic development of a country (democratic tradition and relative non-alignment), 26. Advantages of a small state towards other participants during multilateral negotiations, due to high degrees of credibility and trust, 27. Proposing country's specificity as a precondition for potential success of a small state in an international organization, **28. The constellation of these three factors can be considered as a formula that may assist small states in their efforts to succeed during multilateral negotiations on issue global significance (case of Slovakia)**, **29. Positive outcomes achieved by non-permanent members/small states in the UN Security Council through an active and systematic approach. The explanation of Slovakia's success reached during the country's non-permanent membership in the Security Council.**

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