

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

**Foreign Policy and National Security in the
Context of Bulgaria`s Accession to the
European Union**

Conference
June 29, 1995



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Outline of the Final Report on "Foreign Policy and National Security" within the
Project *Europe 2000: Bulgaria and the European Union*

Foreign Policy and National Security in the Context of Bulgaria's Accession to the European Union

Conference

June 29, 1995

14:00-14:15

Opening of the seminar

Dr. Ognian Shentov, President, Center for the Study of
Democracy

Presentation of the *Europe 2000: Bulgaria and the European Union* project

Mr. Stanislav Daskalov, Project Coordinator

14:15-15:20

Common Foreign and Security Policy

Mr. Todor Tchourov, Spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Legal Framework of the Common Foreign Policy

Mr. Stanimir Alexandrov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

15:20-15:30

Coffee Break

15:30-17:00

Defence Aspects of the Common Foreign Policy

Mr. Georgi Dimitrov, Head of the International Organizations
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Interlocking Institutions of European Security

Mr. Boyko Noev, Ambassador at Large, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

**Common Foreign Policy and Regional Cooperation
Programs**

Mr. Emil E. Georgiev, Project Coordinator, Center for the Study
of Democracy

17:00-17:30 Discussion

17:30-18:30 Cocktail

**Foreign Policy and National Security in the Context of Bulgaria's Accession to
the European Union**

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List of Participants

1. **Dimitar Choukarski**, Advisor to the People's Union Parliamentary Group
2. **Boyko Noev**, Ambassador at Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. **Petranka Fileva**, Research Fellow, Institute of International Relations
4. **Nikolai Slatinski**, Fides Consultancy House, former Chairman of the
Parliamentary National Defence Committee
5. **Dimitar Yonchev**, Fides Consultancy House, former Deputy Chairman of the
Parliamentary National Defence Committee
6. **Emil E. Georgiev**, Director, Information and Documentation Centre of the
Council of Europe, Sofia
7. **Antal Disztl**, First Secretary, Hungarian Embassy, Sofia
8. **Raina Karcheva**, Advisor to the President on European Integration
9. **Ruth E. Hansen**, Counselor, Political and Economic Affairs, US Embassy

10. **Georgi Dimitrov**, Head of International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11. **Valentin Georgiev**, Program Director, Democracy Foundation, Sofia
12. **Krassimir Nikolov**, Program Coordinator, Center for European Studies
13. **Lyubomir Ivanov**, member of the Board of Directors, Atlantic Club
14. **Nikolai E. Mladenov**, Consultant, European and International Programs, Open Society Fund, Sofia
15. **Marina Caparini**, Project Coordinator, North Atlantic Fellowship Program
16. **Lyubomir Alamanov**, Assistant, Democracy Foundation
17. **Filip Dimitrov**, MP, Director, Democracy Foundation, former prime minister
18. **Ivan Gounchev**, Civil Society Association - New Choice
19. **Valeri Rachev**, Research Fellow, Center for National Security Studies, Ministry of Defence
20. **Alexander Ranchoulov**, Research Fellow, Center for National Security Studies, Ministry of Defence
21. **Georgi Dimitrov**, Advisor to the Minister of Defence
22. **Lyudmila Bozhkova**, Chief Expert at the Human Rights Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
23. **Lyubomir Ivanov**, International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
24. **Dinko Dinkov**, Advisor, International Relations, Council of Ministers

25. **Nikolai Kamov**, Chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee
26. **Petar Kolarov**, Expert, International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
27. **Ognian Shentov**, President, Center for the Study of Democracy
28. **Boyko Todorov**, Research Fellow, Center for the Study of Democracy
29. **Stanimir Alexandrov**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
30. **Todor Tchourov**, Ambassador at Large and Spokesman, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
31. **Thomas O'Sullivan**, Ambassador, Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities
32. **Janeta Shinkova**, Assistant, CSD

MODERATORS

Dr. Stanimir Alexandrov has worked at the Legal Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Alexandrov was Deputy Chief of Mission at the Bulgarian Embassy in Washington, DC in the period 1993 -1994. Mr. Alexandrov has a ID degree from George Washington University, USA. At present Dr. Alexandrov is Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Todor Tchourov, has worked at the Policy Planning Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was Deputy Chief of Mission at the Bulgarian Embassy in Washington, D.C., in the period 1990 -1993. Mr. Tchourov was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in the period 1993 - 1994. At present Mr. Tchourov is Ambassador at Large and Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Georgi Dimitrov has worked at the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Bulgaria in Geneva for the period 1988 - 1991. At present Mr. Dimitrov is Head of the International Organizations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Boyko Noev worked as Deputy Head of the International Organisations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later on he was appointed as Deputy Minister and subsequently as Minister of Defence. At present Mr. Noev is Ambassador at Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Emil E. Georgiev is Program Coordinator (Ethnic Relations Program) at the Center for the Study of Democracy and Director of the Information and Documentation Centre of the Council of Europe - Sofia.

CONFERENCE MANAGEMENT

Mr. Boyko Todorov is a Research Fellow at the Center for the Study of Democracy, and Secretary of the project *Europe 2000: Bulgaria and the European Union*.. Mr. Todorov has an MA degree in International Affairs from the Florida State University, USA.

The organization of the seminar was carried out in a period of six weeks.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

The seminar was opened by Dr. Ognian Shentov, President of the Center for the Study of Democracy, and by Mr. Stanislav Daskalov, Coordinator of the project *Europe 2000: Bulgaria and the European Union* who welcomed the participants and presented the objectives of the project and the results achieved so far.

In his presentation on the legal framework for common foreign and security policy (CFSP) of the European Union Mr. Stanimir Alexandrov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, described and commented on those articles of the Maastricht Treaty and the subsequently adopted documents related to this policy. He also described the existing mechanisms for consultation on foreign policy issues between the members of the EU and between them and the six associated states and how these mechanisms could be and are being used by Bulgaria. However, achieving this "tremendous objective" as the CFSP, is impossible without the creation of a sound and clear legal basis for it and without the political will of all parties for this process. An important step in this respect will be 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). It will be especially important for the associated states.

The Western European Union was the main focus of the presentation on the defence aspects of the CFSP by Mr. Georgi Dimitrov, Head of International Organisations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For quite a long time the organisation has stayed in the shadow. It was only recently that it started to play a more distinctive role. Its involvement in the Gulf war, the Adriatic and Danube blockades against Serbia and the administration of the Bosnian town of Mostar are the first practical steps on the road to its becoming the real pillar of the European defence identity. WEU has special importance for those Central and East European countries which have associate membership status with it and they should use all mechanisms available to them for participation in policy-making in this field. However, for the time being the transatlantic cooperation remains the major guarantee for the European security.

Mr. Todor Tchourov, Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the working group "Foreign Policy and National Security " within the *Europe 2000* project, started his presentation with a brief history of CFSP. Special attention was paid to the evolution of the institutions responsible for developing and carrying out of the European political cooperation: European Council, Sessions of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Political Committee, Group of European Correspondents, Working Groups, Committee of the

Permanent Representatives, Commission of the European Communities, European Parliament. The main issues on which these institutions work in the framework of the European political cooperation include relations with third countries and international and regional organisations and political and economic aspects of security.

Besides the achievements in this process, however, there are serious setbacks, the major of which are narrow scope of activity, consensus type of decision-taking and slow coordination. The CFSP, as it is described in the Joint Declaration on the CFSP of 21 December 1993, further develops the European political cooperation. It has four main components: foreign policy, security policy, defence policy and common defence.

The **common foreign policy** has the following priorities:

- maintaining peace and stability in Europe and further developing the cooperation with the Central and East European countries;
- assisting the peace process in the Middle East through political, economic and financial means;
- supporting multiracial democracy in South Africa;
- finding diplomatic solution to the conflict in former Yugoslavia and imposing stable peace in the region;
- supporting the democratisation processes in Russia.

The **common security policy** includes:

- the OSCE process, crisis prevention and crisis management and confidence-building measures;
- arms and arms trade control;
- non proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons;
- economic assistance to third countries for conversion of their military industries.

In the **common defence policy** field the major role is to be played by the Western European Union. WEU will be the defence component of the EU and the European pillar of NATO. It can undertake humanitarian, peace-keeping and crisis management missions.

WEU is also responsible for the **common defence**, significant component of which is the Eurocorps, created in May 1992. Of major importance for the common defence is the relations between WEU and NATO though for the time being they are far from being settled.

The 1996 IGC will give answers to some of the questions related to CFSP. The relations between the EU and the CEECs will also be much dependent on it.

In his presentation Mr. Boyko Noev, Ambassador At Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, argued that it is beyond the capabilities of any European or transatlantic

institution alone to guarantee stability and security in Europe. Organisations like EU, WEU, NATO, OSCE should complement each other and cooperate in the process of building the new European security architecture. However, at present each of these organisations is in a process of defining its own structures and functions, its own role in the post-Cold-War world. Thus, we cannot expect in the nearest future these so called "interlocking institutions" to express a single political will and to perform in a highly synchronised way.

The questions that followed the presentations focused on the following issues: more effective international structures or more sovereign national states; NATO or WEU and its membership in the one organisation is possible without membership in the other; Bulgaria's place, present and future, in CFSP.

A conclusion was reached that CFSP for various reasons is an extremely complicated matter which is still in an early phase of its development. The 1996 IGC will give answers to some of the questions. However, the creation of a real common European foreign and security policy is a long and difficult process. It deserves much more thorough examination on behalf of Bulgaria if we want to become an integrated part of it. In this respect a sound and informed public debate is much needed.

ОБЩА ВЪНШНА ПОЛИТИКА И ПОЛИТИКА ПО ВЪПРОСИТЕ
НА СИГУРНОСТТА

1. Европейско политическо сътрудничество

1.1. Форуми и документи

- 1.1.2. Конференция на най-високо равнище (Хага, 2.12.1969)
- 1.1.3. Люксембургски доклад - (Плана Давиньон 27.10.1970)
- 1.1.4. Парижка среща на високо равнище (21.10.1973)
- 1.1.5. Документ по европейската идентичност (14.12.1973)
- 1.1.6. Парижка среща на високо равнище (9-10.12.1974)
- 1.1.7. Лондонски доклад (13.10.1981)
- 1.1.8. Тържествена декларация по Европейския съюз
(Европейски съвет, Щутгарт, 19.6.1983)
- 1.1.9. Единен европейски акт (в сила от 1.7.1987)

1.2. Правна основа (Title III.Article 30 SEA)

1.3. Цели

1.3.1. Хармонизация на позициите по отношение на трети страни

1.4. Сфери на дейност (Title III.Article 30 SEA)

- 1.4.1. Политически аспекти на сигурността
- 1.4.2. Икономически аспекти на сигурността

1.5. Механизъм и процедура

- 1.5.1. Европейски съвет
- 1.5.2. Заседания на министрите на външните работи
- 1.5.3. Политически комитет
- 1.5.4. Група на европейските кореспонденти
- 1.5.5. Работни групи
- 1.5.6. Комитет на постоянните представители
- 1.5.7. Комисия на европейските общности
- 1.5.8. Европейски парламент

1.6. Изводи

- 1.6.1. Постижения в рамките на ЕПС
- 1.6.2. Ограниченията на ЕПС

2. Обща външна политика и политика в областта на сигурността

2.1. Предистория

2.2. Документи и правна основа (Title I & Title V, TEU, за връзката с European Court of Justice вж. Table VII, Article L; като second pillar вж. Community treaties ammended by the TEU - ЕЕС: Title II; ECSC: Title III; EUROATOM: Title IV, Joint Declaration of the CFSP of 21.12.1993, Основни принципи на ОВППС (Заявление на Съвета от 26.10.1993 г.))

2.3. Цели (Article J.I)

2.3.1. Външна политика

2.3.2. Политика в областта на сигурността и отбраната (Article J.4)

2.4. Институционен механизъм

2.4.1. Европейски съвет (Article J.8 (1))

2.4.2. Съвет (Article J.8 (2))

2.4.3. Европейска комисия (Articles J.5 (3) & J.9)

2.4.4. Европейски парламент (Article J.7), (A3-0123/92 of 7.4.1992; A3-0322/92 of 18.12.1992; A3-107/91 of 10.6.1991)

2.4.5. European Correspondence (COREU)

2.5. Осъществяване на ОВППС

2.5.1. Взаимна информация (Article J.2 (1))

2.5.2. Съвместни действия (Article J.3, J.2(2))

2.5.3. Процес на вземане на решения (Декларацията, приета паралелно с TEU)

2.6. Финансиране на ОППВС и съвместните действия (Working Document on the financing of the CFSP, 17 February 1994)

2.7. Сфери на приложение

2.7.1. Външна политика

2.7.1.1. Пакт за стабилност в Европа

2.7.1.2. Позиция по Македония (илюстративно)

2.7.2. Политика в областта на сигурността

2.7.2.1. и ОППВС Западноевропейски съюз (J.4.2.; Declaration on the WEU annexed to the TEU; Petersberg Declaration A3-0189/92 of 20.1.1993)

2.7.2.2. Съвместна отбрана-Европейския корпус (22 май 1992, Декларацията от La Rochelle) и създаване общоевропейски сили (Article J.4, Poettering resolution=EUP A3-0109/94)

2.7.2.3. Отношения с НАТО (NATO Summit January 1994 + ...)

2.8. Необходимост и възможности за еволюция на ОВППС

2.8.1. Основни проблеми на ОВППС

2.8.1.1. Запазването на междуправителствените процедури

2.8.1.2. Демократичния дефицит (Recommendation A3-0371/93 of 30.11.1993)

2.8.1.3. Областите на приложение

2.8.1.4. Бавното съгласуване

2.8.2. Предложения за консолидиране на ОВППС (Resolution on the development of a common security and defence policy for the EU - objectives, instruments and procedures, A3-0109/94, 24 March 1994)

2.8.3. Инструменти за внасяне на промени в ОВППС

2.8.4. Възможни практически стъпки за повишаване на ефективността на ОВППС

2.9. Изводи

3. България и общата външна политика и политика в областта на сигурността

3.1. Документи

3.1.1. Европейско споразумение за асоцииране

3.1.2. Други документи

3.2. Задължения вследствие на присъединяването на България към ОВППС

3.2.1. Външна политика

3.2.1.1. Принципи

3.2.1.2. Възможни opt-outs

3.2.2. Политика в областта на сигурността и отбраната

3.2.1.1. Принципи

3.2.1.2. Възможни opt-outs

3.3. Предимства в резултат на присъединяването на България към ОВППС

3.2.1. Външна политика

3.2.1.1. Принципи

3.2.1.2. Възможни opt-outs

3.2.2. Политика в областта на сигурността и отбраната

3.2.1.1. Принципи

3.2.1.2. Възможни opt-outs

3.4. Изводи

4. Предложения

4.1. Варианти за правителствена стратегия

4.2. В областта на законодателството

4.3. В институционната област

4.4. Логистично осигуряване