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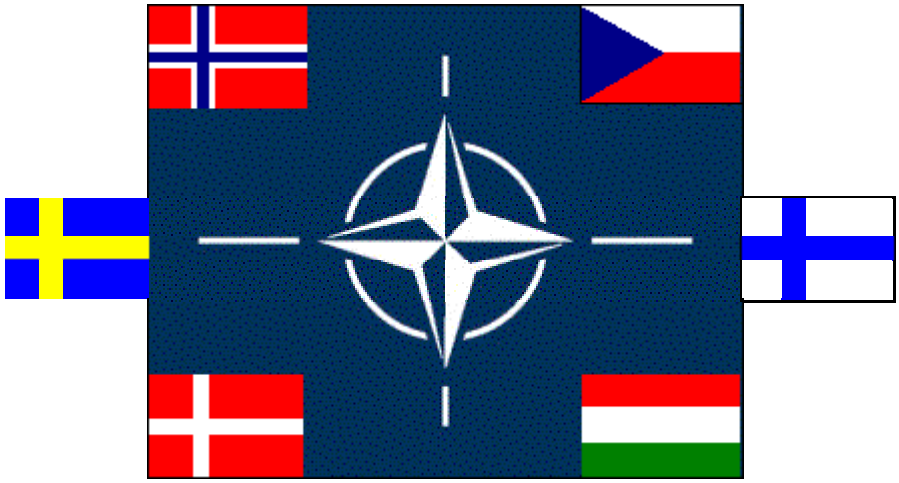

The Membership Experiences of Denmark, Norway, Hungary and the Czech Republic

Karoliina Honkanen

Foreword by Ingemar Dörfer

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The Influence of Small States on NATO Decision-Making: The Membership Experiences of Denmark, Norway, Hungary and the Czech Republic

Sammanfattning (högst 200 ord)

Rapporten analyserar NATO:s beslutsfattandesystem ur ett småstatsperspektiv. Den granskar härvid medlemskapserfarenheterna i fyra små NATO-stater och de strategier som länderna fört. De undersökta länderna är dels de nordiska staterna Danmark och Norge, som varit medlemmar sedan NATO:s grundande, dels Tjeckien och Ungern, de två senast anslutna småstaterna. Småstaters förmåga till inflytande inom NATO är ett ytterst relevant ämne även för den finska och svenska NATO-debatten, där just frågan om makt och inflytande varit central. NATO-förespråkare har hävdat att fördelarna med att ha en plats i NATO:s beslutsfattande organ är det viktigaste argumentet för ett medlemskap, medan motståndarna har fruktat att ett sådant skulle minska den utrikespolitiska handlingsfriheten.

NATO:s beslutsfattandesystem bygger på att alla medlemsstater är jämställda. Alla NATO-medlemmar har vetorätt när NATO ska fatta beslut, och en betydande konsultationsprocess och –norm har utvecklats inom alliansen. Samtidigt har USA varit den oomtvistade ledaren för alliansen och en informell grupp av större stater har inte sällan dominerat många viktiga beslut. Detta har dock inte inneburit att de mindre allierade staterna har saknat inflytande inom NATO även i centrala frågor. Danmark och Norge lyckades t ex unilateralt ställa långtgående villkor för sina egna medlemskap. Dessutom spelade de en nyckelroll vad gäller Harmel-rapporten (1967), som etablerade détente som NATO:s andra huvudfunktion.

Efter det kalla kriget har NATO:s breddade agenda gett småstater möjlighet att finna nya "inflytandenischer" och nya roller att spela. Ett exempel är Danmarks aktiva NATO-politik, som har gjort landet till en viktig aktör inom arbetet med att integrera de baltiska staterna i de euroatlantiska strukturerna, inklusive NATO. Efter det kalla kriget har dessutom inflytande börjat betraktas som en av de största anledningarna för länder att ansluta sig till NATO. I de forna kommunistländerna i Öst- och Centraleuropa har man upplevt att det är synnerligen svårt att ha inflytande inom europeisk politik om man inte både är medlem av EU och NATO.

Nyckelord

NATO, småstater, beslutsfattande, säkerhetspolitik, försvarspolitik, utrikespolitik

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The Influence of Small States on NATO Decision-Making: The Membership Experiences of Denmark, Norway, Hungary and the Czech Republic

Abstract (not more than 200 words)

The study approaches NATO's decision-making system from the perspective of smaller member states. It examines the membership experiences and strategy of four small states: those of Denmark and Norway, Nordic founding members of NATO, as well as those of the Czech Republic and Hungary, the newest small member states. The topic of small-state influence in NATO is relevant for the Finnish and Swedish NATO debate, in which a key dimension has been influence. Proponents have considered a chair at NATO's decision-making table the most important reason for joining, while opponents have feared that membership would reduce freedom of action in foreign policy.

NATO's decision-making system is based on equality of all member states, which is demonstrated by the de facto veto right of each Ally and the consultation norms. At the same time, the US has been an uncontested leader of the Alliance and an informal grouping of big Allies has dominated many crucial NATO decisions. However, this has not meant that the smaller Allies would not have influence within NATO. For example, Denmark and Norway managed to set unilateral conditions on their membership. Moreover, they played a key role in drafting the Harmel report (1967), which established détente as the second main function of NATO.

After the Cold War, NATO's widened agenda has given small states a possibility to find new "niches" of influence and new roles to play within the Alliance. An example is Denmark's active NATO policy, which has made it an important actor in integrating the Baltic States into Euro-Atlantic structures and in improving their membership prospects. After the Cold War, influence may be considered a major motivation to join NATO. In the former communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe, it has been perceived that it is possible to get one's voice heard in European politics only through full integration into both NATO and the EU.

Keywords

NATO, small states, decision-making, security policy, defence policy, foreign policy

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FOREWORD

"While NATO membership used to be about national security, it is now about the country´s influence and position in European politics", states Karoliina Honkanen in this study. Indeed. "NATO membership is the lingua franca of European security policy. If you do not speak it, people will not hear you", I suggested five years ago. *

The study shows how influence and participation in security decisions rather than security guarantees now is a major reason for European nations to join NATO. Using the case studies of Norway and Denmark since 1949 and Hungary and the Czech Republic since the Cold War ended, the author analyzes how the influence of small nations within NATO depends on six different factors:

1) Strategic location
2) Domestic pressures and constraints
3) Skillful argumentation
4) Activism and proposing of initiatives
5) Capable national representatives in NATO bodies, gaining high posts in the NATO bureaucracy, coalition- building
6) Smallness as a means of influence.

Influence comes in two types: general and country specific. Member states are able to participate in the most important decisions on European security. But they are also able to influence their own environment with the help of their NATO membership. Honkanen adds the new dimension offered by dual NATO and EU membership. In EU crisis-management decision-making countries belonging to both the EU and NATO have the best chances of influence.

Quoting Thomas Risse-Kappen who is using the Liberal rather than the neo-realist approach, Honkanen concludes that also the smaller allies had an impact on US decision making throughout the Cold War and after. Indeed, US leadership has increased the impact of small states in NATO. We learn that an informal 'directorate' of big Allies has played a key role in many important NATO decisions. However, the informal

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* Ingemar Dörfer: *The Nordic Nations in the New Western Security Regime*: Washington DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center, Press 1997, p.93.

channels which form an essential part of NATO´s decision-making structure have benefited also the smaller Allies in their effort to build coalitions to influence Alliance policies. We also learn that vetoes within the NATO decision-making machinery are rare and long in between. NATO´s post-Cold War decision-making practice has included a more constructive alternative than veto: opt-out.

In her conclusions Honkanen points out the consequences for Finland of NATO membership, including a key role in the NATO-Russia relationship. The conclusions are interesting for Sweden as well. By Honkanen´s definition Sweden is not a middle-sized state in a NATO comparison, much smaller than Spain and Poland and one third smaller than the Netherlands, which counts as a small state. Hence we should pay extra close attention to the study.

Karoliina Honkanen is currently an analyst with the Finnish Defence Staff. The original report was written while she was a researcher at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs. It was published in Finnish in August 2001. Through our sponsorship she got the opportunity to condense, translate and update the report in 2002. This final version was edited by Mike Winnerstig, who also participates in the project Euro-Atlantic Security.

This rich and trenchant analysis should give anyone involved in Swedish security policy pause - whether you are for or against eventual membership in NATO.

November 2002

Ingemar Dörfer

Project leader, Euro-Atlantic Security, and director of research

ABBREVIATIONS

AFNORTH	Allied Forces North Europe
AFSOUTH	Allied Forces South Europe
CESDP	Common European Security and Defence Policy
DCI	Defence Capabilities Initiative
DSACEUR	Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe
DSACLANT	Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
DPC	Defence Planning Committee
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
IFOR	NATO's Implementation Force in Bosnia
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
IMS	International Military Staff
IS	International Staff
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MC	Military Committee
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council (replaced by the EAPC in May 1997)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NPA	NATO Parliamentary Assembly
NPG	Nuclear Planning Group
NRC	NATO-Russia Council (established in May 2002)
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PJC	Permanent Joint Council (of NATO and Russia)
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe

SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SFOR	NATO's Stabilization Force in Bosnia (started in December 1996 as a continuation to the IFOR operation)
SG	Standing Group
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Power Europe
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION[1]

1.1 The Influence of Small States and The Finnish NATO Debate

The key word characterizing Finland's foreign policy after the Cold War has been "participation" – having a seat at all tables where decisions affecting Finland are made. The most important element of this policy has been EU membership. Within the EU, Finland has tried to profile itself as an active and constructive member state. The nation has striven to remain at the core of Union activity, as the adoption of the euro demonstrates.

Finland's EU membership was motivated, in addition to economic and security-related considerations, by an effort to maximize its international influence. As former president Ahtisaari noted: "…now that we are members, we sit as an equal partner at the table where decisions that affect us are made in any event. If we had remained outside the EU, we would once again have been accommodators; now we have a say."[2] President Halonen has also noted, "Without a doubt, our influence on world affairs of importance to us is greater as a member of the EU than it would be if we had remained outside." [3]

Occasionally, concern about the position of small states within the EU has been voiced in the public debate. The "language dispute" with Germany during the Finnish EU Presidency[4], the EU's boycott on Austria, the Nice Summit as well as the mutual meetings of big EU member states in the fall of 2001 have been interpreted as

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[1] I want to thank the Swedish Defence Research Agency for supporting the translation of this study. I am greatful to Dr. Ingemar Dörfer and Dr. Mike Winnerstig of the Swedish Defence Research Agency for their insightful comments.

[2] Speech by President Martti Ahtisaari of the Republic of Finland at Chatham House, London on 24.11.1997 "Finland's Evolving Role as a European Partner". www.vn.fi/tpk/puheet1996/P971106.chaten.html.

[3] Guest lecture by President of the Republic Tarja Halonen at the University of Stockholm 2.5.2000. "At the core of Europe as a non-participant in military alliances – Finnish Thoughts and Experiences". www.tpk.fi/netcomm/.

[4] Germany decided to boycott the unofficial EU meetings during the Finnish EU Presidency because the German language was not given the status of a working language.

examples of big-state domination in the Union.[5] However, Finland's overall experiences of EU membership are clearly positive. According to the 1997 Defense White Paper, EU membership has strengthened Finland's international position.[6] In the 2001 review of the 1997 paper, it is noted that "By actively seeking to develop the European Union's common foreign and security policy, Finland is able to strengthen its influence in international affairs and to further its own security objectives."[7]

When it comes to the second key pillar of the European security architecture – NATO – Finland's post-Cold War policy of active participation extends only partially. Finland is an active partner in the PfP program and has the so-called NATO option, but it is not seeking full membership in "the prevailing conditions".[8] The Defense White Paper of 1997 states two reasons for remaining outside of NATO. Firstly, Finland has no security problems to be solved through NATO membership. Secondly, by remaining militarily non-aligned, Finland best contributes to the stability in Northern Europe.[9] The government's report *Finnish Security and Defense Policy 2001* continues the policy of military non-alignment, but does not explicitly list the reasons for it.[10] Even though both the 1997 and 2001 reports recognize NATO's new roles and tasks,

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[5] "Lipponen tuomitsi EU:n isojen kokouksen" [Lipponen disapproved of the meeting of the big EU states], *Helsingin Sanomat* 7.11.2001.

[6] *The European Security Development and Finnish Defence*, Report by the Council of State to Parliament on 17 March 1997, p. 6. http://www.vn.fi/vn/english/publicat/970317se.htm.

[7] *The Finnish Security and Defense Policy 2001*, Report by the Council of State to Parliament on 13 June 2001, p. 40. http://www.vn.fi/plm/report.htm.

[8] The NATO option first appeared in the political program of Prime Minister Lipponen's first government in 1995. During the early part of President Halonen's term, there were some questions on whether Finland still has the NATO option. President Halonen's early foreign policy speeches pushed Finland's NATO option into the background or even eliminated it (see e.g. the speech at the University of Stockholm on 2.5.2000). However, since then, President Halonen has also adhered to the NATO option. In her New Year's Speech on 1.1.2002, the President noted that "Naturally, there is a need to monitor them [fundamental principles on which our security and defence policies are based] to ensure that they remain up-to-date". http://www.tpk.fi/netcomm/.

[9] There is no basis for this argument anymore, since the Finnish leadership has recognized that the Baltic States' membership of NATO will not decrease regional security. It would be difficult to argue then that Finland's membership of NATO would decrease stability in the region. The then Foreign Trade Minister, Kimmo Sasi, brought this up last fall (Sasi's interview in *Aamulehti* 5.9.2001).

[10] The report lists "remaining militarily non-allied under the prevailing conditions" as one of the three basic components of Finland's security and defense policy. The other two are "maintenance and development of a credible defense capability" and "participation in international cooperation to strengthen security and stability". *Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2001*, Report by the Government to Parliament on 13 June 2001, p. 7.

the question of Finnish membership is approached only from the perspective of security guarantees.

However, membership of today's NATO is not only about security guarantees, but increasingly about influence and participation. Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has undergone a remarkable transformation. NATO today is not only a military defense alliance, but also an active security policy actor in the whole Euro-Atlantic area. The core task of collective defense has been kept – and Article 5 was invoked for the first time ever in connection with September 11 – but the main focus of NATO's activities in the post-Cold War period has been on building a new European security order based on cooperative security. NATO's new missions have ranged from crisis management and peacekeeping operations in the Balkans to integration of former communist states through partnership and enlargement.

Influence has become one of the key dimensions in the public debate assessing the merits and downsides of NATO membership. As early as 1996, Minister Max Jakobson believed that Finland would join NATO for reasons relating to influence. In 1998, Jakobson formulated the key question in this way: "It is fundamentally about the role we choose in the European integration process. Are we fully participating in all decisions or do we restrict our participation in security policy decision-making?"[11] Since then, several researchers and journalists have pointed out that NATO membership is, above all, about a seat at the table where key decisions are made. After the Baltic states join the Alliance, there will be more and more issues dealing with Finland's immediate security environment on NATO's table.[12]

Consideration of the influence aspects of NATO membership has also started to gain ground among a few key politicians. In his speech at the influential Paasikivi Society in November 2001, Defense Minister Jan-Erik Enestam (Swedish People's Party) noted that NATO's decisions will in any case have an impact on our security political position. The minister then raised the question of whether it would be better for Finland to take part in actual decision-making.[13] Foreign Trade Minister Kimmo Sasi (National Coalition, Cons.), who now serves as Minister of Transport and Communi-

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[11] "Missä kulkee Euroopan itäraja? Max Jakobson pohtii Naton ja EU:n laajentumisen vaikutuksia Suomeen ja Ruotsiin" [Where is the eastern border of Europe? Max Jakobson ponders the impact of NATO and EU enlargement on Finland and Sweden], *Helsingin Sanomat* 22.11.1998.

[12] Pentti Sadeniemi, "Itämeren alue ja Nato" [The Baltic region and NATO], *Helsingin Sanomat* 12.6.2001.

[13] Defense Minister Jan-Erik Enestam, presentation at the Paasikivi Society 27.11.2001. Translated by the author.

cations, brought up the "influence argument" in September 2001 by arguing that it is better for small states to sit at those tables where the decisions are made.[14]

The opponents of Finnish NATO membership have argued that membership would not increase Finland's international influence. Their argument has been twofold. First, they maintain that NATO membership would decrease the freedom of action in foreign policy. Second, it is concluded that a seat at the NATO decision-making table – where key decisions are made – is not worth much because the big Allies dominate the decision-making. For example, former president Mauno Koivisto has rejected Finnish NATO membership by referring to small states' marginal possibilities of influencing NATO decisions.[15] It has been feared that Finland would be drawn into operations against its own will in the US-dominated NATO. What is more, it has been a commonly held view in the Finnish debate that NATO is a US-controlled organization whose democratic decision-making is only a formality.[16]

Moreover, it is a widely shared belief in the Finnish debate that small states do have influence in the EU but not in NATO. Even though there has at times been concern about the small states' position in the EU, small states are usually considered the winners in the Union. For example, former president Koivisto – who questions whether small states have any influence in NATO – believes that the EU is the right place for a small state. Similar views have been expressed by MEP Heidi Hautala (Green Party), for instance, who has suggested that European security and crisis management should be developed in the framework of the EU where the small states can play a bigger role than their size would suggest.[17] In her speech at Stockholm University in May 2000, President Halonen stressed the need to differentiate between the EU and NATO. In the same speech she noted that "even a small country that has done its homework diligently can make its voice heard in the EU".[18]

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[14] Sasi's interview in *Aamulehti* 5.9.2001.

[15] President Koivisto's interview on *Yleisradio TV1* 19.9.1999. Quoted in *Helsingin Sanomat* 20.9.1999.

[16] See Pekka Ervasti ja Jaakko Laakso, *Karhun naapurista Naton kainaloon. Puolueettoman Suomen marssi läntisen sotilasliiton leiriin* [From the neighborhood of the bear to the lap of NATO. The march of neutral Finland to the camp of the Western military alliance] (WSOY: Helsinki, 2001), pp. 147-152.

[17] Heidi Hautala, "EU:n palkka-armeija on mahdollinen" [An EU professional army is possible], *Helsingin Sanomat* 3.12.1999.

[18] According to President Halonen: "One sometimes hears it said that it would be practical if all of the EU member states were also militarily allied with each other. From one perspective, certainly. On the other hand, it would increase the risk of the EU and NATO being seen as intertwined organizations. The Union and NATO have different memberships and different tasks." Guest lecture by President of the Republic Tarja Halonen at the University of Stockholm 2.5.2000.

The debate about NATO membership has been intensified as a result of the development of the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy (CESDP). The interpretations differ, however. According to the official view, it does not affect Finland's policy of military non-alignment. Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja (Social Democratic Party) noted at the Tampere Paasikivi Society in January 2001 that "The present situation is good for Finland and the basic strategy of our security policy, which is military non-alliance. Nor can we see any reasons connected with the development of the EU or NATO that would make us want to change our course."[19] However, there seems to be increasingly diverse views on this within the government (see below).[20]

A second view concerning the ESDP is that it actually makes the question of Finnish NATO membership less relevant. It is inherent in this view that the EU-NATO cooperation and participation in the PfP together give Finland enough security and influence. For example, Ambassador Antti Sierla, former representative of Finland in the EU Political Security Committee and currently Finland's Ambassador to Brussels and NATO, noted in an interview last year that the development of military cooperation in the EU and the interoperability of troops and equipment with NATO could decrease the need for military alignment.[21]

According to a third view – a challenge to the previous views – the development of the ESDP in close cooperation with NATO makes NATO membership necessary for Finland for reasons relating to influence. This view pays attention to the increasing links between the EU and NATO and does not believe that the ESDP would replace NATO. This point has been made by an increasing number of journalists and researchers. Political commentator Jukka Tarkka has put it this way: "How it is possible to genuinely take part in two-phased decision-making by being involved only in one side of it?"[22]

Dr. Tomas Ries has pointed out that Finland will become a second-class participant in EU crisis management decision-making without NATO membership. Even though all EU member states enjoy formal equality in EU crisis-management decisions, the 11 EU-NATO members benefit from the informal decision-making channels, personal

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[19] Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja at the Tampere Paasikivi Society 23.1.2001. "The European Union after Nice".

[20] For more about the differing opinions among the key foreign policy decision-makers, see Tuomas Forsberg, "One Foreign Policy or Two? Finland's New Constitution and European Policies of Tarja Halonen and Paavo Lipponen", *Northern Dimensions – The Finnish Institute of International Affairs Yearbook 2001.*

[21] Interview of Ambassador Sierla, *Nykypäivä* 3.4.2001, pp. 8-9.

[22] Jukka Tarkka, "Nato-paniikki" [The NATO panic], *Turun Sanomat* 30.8.2000.

contacts and experience of cooperation in the framework of NATO. In practice, NATO decisions also become EU decisions. The big European states rely on NATO planning in crisis situations. They bring the same policies into the EU arena, which leaves the military non-aligned EU members with two options: to support the policy of NATO or drop out at the cost of marginalization.[23]

This third view seems to be shared by some government ministers at least, if one is to conclude on the basis of their statements. As mentioned above, Defense Minister Enestam paid attention to the influence aspects of NATO membership in two important speeches in the fall of 2001.[24] It is also worth noting that as early as October 2000 Minister Enestam noted that Finland may have to consider NATO membership if it wants to remain at the core of the EU.[25] The then Foreign Trade Minister, Kimmo Sasi, also acknowledged that it is not possible to stay at the EU security policy core without NATO membership. Minister Sasi even admitted that Finland was outside the decision-making circle in the EU-NATO cooperation in Macedonia where the EU Foreign Policy representative Javier Solana was negotiating as an EU special representative. According to Sasi, all decisions regarding Macedonia were made by European NATO countries.[26]

On the whole, the summer and fall of 2001 saw an increasingly active NATO debate in Finland, as there were significant changes in the security environment. First, the Baltic states' NATO membership started to seem more and more likely after President Bush's speech in Warsaw in June, in which he presented a maximalist view on enlargement. Another watershed speech was given at the Bratislava summit of NATO aspirants the previous month, as Czech President Vaclav Havel spoke out strongly in favor of issuing an invitation to all three Baltic states at the Prague Summit. Secondly, Russian opposition to Baltic NATO membership started to die down, a fact which was already evident during President Putin's visit to Helsinki in early September. As a result of these developments, the debate in Parliament on the government's report on Finnish defense and security policy in September 2001 centered around the NATO question. Moreover, Finland's policy on Baltic NATO membership was clarified.[27]

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[23] Tomas Ries, "Finland: The Case for NATO" in Pekka Sivonen (ed.), *Security-Political Prospects in Northern Europe at the Beginning of the Millennium*. (National Defense College, Department of Strategic and Defense Studies: Helsinki, 2000); Tomas Ries, "The Atlantic Link – A View From Finland", *Strategic Yearbook 2002* (The Swedish National Defense College, 2002).

[24] Paasikivi Society 27.11.2001; Opening of the 161st Defense Course 5.11.2001.

[25] Defense Minister Enestam's interview in *Kaleva* 15.10.2000.

[26] "Sasi peräät Nato-konsensusta" [Sasi calls for consensus on NATO], *Suomen Kuvalehti* 37/2001, p. 29.

[27] While Finland has been a strong supporter of EU enlargement, it has not had a clear position on NATO enlargement – until the fall of 2001. Finnish leadership has consistently stressed the OSCE prin-

The Baltic states' membership of NATO is in accordance with Finland's security interests, as Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja put it.[28]

If the Baltic states are invited to begin accession talks at the Prague Summit, their membership – as well as that of the other new member states – will enter into force in the spring of 2004. As a result, 6 out of 9 countries in the Baltic Sea Region will be NATO members and Russia a "half-member" through the new NATO Russia Council (NRC). From the viewpoint of the Finnish NATO debate, the influence argument is likely to become even more relevant. Another important factor is the EU enlargement, which will further increase the overlap of the two organizations. Consequently, militarily non-aligned states will form a proportionally smaller – and perhaps less influential – group in the enlarged Union.

An important catalyst for the Finnish NATO debate has of course been the events of September 11. One of its most well-known consequences has been the warming of NATO-Russian relations. The second consequence of September 11 has been the lively media and academic debate on the future role and relevance of NATO.[29] It has been asked whether NATO will become an inclusive, pan-European discussion club – which has no military relevance for the US – or be transformed into an efficient military instrument tackling the new security threats on a global basis. In the Finnish NATO debate, it has been asked what kind of a NATO we would join. A common view among the key politicians seems to be that it is better to wait and see.[30] The NATO question will be reviewed in the 2004 defence white paper.

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ciple that each state has the right to choose or change its security arrangements. However, before the first round there was a fear that NATO enlargement could make the position of third countries more difficult or restrict their opportunity to make their own security choices (see *European Security and Finnish Defense,* Report by the Council of State to Parliament on 17 March 1997). After the first round, some statements by President Halonen, for instance, can be interpreted as a warning or a bit of advice to NATO. In July 2000, President Halonen reminded NATO about its responsibility in the enlargement question (interview in *Turun Sanomat*, 2.7.2000). This ambiguous policy has been in contrast to the other Nordic countries as well as to the Baltic states, which have all seen the twin enlargement as part of the same stability-increasing development. The Finnish policy has changed, and it is now admitted that Baltic membership of NATO would not decrease regional stability.

[28] Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja's speech at the Paasikivi Society on 23.10.2001.

[29] See e.g. Sharon Riggle, "The Relevance of NATO: A discussion whose time has come", *NATO Notes* (4:2, 1 March 2002). www.cesd.org; "Debate: Should NATO's new function be counter-terrorism? Daniel S. Hamilton versus Sir Timothy Garden", *NATO Review* (Summer 2002), www.nato.int; "Nato - what future, what role?", *BBC News* 16.10.2002, news.bbc.co.uk.

[30] See e.g. "Nato-keskustelussa ei kannata kiirehtiä" [There is no need to hurry in the NATO debate]. Interview of Ilkka Kanerva (MP, Cons.), Vice-Chairman of the Finnish Parliamentary Review Committee on Finland's Security Environment. *Nykypäivä* 10.10.2002.

1.2 Two Perspectives on the Influence of Small NATO States

Which side of the Finnish NATO debate should one take? Would Finland have more influence as a member of NATO than it does outside? Does the influence gained through a seat at the NATO decision-making table add up to more than the constraints posed by NATO membership? Are the small NATO members merely pawns of the big states or can they get their voice heard in NATO? These questions boil down to two basic angles: (1) military alignment's influence on the foreign policy of small states – i.e. does military alignment prevent some forms of influence? and (2) the influence of small states within NATO.

The view that Finland has more influence outside NATO is based on three assumptions. Firstly, NATO membership would narrow down the room for maneuver in foreign policy. Secondly, it would make it impossible, or at least very difficult, for Finland to serve in international mediating tasks. Thirdly, it would put constraints on the exercise of activist foreign policy. It is useful to compare these arguments to the actual membership experiences of small NATO members.

The argument that NATO membership narrows down the room for maneuver in foreign policy draws attention to the commitments and obligations NATO membership includes. It is feared that NATO membership would reduce the number of policy choices. Actually, the Swedish word for non-alignment (*alliansfrihet*) includes the assumption that staying outside of alliances increases freedom. Opponents of membership have often brought up this argument. According to Professor Raimo Väyrynen, NATO membership would decrease foreign and security policy maneuver and increase the defense budget without any essential increase in security.[31]

The fear is that the reduced freedom of action implied by NATO membership would, in the worst case, draw Finland into operations against its own will. According to the alliance theory, the biggest risks of military alignment have to do with the increased risk of war and decreased freedom of action.[32] The heaviest obligation NATO membership entails is the famous Article Five. However, Article Five is loose and vaguely formulated; it only obligates a member state to assist the attacked Ally by "such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force".

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[31] Raimo Väyrynen, "Suomen puhuttava YK:n puolesta" [Finland has to speak for the UN], *Helsingin Sanomat* 19.10.1999.

[32] Glenn H. Snyder, "Alliance Theory: A Neorealist First Cut", *Journal of International Affairs* (44:1, Spring/Summer 1990), p. 110.

There are no automatics involved in the implementation of Article Five because NATO has no supranational power. Each member state makes a decision on its participation and on the scope and nature of its response at the national level. The invoking of Article Five on September 12, 2001, indicated that especially in the post-Cold War situation, where NATO has no ready answers to the new threats (not yet, at least), it is above all the strongest expression of mutual solidarity. Apart from the formal obligation of Article Five, the Allies are bound by mutual solidarity – all Allies are expected to contribute in one way or another to both Article Five and Non-Article Five operations.

In small NATO countries the impact of alignment on foreign policy is perceived in a different light than in the neutral or militarily non-aligned countries. The former Norwegian Defense Minister, Johan Jørgen Holst, commented on the alignment's influence on a small state's foreign policy perspectives this way: "They obtain access to deliberations from which they would be excluded in the absence of alignment, and they assume responsibility for the management of interests and relationships that otherwise would prove elusive or beyond their influence. Alignment may increase the political clout that smaller countries can bring to bear in bilateral negotiations with adversaries or third parties, and it can help stiffen the back against political intimidation".[33]

In the post-Cold War world, it has also been considered that NATO membership increases rather than decreases Norway's freedom of action. The then Defense Minister Bjørn Tore Godal noted in May 2001 that NATO membership has increased Norway's freedom of action as a small country in two ways: it would offer the chance to protect legitimate security interests and rights, if they ever came under pressure, and, secondly, it enables more direct cooperation with Russia.[34]

In Finland's case, the question of freedom of action must be approached from the fact that through our EU membership we already belong to a tight political Union, the majority of whose members are also NATO members. This approach is even more relevant now that the EU crisis management capability is being built in close cooperation with NATO. As Finland takes part in EU crisis management and benefits from the NATO resources as much as the other EU members, it would be quite difficult for Finland not to support a NATO operation.

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[33] Johan Jørgen Holst, "Lilliputs and Gulliver: Small States in a Great-Power Alliance" in Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands, & Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa NJ, 1985), p. 261.

[34] Bjørn Tore Godal (Minister of Defense), "The future of Norwegian Defence: the long-term Defence Bill in a wider perspective", Address at the Norwegian Defense College, 4.5.2001. http://odin.dep.no.

Secondly, it has been common to credit the policy of military non-alignment for Finland's international mediation tasks. For example, former president Ahtisaari's mediation task in the Kosovo crisis was attributed – in addition to his personal achievements – to the fact that Finland is not a NATO member and to its good relations with Russia. The policy of military non-alignment was considered an asset during the Finnish EU Presidency in the negotiations between EU and NATO on the question of strengthening EU crisis-management capability.[35] In the debate assessing the impact of the Baltic membership in NATO on Finland, it has been suggested that there might be a new demand for Finland's and Sweden's policy of military non-alignment in these new conditions.[36]

However, membership of NATO has not prevented countries like Norway from creating a strong role in international mediation. During the Cold War, Norway served as a mediator between the blocks. For example, the Norwegian Defense Minister Otto Grieg Tidemand served as a mediator between the US and the Soviet Union in the ABM question in Moscow in 1967.[37] Since the Cold War, Norway has served as a mediator in places like the Middle East, Haiti, Columbia, Sri Lanka and the Sudan.[38] Norway also had a mediating task in the Kosovo crisis, as the US and Russian foreign ministers met for the first time during the conflict in Norway's Gardemoen in mid-April.[39]

A central argument against military alignment has been that neutrality or military non-alignment enables a more active foreign policy.[40] While this argument has had a central place in the Swedish NATO debate[41], it has also been present in the Finnish debate. For example, Satu Hassi (the former Chair of the Green Party and the current

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[35] According to the then Under-Secretary of State Pertti Torstila, Finland's policy of military non-alignment was a factor which helped to get the states on the extreme sides to support the building of EU crisis- management capability. "Hägglundin EU-tehtävä ei muuta Suomen turvallisuuspoliittista linjaa", *Kainuun Sanomat* 2.4.2001.

[36] Interview of Liisa Jaakonsaari, Chairperson of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, in *Pohjalainen* 5.9.2001.

[37] Rolf Tamnes, The United States and the Cold War in the High North (Ad Notam: Oslo, 1991), p. 222.

[38] "Norja parantaa maailmaa 'villapaitadiplomatialla'" [Norway is improving the world with the help of 'pullover' diplomacy], *Helsingin Sanomat* 13.11.2000.

[39] NATO-Russian relations have changed rapidly since September 11. Through the new NATO-Russia Council (NRC) established last May, Russia has gained direct access to NATO decision-making on selected topics. As a result, the need for mediation between NATO and Russia becomes less relevant.

[40] For the deficiencies in the arguments for military non-alignment, see Ann-Sofie Dahl, *Svenskarna och NATO* (Elanders Gotab: Stockholm, 1999).

[41] See e.g. Prime Minister Göran Persson, *Dagens Nyheter* 11.2.1997.

Minister of the Environment) has noted that by remaining militarily non-aligned Finland can better contribute to European and global security.[42]

Small NATO members have considered their membership an opportunity to take part in the building of the European security system. The Danish and Norwegians have often noted that NATO membership has given them a chance to play an active and innovative role in international politics.[43] For example, Denmark was very activist in the Baltic Sea Region in the 1990s, using its NATO membership to integrate the Baltic states into NATO structures. Small Iceland, which does not even have an army, remains in NATO mainly due to the international influence that membership affords it.[44]

What about the second angle – do small states have any influence *within* NATO? NATO's decision-making system is based on the equality of all member states; this is demonstrated by the *de facto* veto right of each member and the consultation norms. At the same time, the US has been the uncontested leader of the Alliance, and big states have played a key role in certain decisions.

However, the occasions of big-power domination in NATO's decisions have not meant that smaller Allies would not have an influence and a role to play within NATO. During the Cold War, Denmark and Norway managed to affect the conditions of their membership as well as have an impact on common NATO policies (e.g. the Harmel report[45]). Since the Cold War, the Alliance's widened agenda has provided smaller Allies with new opportunities for influence. As already mentioned, Denmark has been very active in integrating the Baltic states into NATO structures. Norway, on the other hand, has been active in promoting cooperation between NATO and Russia. For the new Allies, NATO membership is not only a security guarantee but also – along with EU membership – an instrument for having a full say in collective European decision-making.

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[42] "Vihreiden Satu Hassi: Suomen Nato-jäsenyys loisi pikemminkin epävakautta" [Satu Hassi of the Green Party: Finland's NATO membership would create instability], *Helsingin Sanomat* 15.2.1999.

[43] See e.g. Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, *Speech on the occasion of NATO's 50th anniversary*, 7.4.1999. http://odin.dep.no.

[44] Ryan C. Hendrickson, "NATO's Northern Allies: Contributions in the Post-Cold War Era", *European Security* (8:1, Spring 1999), p. 71. Obviously, although the NATO membership is important for Icelandic security, the bilateral security arrangements with the United States - which include the U.S. military presence on Iceland, the only form of military defense of the island-nation – are also tremendously important.

[45] See pp. 53-54.

It is also worth noting that small states have managed to secure important NATO posts for their own citizens. For example, since the Cold War, a Dane has been Director of the International Military Staff[46], a strong candidate for the position of Secretary General[47], and Commander of NATO's Operation Essential Harvest in Macedonia.[48] A Norwegian has served as Chairman of the Military Committee[49], Assistant Secretary General[50] and Commander of the KFOR peacekeeping operation in Kosovo.[51]

1.3 Theoretical Aspects: Defining 'Small State' and 'Influence'

Even though the role of small states in NATO is a very relevant topic for the current NATO candidates and the non-aligned states, the research on it has traditionally been scant. Attention to small states has been paid chiefly in the small states themselves, while the mainstream IR has focused on the foreign policies of big states. Also, in the field of NATO research, the focus has been on big Allies. However, the influence and role of small states in NATO started to attract more interest in the 1980s as a result of the dispute on INF deployment.[52]

The research branch of small-state studies was born in the late 1950s[53], but the rationale for this category of analysis has been questioned.[54] The key question in small-state

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[46] Lieutenant General Ole Larsen Kandborg was appointed Director of the IMS in 1996.

[47] The then Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup was one of the strongest candidates to succeed Javier Solana.

[48] A Danish Major General, Gunnar Lange, commanded operation Essential Harvest in Macedonia in August-September 2001.

[49] General Vigleik Eide served as Chairman of the Military Committee in 1989-1993.

[50] Øivind Baekken served as Assistant Secretary General at the Division of Security Investment, Logistics and Civil Emergency Planning in 1998-2001.

[51] Norwegian Lieutenant General Thorstein Skiaker served as the Commander of KFOR during April-October 2001. In October 2001, Norway became responsible for KFOR's psychological operation (KFOR PSYOPS), which aims at increasing public support for KFOR.

[52] See e.g. Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa, NJ, 1985); Nikolaj Petersen, "The Security Policies of Small NATO Countries: Factors of Change", *Cooperation and Conflict* (23:3, 1988).

[53] A pioneering study in the field was Annette Baker Fox's research on the behavior of small states in WWII: Annette Baker Fox, *The Power of Small States: Diplomacy in World War II* (The University of Chicago Press, 1959).

[54] For example, Robert Baehr finds the category too large to be an apt category of analysis. Peter R. Baehr, "Small States: A Tool for Analysis?", *World Politics* (27: 3 , April 1975), p. 466.

studies has been the survival of small states' independence among the bigger powers. In this context, alignment has been analyzed as a small-state means to compensate for its own weakness in guaranteeing its security.[55]

Since the Cold War, small-state studies have been reactivated, as the number of small states in the international system has grown. In the post-Cold War period, the analysis has focused on the threats and opportunities deriving from integration and globalization. While several writers have been interested in small states in the EU[56], the topic of small states in NATO has also been dealt with in many contributions.[57]

There is no agreement among researchers on the definition of a "small state". One way is to set an upper limit for the size of the population.[58] The weakness (or strength) in this approach is that the concept is defined independently of the international system. Another possibility is to connect the definition to the international system: a small state is a country whose external power is significantly smaller than that of at least one of its neighbors.[59] However, according to a third view, it is not sufficient to define a small state as the weaker party in the situation. In this view, big and small states are differentiated by psychology: a small state recognizes its inability to guarantee its own security, and the other states in the international system recognize the small state's self-understanding.[60]

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[55] See e.g. Robert L. Rothstein, *Alliances and Small Powers* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1968); Omer De Raeymaeker, *Small Powers in Alignment* (Leuven University Press: Leuven, 1974).

[56] See e.g. Laurent Goetschel (ed.), *Small States Inside and Outside The European Union: Interests and Policies* (Kluwer Academic Publishers: Boston, 1998); Baldur Thorhallsson, *The Role of Small States in the European Union* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000); Olli Rehn, *Pieni valtio EU:ssa* [A small state in the EU] (Kirjayhtymä Oy: Helsinki, 1996); Esko Antola ja Milla Lehtimäki, *Small States and the Future of the EU* (Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence: University of Turku, 2001).

[57] See e.g. W. Bauwens & A. Clesse & O.F. Knudsen (eds.), *Small States and the Security Challenges in the New Europe* (Brassey's: London, *1996);* Ryan C. Hendrickson, "NATO's Northern Allies: Contributions in the Post-Cold War Era", *European Security* (8:1, Spring 1999); Alfred Van Staden, "Small State Strategies in Alliances: The Case of the Netherlands", *Cooperation and Conflict* (30:1, 1995). Gärtner, Heinz & Sens, Allen G.: "Small States and the Security Structures of Europe: The Search for Security After the Cold War" in Ingo Peters (ed.), *New Security Challenges: The Adaptation of International Institutions. Reforming the UN, NATO, EU and OSCE since 1989* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1996).

[58] According to David Vital, the limit is 10-15 million for economically developed states and 20-30 million for developing countries. David Vital, *The Inequality of States. A Study of the Small Power in International Relations* (Clarendoin Press: Oxford, 1967), p. 8.

[59] Olav F. Knudsen, Sharing Borders with a Great Power: An Examination of Small State Predicaments. NUPI Report 159, May 1992.

[60] Robert L. Rothstein, *Alliances and Small Power*, p. 21, 29.

The definition of a small state has become even harder in the post-Cold War environment. The increasing complexity of the international system has affected the power resources: traditional ones (military and economic instruments) have lost importance, while new resources have developed. Even though small states may be weak when measured by quantitative indicators, they can possess qualitative sources of influence (e.g. bridge-building, mediation, and other non-coercive means, power resulting from processes i.e. "bargaining strength").[61] Qualitative sources of influence also include cultural reputation, respected leaders and expertise in information technology.[62] Also, a social-political coherence of the state is a source of strength.[63] As Laurent Goetschel has pointed out, the significance of smallness depends on the notion of power and on the nature of the international system.[64]

How should one define the small NATO states? It is easier to start by excluding the big states: the US clearly stands out as the superior lead state, and the UK, France and Germany form the group of big European powers. Italy, Turkey, Canada, Spain and Poland can be regarded as middle-sized states.[65] This categorization follows a common way of defining the small European states in the small-state studies.[66] To apply this to NATO, there are ten small states: Belgium, the Czech Republic, Den-

[61] Laurent Goetschel "Interests of Small States" in Goetschel (ed.), *Small States Inside and Outside The European Union: Interests and Policies* (Kluwer Academic Publishers: Boston, 1998), pp. 14-16.

[62] Franz von Däniken, "Is the Notion of Small State Still Relevant?" in Laurent Goetschel (ed.), *Small States Inside and Outside The European Union: Interests and Policies (*Kluwer Academic Publishers: Boston, 1998), pp. 44-45.

[63] In Barry Buzan's view, states where the society and government are opposed to each other are weak, while states which are socially and politically coherent are strong. Small states can also be strong in responding to the new security threats. In contrast, a state that has strong military capacity is not necessarily a big power in the new international system. Barry Buzan, "Societal Security, the State and Internationalization" in O. Waever & B. Buzan & M. Kelstrup & P. Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1993), p. 5.

[64] Laurent Goetschel "Interests of Small States", p. 14.

[65] However, categorizations are problematic. For example, Italy, which has striven towards the group of big European powers, has often been counted as one of the big European states. Turkey, for its part, would qualify as a big power if measured by the size of its population. However, its status is weakened due to lack of EU membership.

[66] The definition excludes the three big European powers, the so-called middle-sized states (e.g. Italy and Turkey) and micro-states (e.g. Liechtenstein). Heinz Gärtner & Allen G. Sens, "Small States and the Security Structures of Europe: The Search for Security After the Cold War", p. 179 (footnote).

mark, Greece, Iceland, Hungary, Luxembourg, the Netherlands[67], Norway and Portugal.

These ten small NATO Allies vary in size as well as in other respects. Size is only one way of categorizing them. For example, categorization on the basis of their roles in NATO would put them into different groupings. For instance, while Norway, the Czech Republic and Hungary share a border with a non-member, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands have profiled themselves as peacekeeping countries.[68] Small Allies have had a different attitude toward their membership and adopted different kinds of membership strategies. While the Scandinavian Allies put restrictions on their membership, the Benelux countries actively took part without setting any conditions on their membership.

The ten small states in NATO have a different kind of geographical location, political traditions, economic development, history and culture – their role within NATO can often be better explained by factors other than their smallness. Particularly in the NATO of the post-Cold War era, where there is a tendency toward regionalization, the small states have often pulled in different directions. While the Scandinavian small Allies have promoted Baltic membership, the small Allies in Southern Europe have pushed for the membership of their own neighbors.

The definition of influence is also a difficult task. It is useful to start by differentiating between power and influence. The former usually refers to concrete military and economic resources; the latter to the ability to influence the behavior of others. Even though the traditional measures of power help in achieving influence, they cannot be automatically turned into influence.[69]

The main purpose of this study is not academic but pragmatic, and it will thus not dwell on the academic literature on the definitions of power and influence. Instead, the concept of "influence" – how influence is understood in this study – will be defined on the basis of a few key observations. First, there is no universal indicator of influence. Influence must be put into a context and seen in relation to a certain goal.

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[67] The Netherlands stands out as the strongest of the small states. It could perhaps be categorized also as a middle-sized state due to its powerful economy and significant military contribution to NATO operations.

[68] Troels Frøling (Secretary General of The Danish Atlantic Treaty Association, Vice-President of The Atlantic Treaty Association), "Atlantic NGOs: Danish and International Experiences". Paper presented to the Atlantic Council of Finland at the spring meeting, 29.5.2000.

[69] Laurent Goetschel "Interests of Small States", p. 16.

In the context of NATO decision-making, it is helpful to divide influence into two categories[70]:

a) *Influencing NATO's agenda, i.e. influence on agenda-setting* (the member state manages to shape NATO's agenda by including in it or deleting from it an issue)

b) *Influencing an issue already on NATO's agenda* (what kind of a role did the member state play in the decision; did it manage to achieve its goals?)

The former is more active type of influence, while the latter type of influence is more reactive by nature. Both these aspects are taken into account in the country-specific part of this report, which tries to assess the influence of small states in NATO decision-making during different time periods.

Secondly, influence usually proceeds in two ways. By taking part in an international institution, a state acquires influence as a part of a bigger entity but is at the same influenced by the other member states. The dilemma for a small country in an international institution is that the increased influence can mean a decreased autonomy. Each member state strikes a balance between these two tendencies – a contradiction between influence and autonomy depends on how much the small state shares the foreign-policy goals of the other member states.[71]

This observation serves as the basis for analyzing the membership strategies followed by small NATO Allies. In the country-specific part of this study, *the kinds of strategies the small NATO Allies have used* are assessed. The countries which emphasize influence at the expense of autonomy serve as the "glue" for the international institution; they are model pupils promoting the cohesion of the institution. According to Allen Sens, a small state following the "glue strategy" tries to acquire influence and promote its own security interests by promoting the common values of the international institution.[72] In Thomas Risse's view, this is a more efficient way of gaining influence: by playing by the rules of the institution, the country not only restricts its own freedom of action but gets to influence the decision-making processes of its partners. Even

[70] I would like to thank Associate Professor Jan Hallenberg of the Swedish National Defence College for this point.

[71] Laurent Goetschel "Interests of Small States", pp. 17-18.

[72] Allen Sens, "Small-State Security in Europe: Threats, Anxieties and Strategies After the Cold War", pp. 89-93.

though decreasing institutional links can create an illusion of independence, they end up lessening the country's actual influence.[73]

A small country emphasizing the autonomy element takes advantage of the common commitments and norms of the institutions for its own purposes. Allan Sens calls these countries the "dissolvent" of the international system. A country following a "dissolvent strategy" tries to extract benefits from the consensus rule in decision-making and refuses to support a common policy without concessions in other issues.[74]

An interesting question is also *why small states want influence*. Is influence a means to promote the country's own geopolitical interests or is "activism" as such a worthy goal? In practice, it can be difficult to make a difference between these two aims. However, it is possible to identify whether the influence aims at improving the state's immediate security or at having an impact further from home. On the other hand, promoting stability elsewhere in Europe contributes to the state's own security in an era of interdependence. Moreover, even if the influence were focused on the state's immediate security environment, it could be explained by other considerations than concern for security. Other considerations could include expertise, moral considerations and the need to focus limited resources to get the best results.

How can small states acquire influence; *what are their means of influence?* The answer depends on the theoretical approach. Neorealism, which stresses the structures of the international system, considers small states' influence marginal. In a bipolar system, the military and economic capacities of the two superpowers are superior to that of all other states. The superpowers do not need allies to survive, but the small states need the superpowers for their protection. This hardly leaves any bargaining power for the small states.[75]

In the classic variant of Realism, small states have more bargaining power – in certain conditions they can have a proportionally big influence. Small states are important for superpowers which are concerned about their relative power in the international system. Abandonment by one small ally can lead to a chain reaction. However, the small states can have a big influence only when the superpowers rule by a consensus principle, not by coercion. The bargaining power of a small ally increases when the

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[73] Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1995), p. 225.

[74] Allen Sens, "Small-State Security in Europe: Threats, Anxieties and Strategies After the Cold War", pp. 89-93.

[75] Thomas Risse-Kappen, Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy, pp. 15-16.

small allies have bigger interests and motivation than the superpowers; when the superpowers compete hard and strive for proportional gains; when there is a severe threat to the superpowers; when small allies oppose the superpowers as a unified front; when the small states control a resource needed by a superpower.[76]

In the Liberal approach, the influence of small states is not connected to the battle for power in the international system. In an alliance consisting of democracies, the key issue is to convince the other allies of the common good. Liberal means of influence, as identified by Thomas Risse, are as follows: 1) Influencing the decision-makers in the leading country so that they include the concept of value community in their definition of the national interest and preferences. 2) Promoting consultation norms and other common decision-making procedures. 3) Appealing to domestic political pressures or internal constraints.[77] 4) Building transnational and transgovernmental[78] coalitions, which can influence public opinion in the leading country.[79]

1.4 The Purpose and Structure of the Study

This study focuses on one aspect of the Finnish NATO debate. The Finnish debate on NATO membership has been conducted along three dimensions: security, influence and identity.[80] The security dimension refers to the traditional approach to NATO as a military alliance, and the key question in it is: Would NATO security guarantees increase Finland's security or rather decrease it by provoking Russia? The influence dimension, for its part, regards NATO membership as a channel for influence (counter-arguments to this were introduced in 1.1.). The influence dimension emphasizes NATO's role as the key security organization in Europe and its new tasks in crisis-management. From the identity perspective, NATO is perceived as a community

[76] Thomas Risse-Kappen, Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy, pp. 17-24.

[77] This is a legitimate means in an alliance of democracies, whereas appealing to economic or military superiority would not be.

[78] Transgovernmental coalitions connect representatives of different sub-units from different countries.

[79]Thomas Risse-Kappen, Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy, pp. 36-39.

[80] Tuomas Forsberg, "Turvaa, valtaa sekä kunniaa? Suomen Nato-keskustelun kolme tasoa" [Security, power and honor? The three levels of the Finnish NATO debate], *Ydin* 2/99.

of like-minded liberal democracies which share common values.[81] The key question in it is: What is Finland's place in the world, and to which group does it belong?

This research report approaches NATO membership solely from the influence perspective and does not comment on the other two dimensions. While all three dimensions are relevant, concentration on one of them has its advantages. By dividing the NATO debate into smaller pieces, one can deepen the argumentation of the debate and increase its factual basis.

This report will focus on the influence of small states in NATO decision-making. The purpose is to assess the nature, limitations and means of small-state influence in NATO. To this end, an overall picture of NATO decision-making is created and the membership experiences of four small Allies (Denmark, Norway, the Czech Republic and Hungary) are examined. The material used includes international relations literature, NATO documents, foreign and security policy documents of the four small states, NATO speeches, speeches by representatives of the four small states and internal debates in the four small states as reflected in news articles.

While the Finnish NATO debate and some theoretical aspects have been introduced in this introductory chapter, the second chapter focuses on institutional questions. Chapter 2 approaches NATO's decision-making structure, principles and norms from the perspective of smaller member states. For example, the impact of US leadership and that of informal big-state groups on small-state influence within NATO is examined in this chapter.

The country-specific part of the report consists of Chapters 3-5. Small-state influence within NATO will be approached through the membership experiences of Denmark, Norway, the Czech Republic and Hungary. These chapters deal with the membership motivations and criteria that the small states have had, their role in important NATO decisions or policies and their membership strategies. While it is not possible to cover all the important NATO decisions during each time period, the report aims at including at least those which had an impact either on the size (enlargement decisions[82]) or the tasks of the Alliance (NATO's role and military strategy). In addition to these key decisions, certain issues particularly important to the four small Allies have been included in the analysis (e.g. influence on membership conditions).

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[81] This argument has been promoted by e.g. Elisabeth Rehn, presidential candidate in the last two elections and former UN special representative in Bosnia. See e.g. Elisabeth Rehn, Ulko- ja turvallisuuspoliittinen linjapuhe [Key speech on foreign and security policy], Tampere 13.11.1999.

[82] Nevertheless, the case of Spanish NATO membership is only briefly dealt with in this study. See footnote 34 in Chapter 3.

Chapters 3 and 4 are case studies of the Danish and Norwegian experiences in NATO during and after the Cold War. Since the time period of these two chapters covers over 50 years, the description of the decision-making cases takes place on a very general level. Even though NATO today is very different from the NATO that Denmark and Norway joined over 50 years ago, it is relevant to take a look at the whole membership period of Denmark and Norway. The reasons are two-fold. First, the historical background helps us to understand the changes in the Danish and Norwegian NATO policies after the Cold War. Secondly, there is very little knowledge of the Danish and Norwegian NATO experiences in Finland, even though these states are often referred to in the Finnish NATO debate.

Chapter 5 focuses on the membership experiences of the two latest small Allies, the Czech Republic and Hungary. The limits to this analysis are set by the fact that these countries have been NATO members for only a couple of years. While the initial membership experiences of these countries are analyzed, the emphasis of Chapter 5 is more on the factors that are likely to decrease or increase their opportunities for influence in the future. Chapter 6 includes a summary of the research, and a brief discussion of the means of small-state influence within NATO on the basis of part 1.3. Moreover, Chapter 6 puts the research results into the context of the Finnish NATO debate.

It is not possible to deal with all ten small NATO member states in this study. It is worth explaining here why the four states in question have been chosen. Denmark and Norway are an obvious choice because they are Finland's Nordic neighbors, sharing the same values and culture and having the same kind of society. Also, as was already mentioned, these states have been referred to in the Finnish NATO debate (by e.g. President Koivisto). The point in including the Czech Republic and Hungary in this analysis is that they are the first post-Cold War small Allies – their experiences reveal the changes in NATO's enlargement process since the Cold War. Moreover, these four countries form two pairs of states that can also be compared with each other.

The research results cannot be generalized to embrace all small NATO states. Still, the experiences of the four small NATO Allies are interesting for the debates in the small non-aligned states. They indicate the possibilities and problems, related to influence, that Finland would probably have as a NATO member.

The relevance of the research is therefore connected to the Finnish NATO debate, one of whose important dimensions is the influence of small states. The research topic is also of relevance because NATO research in Finland has been scarce, and foreign research has mainly focused on the big NATO states. It is also worth noting that the

number of small states in the international system grew after the Cold War. In the future, a larger number of NATO Allies are going to be small states.

CHAPTER 2: SMALL STATES IN NATO DECISION-MAKING

2.1 An Alliance of Equal States?

For the founders of NATO, a key idea underpinning the Alliance was partnership – a partnership which was based on equality and on mutual respect and which transcended the differences in size, economic or military power of the different Allies.[1] The foreign ministers of 12 countries signed the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949 in Washington and thereby committed themselves to collective defense. At the same, all signatories were well aware of the special position of the US within the Alliance, which was based on its monopoly on nuclear weapons. In practice, NATO was a political commitment by the US to defend the Western European countries.[2]

During its first years, NATO was a paper tiger. The NATO created by the North Atlantic Treaty was a loose planning agency, not a functional international organization.[3] Article Nine of the Treaty only obliged the member states to establish a council consisting of representatives of the member states (Council Deputies). The Council would then establish the other necessary bodies. Thus, in 1949 NATO had no integrated troops, no defense plans and no real means for mobilization against a possible attack by the Soviet Union.[4] Only after the outbreak of the Korean War in the summer of 1950 was the institutionalization of NATO started. The fear of imminent war made the Allies put the "O" in NATO.[5]

In December 1950, NATO foreign ministers decided to create a military command structure. In April 1951, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Power Europe (SHAPE) started to function in Paris. The Alliance's current political decision-making structure dates back to the Lisbon Summit of 1952 where the organizing efforts culminated. The highest decision-making body, the North Atlantic Council (NAC), was born as the Council Deputies was turned into a permanent body where every member state

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[1] Secretary General Eisenhower's lecture, "The Relevance of Atlanticism". NATO Defense College, Course '97, 15.9.2000.

[2] Sean Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: Lanham, Maryland, 1998), p. 35.

[3] Robert S. Jordan, *Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy* (Westview Press/Boulder: Colorado, 1979), p. 8.

[4] Sean Kay, NATO and the Future of European Security, p. 35.

[5] Robert S. Jordan, Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy, p. 249.

would have a permanent representative of ambassadorial rank.[6] Also, the position of Secretary General and the positions of the International Staff were established at the Lisbon Summit. As a result, NATO moved from improvised arrangements to institutionalized forms.[7]

NATO's decision-making principles – consensus and consultation – reflect the equality of the member states. Decisions are made by consensus: each member state has a *de facto* veto right regardless of its military contribution. In contrast to the EU – where bigger states have, for example, a bigger number of votes in the Council of Ministers and a larger number of MEPs in the European Parliament – or the UN – where the big states form the Security Council – NATO's decision-making principles and structure make no difference between big and small states. The consultation norms aim at ensuring that every Ally has a chance to have its voice heard before a decision is taken.

The rule of consensus has been referred to as "the NATO spirit" (or "the NATO method"). It was born in the founding negotiations among the representatives of the US, Canada, the UK, France and the Benelux countries[8] in Washington in the summer of 1948 ("Washington Exploratory Talks on Security"). The members of the working group had a common aim to reach an agreement and to find the best mutually acceptable solutions. When a proposal by one member of the working group could not be accepted, the others criticized it constructively. The representative then contacted his capital to get new directions on the basis of the criticism.[9]

This "NATO spirit" of consensus and consultations – short-term compromises to ensure common long-term benefits – was considered so important for the success of the negotiations that it was adopted as the decision-making rule for the NAC and other bodies.[10] The rules of procedure are not included in the North Atlantic Treaty, however. They were discussed but left out to enable flexibility. The theory – which is valid also today – is that no government can be forced to take action against its will,

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[6] Origins of the North Atlantic Council and the Role of Summit Meetings in NATO's History. NATO Basic Fact Sheets April 1999.

[7] André de Staercke, "An alliance clamouring to be born – anxious to survive" in André de Staercke & Others, *NATO's Anxious Birth: The Prophetic Vision of the 1940's* (C. Hurst & Company, London: 1985), pp. 160-161.

[8] Luxembourg was represented by the Belgian representative.

[9] Theodore C. Achilles, "The Omaha Milkman: The role of the United States" in André de Staercke & Others, *NATO's Anxious Birth: The Prophetic Vision of the 1940's* (C. Hurst & Company: London, 1985), pp. 34-35.

[10] Sean Kay, NATO and the Future of European Security, p. 32.

but consequently no government can prevent the others from taking collective action.[11]

NATO is an inter-governmental organization. The highest decision-making body, the NAC, has no supranational powers – there are no majority decisions in the NAC. A solution acceptable to all member states will be found in intense consultations among the member states. In practice, decision-making by consensus means that a decision is made and executed unless a member country actively opposes it in the NAC or another NATO council. In other words, not every country needs to support the decision; it is enough that no country opposes it. Once approved, the decision represents the commonly accepted position of the Alliance. Every member state has an equal right to present its views in the NAC, and the NAC serves as a forum for all issues related to security of the Allies.[12]

Resorting to the use of veto is not very common, even though well-known examples do exist.[13] Pressure by other Allies, or awareness that vetoing will make it more difficult to gather support for one's own proposal later on, may prevent a member state from vetoing. Seldom is a member state willing to single-handedly block an emerging consensus in an important issue – a member state can give up its intention to veto during the decision-making process, if it seems that it will not be able to get enough support for its view.[14] NATO's decision-making also includes a more constructive alternative than blocking the common decision: opt-out. An example is Greece, which was opposed to the Kosovo operation. Greece did not veto the air strikes, because it was the only opposing state[15], but nor did it actively take part in the military operation.

Small states in particular tend to regard the veto right as the last resort when vital national interests are at stake. Moreover, the use of veto does not befit the role of a "loyal ally", adopted by many of NATO's small states. For example, Norway – which supported limited enlargement in the first round – noted before the Madrid Summit that it would not prevent a more extensive enlargement round (which would also in-

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[11] Theodore C. Achilles, "The Omaha Milkman: The role of the United States", p. 39.

[12] NATO Handbook 50th Anniversary Edition, pp. 35-37.

[13] A well-known example is General Charles de Gaulle's France in 1960s, when France almost stopped the political activities of the Alliance. More recently, Turkey vetoed the granted use of NATO military planning in EU-led operations.

[14] Martin A. Smith & Graham Timmins, Building a Bigger Europe. EU and NATO enlargement in comparative perspective (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), p. 70.

[15] Interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. G. Papandreou, *India Times* 21.12.2000.

clude Romania and Slovenia). According to the then Norwegian Prime Minister, Norway is not a "veto country".[16]

Decision-making by consensus necessitates extensive and regular consultations at several levels. The member states need to be aware of the policies and intentions of each other as well as of the considerations behind them. Close consultations may prevent misunderstandings and enable faster decisions.[17] Consultation in NATO is made easier by common cooperation procedures and the location of all national delegations in the same facilities.[18] The influence of a small state in NATO depends to a large degree on how effectively it uses the consultation mechanism, since the representatives of small states very seldom present their own initiatives in the NAC without prior consultations. Key assets are an ability to build coalitions, gather support of like-minded countries and persuade those who disagree.

In addition to the formal decision-making structure, consultations are conducted in informal channels. NATO's informal decision-making structure has even been partly institutionalized. Since the 1960s, the permanent representatives have had lunch together every week, the day before the formal NAC meeting. Consensus-building also takes place in negotiations in the aisles of NATO HQ as well as in semi-formal and confidential negotiations among a few member countries in the Secretary General's office.[19]

However, consultation entails several possible problems. According to Sean Kay, these are things such as an unwillingness to share sensitive information on national security even with close Allies; use of consultation norms to promote national (not common Alliance) interests; circumvention of consultation when rapid decisions are needed: a delay or even block in the consultation process due to procedures of national bureaucracies; a decrease in the Alliance's cohesion due to information flows which can highlight the differences among the Allies.[20]

Consultations in NATO have not proceeded without problems. In fact, there have been several internal crises in the Alliance, which have created a need to reform the consultation norms.[21] Worthy of note is the fact that smaller states have been active in

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[16] "Utvidelse i hektisk fase", *Aftenposten* 27.5.1997. www.aftenposten.no.

[17] NATO Handbook 50th Anniversary Edition, pp. 147-150.

[18] NATO Documents: *Extending Security in the Euro-Atlantic Area* ("How are decisions reached?")

[19] Sean Kay, NATO and the Future of European Security, pp. 38-39.

[20] Ibid. p. 37.

[21] The purpose of the "Wise Men" (*Committee of Three on Non-Military Cooperation in NATO*) was to develop the Alliance's cooperation in non-military questions. While the report was being written, French

the development of consultation norms through their representation in important working groups: the report by the "three wise men" of 1956[22] and the Harmel report[23] of 1967. The latter was based on a joint draft by two small states (Denmark and Norway).[24] According to American historian Lawrence Kaplan, the Harmel report succeeded in improving consultation norms within the Alliance and in increasing the role of smaller states in the Alliance's decision-making.[25]

NATO's enlargement since the Cold War has raised questions about the validity of the Alliance's decision-making rule in the future. The worry has been that an enlarged NATO would not be able to reach a consensus, as the number of different ideas and regional interests in the Alliance increases.[26] However, the experience of the first enlargement round did not confirm this: the NAC has been able to function "at 19". The latest members, as well as the future new members, have a strong motivation to prove that they not a burden but an asset to the Alliance. Moreover, they are very "Atlanticist" states, likely to follow the US lead.

In the future, NATO cannot avoid discussion of the decision-making rules. A key challenge to NATO's decision-making system would be possible Russian membership in the long-term, which would necessitate a thorough assessment of the rules. However, it is also possible that NATO's decision-making will informally start to emphasize a more flexible interpretation of consensus, even if the decision-making rule is not officially changed.[27]

The small Allies would be particularly reluctant to change NATO's decision-making rules if it meant giving up their veto. According to Jack Vincent's study, the militarily

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and British relations to the US were tightened as a result of the Suez crisis, which further increased the need to improve consultation norms. The Harmel report (*The Future Tasks of the Alliance*) was written after France withdrew from the integrated military structure, and NATO HQ was moved from Paris to Brussels. The wider background of the Harmel report relates to NATO's role in the era of détente.

[22] The group included Lester Pearson from Canada, Gaetano Martino from Italy and Halvard Lange from Norway.

[23] The Harmel group was named after its chairman, Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel.

[24] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1999 (DUPI),* p. 39.

[25] Lawrence Kaplan, *The Long Entanglement: Nato's First Fifty Years* (Praeger: Westport, 1999), pp. 135-136.

[26] However, it is not only about the number of members. It is also about their values and knowledge of NATO's working methods.

[27] Jack E. Vincent & others, "Capability Theory and the Future of NATO's Decision-making Rules", *Journal of Peace Research* (38: 1, 2001), p. 81.

and economically stronger members would be more willing to give up the veto right.[28] For small states, veto is the ultimate means of influence when vital interests are at stake. It is also an important embodiment of member state equality. The leaders of the most recent members and the aspirants have emphasized NATO's character as an intergovernmental organization to placate public opinion.[29]

The question of member-state equality may also be approached through their representation in important NATO posts. All member states are entitled to take part in all NATO activities and have representation in all NATO councils, and the influence of a small state within NATO depends on the quality of its national representatives. A higher international profile and additional influence within the Alliance may be gained through leadership posts of different NATO decision-making and consultation organs. Even though the holders of NATO posts are servants of the whole Alliance, and do not represent their own countries, such positions may improve the country's functioning in NATO through giving it an access to the most current information.

The most important civil position in NATO is that of Secretary General. Four out of ten Secretary Generals in NATO's history have been citizens of smaller states.[30] The position of Deputy Secretary General has been held by a citizen of a smaller country only two out of 13 times, even though the position was established at the Lisbon Summit of 1952 particularly to enable high-level representation of smaller Allies in NATO.[31] The highest military position, Chairman of the Military Committee, has been held by citizens of smaller member states 12 out of 30 times.

When it comes to International Staff, citizens of big member states have always controlled the leading position (Assistant Secretary General) in three of the five divisions (Division of Political Affairs, Division of Defense Planning and Operations, Division of Defense Support[32]). Smaller Allies have had their own citizens serving as Assistant Secretary Generals in the Division of Security Investment, Logistics and Civil Emer-

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[28] Jack E. Vincent & Others, "Capability Theory and the Future of NATO's Decision-making Rules", p. 69.

[29] See e.g. "Nato-kannatuksen horjahtelu opetti Unkarin johdolle mielialojen hallintaa"[Wobbly support for NATO membership taught Hungarian leadership how to master public mood], *Helsingin Sanomat* 12.4.2000.

[30] The information on the division of different posts among the Allies has been gathered from the NATO website, "Who is who". www.nato.int, 8 Jan 2002.

[31] Robert S. Jordan, Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy, p. 32.

[32] Until 1967 this division was called "Production, Logistics and Infrastructure".

gency Planning[33] as well as in the Division of Scientific and Environmental Affairs. The 20 Assistant Secretary Generals of these two divisions have included four small-state citizens.

The most important military command posts – Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT) – are always Generals or Admirals of the US Army. In the early decades of the Alliance (1950-60s), these positions were more visible and held in higher esteem than the most important civil position of Secretary General.[34] The Deputy Commanders DSACEUR and DSACLANT come from the UK and Germany. When one looks beyond the strategic commands (Allied Command Europe and Allied Command Atlantic), the high military positions are more evenly divided among the Allies.[35] It is also worth noting that NATO's KFOR and "Essential Harvest" operations in Kosovo and Macedonia have had commanders from small states.[36] One may conclude that – even though some of NATO's most important posts have been dominated by representatives of big states – smaller Allies have also managed to heighten their profile by getting their citizens into important NATO posts.

2.2 Decision-Making in Practice: Dictate, Directorate or Democracy?

Even though NATO is an Alliance of equal countries, there are two exceptions to this rule. First, the US has been an uncontested leader of the Alliance, provoking at times accusations of US "dictate". Second, informal decision-making groups of big states have played a key role in several important decisions. From the perspective of small Allies, a bigger threat to their influence within NATO has been a "directorate" rather than a "dictate".

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[33] 1979-86 this division was called "Infrastructure, Logistics and Council Operations".

[34] Lawrence S. Kaplan, *NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance* (Twayne Publishers: Boston, 1988), p. 78.

[35] An example is AFNORTH (Allied Forces North Europe), one of the two regional commands under SHAPE. AFNORTH has 13 general-level positions. Of these, the US, UK and the Netherlands each have two positions. Germany, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, the Czech Republic and Poland each have one. AF North_Organisation_Who's who. Headquarters structure. www.afnorth.nato.int/ organisation_whoswho.htm (3.7.2001).

[36] Norwegian Lieutenant General Thorstein Skiaker served as the Commander of KFOR during April-October 2001. NATO's operation *Essential Harvest* in Macedonia in August-September 2001 was commanded by a Danish Major General, Gunnar Lange. In October 2001, Norway become responsible for KFOR's psychological operation (KFOR PSYOPS) which aims at increasing public support for KFOR.

US leadership is more accurately characterized as active presentation of initiatives and commonly accepted leadership than by "dictate". According to Mark Smith, who has written on NATO's enlargement decision-making during the Cold War, US leadership in NATO was almost always based on its catalytic or hegemonic role. In the former, the US makes the initiative; in the latter, the US acts as a commonly accepted leader.[37]

The Allies' mutual equality has at times been compromised by a tendency toward informal groupings of big states.[38] In the early decades of the Alliance, the leading position of the three big Allies - the US, the UK and France - was recognized through the composition of the Standing Group, the executive body of the Military Committee. After Germany joined NATO, the informal grouping of big states was called "The Quad" or "The Berlin Four". These four countries were united by the German question, but they also became an informal directorate, which convened before NATO meetings.

The big states played a key role in decisions on NATO military strategy and enlargement during the Cold War. The main themes of the military strategy – massive retaliation, tactical nuclear weapons, forward strategy, flexible response – were all born in Washington.[39] The roots of the Alliance's early enlargement decisions (Greece and Turkey 1952, West Germany 1955) can be found in mutual consultations among the three big Allies of the Standing Group.[40]

Even though one can find decisions controlled by big states in NATO's history, the attempts to institutionalize the special position of bigger allies in the NATO decision-making structure have never succeeded.[41] An example of an unsuccessful attempt to create a big-power directorate within NATO dates back to the early 1950s. In September 1958, the French President, General Charles de Gaulle, sent a letter to the US President Dwight Eisenhower and the British PM Harold Macmillan in which he suggested that the three big states would form a "directorate" within NATO. The directorate would be responsible for the Alliance's military planning and execution (both conventional and nuclear) on a global basis. The suggestion was motivated by French dissatisfaction with the US monopoly on the Alliance's nuclear policy.

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[37] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War: Strategy and System in the Western Alliance (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p. 170.

[38] David S. Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (The United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington, D.C., 1999), p. 183.

[39] Robert S. Jordan, Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy, pp. 256-257.

[40] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War… , pp. 167-168.

[41] An exception was the already-mentioned Standing Group 1949-1966/67.

Smaller Allies naturally found the French suggestion repugnant. The Secretary General, Paul-Henri Spaak, was also shocked. He believed that the disappearance of cooperative multilateral action would make the smaller Allies consider the Alliance redundant and they would return to neutrality.[42] Similarly, President Eisenhower rejected the suggestion, even though he was ready to widen consultations with France. President Eisenhower justified his view by referring to the position of smaller member states.[43]

The French withdrawal from NATO's military structure in 1966 led to some structural reforms, which ended up improving the position of smaller Allies in NATO decision-making. In 1966, the Standing Group of the Military Committee – which the US, the UK and France had formed since the creation of the Alliance – was replaced by an Integrated Military Staff in the new NATO headquarters in Brussels.[44] In contrast to its predecessor, the IMS was open to all member states. Secondly, the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) was established in 1967. The NPG brought nuclear questions into the multilateral NATO arena. However, participation of smaller Allies was at first restricted to rotating places.[45]

The NPG has been regarded as a compromise that takes into account the preferences of the smaller Allies.[46] Before the NPG was established, there was another proposal on the table, which would have left the smaller Allies in a worse position. The US Defense Minister, Robert McNamara, suggested in the NATO Ministerial meeting of spring 1965 that the planning and implementation of nuclear policy should be brought inside the Alliance through a select committee of 4-5 Allies. Secretary General Manlio Brosio emerged as a defender of smaller states. Brosio rejected McNamara's proposition because he thought that the exclusion of some member states from a NATO committee would constitute an unwise precedent.[47] NATO's history also in-

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[42] Robert S. Jordan, *Political Leadership in NATO…* , pp. 77-78.

[43] "We cannot afford to adopt any system which would give to our other Allies, or other free world countries, the impression that basic decisions affecting their own vital interests are being made without their participation." Quoted in Robert S. Jordan, *Political Leadership in NATO…* , p. 79.

[44] Lawrence S. Kaplan, NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance, pp. 115-116.

[45] Norway and Denmark first rejected participation in the NPG because they were worried about the credibility of their nuclear restriction. Fred Chernoff, *After Bipolarity: The Vanishing Threat, Theories of Cooperation, and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance* (The University of Michigan Press: Michigan, 1995), p. 202. Nowadays the NPG is open to all member states.

[46] Fred Chernoff, After Bipolarity: The Vanishing Threat, Theories of Cooperation, and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance, s. 203.

[47] McNamara's quest for a limited committee dealing with nuclear questions was temporarily fulfilled. In February 1966 three five-member working groups were started. The nuclear working group in-

cludes other examples of the Secretary General's role in support of the smaller Allies – such tasks have involved mediating between big and small European states, "reminding" the bigger Allies about the consultation rules, and trying to formalize the role of smaller states in the Alliance and institutionalize the consultation mechanisms.[48]

Even though the history of NATO's decision-making reveals decisions dominated by big states, it has also been affected by yet another tradition. In addition to "dictate" and "directorate", a third "D" has also been in effect in NATO's decision-making: democracy. NATO is an alliance of democracies. In their mutual cooperation, democratic states "externalize" their internal decision-making rules and norms. NATO is not only a US means of dominating European security policies, as Realists would like to claim[49], but also a means for European Allies to influence the US. As Thomas Risse has noted, the culture of persuasion and compromises – regular consultation, consensus-building and norms of equality – enable the Allies' influence on one another.[50]

Risse's case studies indicate that the European Allies and Canada had a significant impact on US decisions during the Cold War.[51] In most of the cases examined by him – the Korean War, negotiations on the nuclear test ban treaty (1958-1963), the Cuban missile crisis, the Alliance's nuclear strategy and the deployment of INF missiles in Europe – the US decisions, and the actions following them, came close to the original European demands or were an internal NATO compromise.[52] The Allies managed to have an impact on how the US defined its national interest and specific policy choices – in practice, no differentiation was made between the US national interest and the

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cluded only the defense ministers of the US., the UK, West Germany, Italy and Turkey. Robert S. Jordan, *Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy*, pp. 233-235.

[48] Robert S. Jordan, Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy, pp. 261-262, 206, 71-72.

[49] See e.g. Kenneth N. Waltz:, "Structural Realism after the Cold War", *International Security* (25:1, Summer 2000), pp. 20-21.

[50] Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO" in Peter J.Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1996), pp. 368-369.

[51] Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies… ,* pp. 195-198. Risse-Kappen chose such cases in which it was clearly about US national interests and which were not directly related to European security (p. 3). It also has to be noted that Risse focused only on the big European states in his research.

[52] The exception was the Suez crisis in 1956 in which the US made the UK and France give up their efforts to regain control of the Suez Canal through its economic superiority (p. 197).

common Alliance interest. NATO can also be seen as a means for small states to influence US foreign policy discussion and the definition of its "national interest".

US leadership and informal groupings of big states have also been present in NATO's decision-making since the Cold War. Examples of the continuing US leadership in the Alliance are the first enlargement round and Operation Allied Force in Kosovo. The US, along with Germany, was the key player in the first enlargement round. James Goldgeier's study suggests that all of the key decisions in the first enlargement round were made in Washington: PfP, the two-track enlargement strategy involving a deal with Russia, and the decision on the number of new members.[53] The last of these three decisions created concern in the other member states: it was considered that the US had abandoned the consultation process.[54] Still, in the Sintra Ministerial meeting of late May 1997, nine Allies supported the inclusion of Romania and Slovenia in addition to Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary.[55] However, the US position of accepting only the three Visegrad states prevailed at the Madrid Summit of July. Also, the military execution of the Kosovo air strikes was in US hands: the operation was based on US intelligence and a clear majority of the strikes were conducted by the US Air Force.[56]

However, not even the US influence is automatic, as a glance at a few cases from the post-Cold War period indicates. First, the US did not get the Europeans to take responsibility for the crisis in Bosnia. The early focus of the Clinton administration was on domestic politics, and Foreign Minister Warren Christopher was sent to tour Europe in 1993 to persuade the Europeans to carry a bigger burden (if not by sending troops to help the Bosnian government, then at least by abolishing the weapon blockade on Bosnia). Christopher's mission did not succeed, which has been interpreted as a sign of the decreasing status of the US.[57] Secondly, the US did not get its own way in the discussions about the 1999 Strategic Concept. The US would have wanted to include a bigger global role for NATO in fighting against international terrorism and preventing the proliferation of WMD, but the final formulation of the 1999 Strategic

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[53] James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When. The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C:,1999), p. 5.

[54] Stanley Sloan, "Transatlantic relations: Stormy weather on the way to enlargement?", *NATO Review Webedition*. (45: 5, Sept/Oct 1997), pp. 12-16.

[55] Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty* (The Washington Papers. Praeger: Westport, 1998), p. 132.

[56] Wesley K. Clark, "U.S. Actions Push the EU to Its Own Military Force" (editorials/opinion), *The Washington Post*, 9-10.12.2000.

[57] Lawrence S. Kaplan, The Long Entanglement: NATO's First Fifty Years, p. 191.

Concept reflects the more cautious views of the European Allies.[58] However, the post-September 11th Strategic Concept will very likely reflect the position the US already had a few years ago.

A third example is the US inability to make Turkey drop its veto on the granted EU access to the NATO resources and planning in EU-led operations. Personal attempts by Foreign Minister Albright in NATO's ministerial meeting in December 2000 or the promise by President Clinton to consult Turkey bilaterally in every operation did not help.[59] At the end of 2001, Turkey finally dropped its veto as a result of an agreement brokered by the UK. A fourth example is the dispute about the alleged link between depleted uranium and leukemia. The US, along with some other Allies, argued that there was no evidence, drawing attention to the extensive experiments carried out by American soldiers during the Gulf War. However, several Allies insisted on the need for additional research.[60] The US finally agreed, and NATO started new investigations.[61]

After the Cold War, also Italy has taken part in the group of big states in some issues.[62] In the Balkan conflicts, key decisions have been made in the so-called "Yugoslavia Contact Group" which consists of the five big NATO states (US, UK, Germany, France, Italy) and Russia. Also, there was an attempt to discuss the enlargement issue among the big states only. In early 1997, French President Jacques Chirac proposed that the four big NATO states and Russia should meet before the Madrid Summit to discuss enlargement. The US rejected the French proposal by referring to the objections of Italy and many small Allies, e.g. Norway.[63] (Instead, the US and Russia had a bilateral summit in Helsinki in March 1997). The procedure for selecting a new Secretary General also left a bad taste in the mouth of many small Allies. The Benelux countries delayed the appointment of Lord Robertson because his nomination was agreed among the big Allies before the NAC meeting.[64]

Big-state "directorates" are problematic from the viewpoint of small states; the fear is that consultation and real decision-making takes place outside the NATO framework.

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[58] Congressional Research Service; Library of Congress: Memorandum 3.9.1999. *Operation Allied Force: Lessons Learned*, p. 18.

[59] "Setback for EU's NATO links", *The Financial Times* 17.12.2000. www.ft.com.

[60] "UN finds radiation in Kosovo", *BBC News* 6.1.2001. www.bbc.co.uk.

[61] "NATO to investigate uranium threat", *CNN News* 10.1.2001.www.cnn.com.

[62] Guillaume Parmentier: "Redressing NATO's Imbalances", *Survival* (42:2, Summer 2000), p. 101.

[63] David S. Yost, NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security, p. 185.

[64] "Pikkumaat jarruttavat Robertsonin nimitystä Naton pääsihteeriksi"[Small states put the brakes on the nomination of Robertson as Secretary General], *Helsingin Sanomat* 4.8.1999.

This worry has been expressed by several small states in their evaluations of the Kosovo crisis (see Chapter 4).

2.3. Small States and US Leadership

Small Allies have accepted US leadership as a fact – after all it is the most important state guaranteeing their security. US leadership has even increased small states' influence by improving their position in relation to big European Allies and, during the Cold War, also to third parties. First, US leadership has prevented the small state from being dominated by its big neighbor and tied by its big neighbor into multilateral structures. The "denationalizing" function of NATO has been crucial for several small states. For example, it has been important for Denmark that Germany belongs to a military alliance which promotes military integration and which is led by the US.[65] Secondly, US leadership has increased the mutual equality of big and small European Allies by preventing a formation of unequal categories among them.[66] Thirdly, the US has served as a bolster in small states' relations to third countries. This function was particularly important during the Cold War; the US political and diplomatic support helped Norway in its negotiations with the Soviet Union.[67]

Moreover, the US is also the uncontested leader in the military structure of the Alliance, which has improved the small states' position in it. According to Guillaume Parmentier, the positions in the military structure have been divided among the Allies in such a way which does not directly reflect their size or contribution.[68] The US military force can also be seen as an inexpensive force multiplier for small states, for example in Kosovo-type operations. In this view, NATO is not seen as the US instru-

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[65] Bertel Heurlin, "Danish Security Policy over the last 50 Years – Long-Term Essential Security Priorities", *DUPI Working Paper* No. 2001/7, p. 10.

[66] A central function of Dutch NATO membership has been to help it defend its interests in West European politics. Using their reputation as a loyal Ally of the US, the Dutch have used the US as a counterbalance to resist domination by a big regional power, France. Alfred Van Staden, "Small State Strategies in Alliances: The Case of the Netherlands", *Cooperation and Conflict* (30:1, 1995), p. 32.

[67] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security* (PRIO, Sage Publications Ltd: London, 1998), pp. 102-103.

[68] Guillaume Parmentier: "Redressing NATO's Imbalances", *Survival* (42:2, Summer 2000), pp. 101-102.

ment for promoting its own interests, but as a means for a small state to promote its own or general security interests at the cost of the US.[69]

Since small NATO states have found the US leadership to be in their interests, they have often adopted the strategy of the loyal Ally in NATO. An alternative strategy would be that of a nuisance trying to use the common decision-making procedures for its own ends (small states have "nuisance" value because their support is required for common decisions).[70] The loyal Ally strategy has meant avoiding public criticism of the US in both words and deeds. According to Robert O. Keohane, Denmark and Norway during the Cold War can be aptly characterized as loyal allies.[71] However, at the same time the Scandinavian Allies balanced their loyalty to the leading NATO state by conducting somewhat independent foreign policies outside NATO. Denmark was the only NATO country which did not offer troops for Vietnam, and both Scandinavian Allies adopted positions in the UN which contrasted with those of the US and big NATO states.

In the 1980s, Denmark was no longer considered a loyal ally in the US. Its "footnote policy" (see chapter 3) and low defense expenditure made it a reluctant ally and a freeloader in the eyes of the US. In the 1990s, however, Denmark's policy in NATO was based on unprecedentedly close relations with the US (see chapter 4). Norway's relations with the US during the Cold War were described as an "alliance within the alliance".[72] Norway has continued this strong Atlantic orientation since the Cold War. The need for policies emphasizing the Atlantic element is made more urgent by the Danish opt-out from the EU's defense policy and the fact that Norway did not join the EU together with Sweden and Finland in 1995. The new smaller member states, the Czech Republic and Hungary, have also followed very "Atlanticist" policies in NATO (see chapter 5).

However, overplaying the role of the loyal Ally has its risks and can end up decreasing the country's influence within NATO. If the Ally seems perfectly satisfied, it will

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[69] David G. Haglund, "Allied Force or Forced Allies? The Allies' Perspective" in Pierre Martin & Mark R: Brawley (eds.), *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War: Allied Force or Forced Allies?* (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p. 92.

[70] Alfred Van Staden, "Small State Strategies in Alliances: The Case of the Netherlands", pp. 38-39.

[71] Keohane points out that Denmark and Norway did not publicly criticize US policy in Vietnam, in contrast to the neutral Sweden. Robert Keohane, "Big Influence of Small Allies", p. 167.

[72] Olav Riste, "Facing the 21st century: New and old dilemmas for Norwegian foreign policy", Den Norske Atlanterhavskomite, Den sikkerhetspolitiske bibliotek – 13/2001. www.atlanterhavskomiteen.no.

not be given any attention.[73] Moreover, it can also provoke a counter-reaction by big European states. It has been reported that the Danish Defense Minister, Hans Haekkerup, was not elected NATO Secretary General in the summer of 1999 because his close relations with the US irritated the other allies, especially France.[74]

Alliances have been considered an instrument for big states to control and dominate their smaller allies. A key question is whether it works the other way round – can small states influence the US? If so, by how much and by what means? In an article published as early as 1971, Robert O. Keohane notes that many small states regard membership of a US-dominated alliance as a way of influencing the US. Even though one ally does not count for much, the cumulative effect of many small allies does count.[75] According to Keohane, small states have two strategies with which to influence the US. Both of these have also been used in the post-Cold War context.

First, during the Cold War, many small states increased their negotiation position by taking advantage of the US commitment to democracy (e.g. South Korea, Thailand). This means was more recently used by the NATO candidate countries who stressed NATO's character as an alliance of democratic states to which they naturally belong. A second means is acting within the US decision-making process. Small states may establish close relations with influential elements in the US decision-making system, which is characterized by compromises and a battle among interest groups. The membership prospects of NATO candidate countries in the first post-Cold War enlargement round were improved by the active lobbying of American-Polish communities. Also, a small state can establish direct relations to such US government subunits which are dependent on the small state's policies (e.g. naval forces, the air force, the CIA). Portugal and Greece, for instance, which are important locations for American military installations, have used this means.[76]

Thirdly, the small state may have an influence on the US if it can function in such a role that the leading NATO state cannot function in for political reasons, but is in accordance with its interests. A good and topical example of this is the Danish role in the Baltic Sea region (see chapter 4).

The typical small-state strategy of being a loyal ally faces new challenges in the post-Cold War world. The demise of the Cold War has made it more difficult for a small state to get US attention: getting one's voice heard in a unipolar and regionalizing

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[73] Robert Keohane, "Big Influence of Small Allies", p. 168.

[74] "Haekkerups forhold til USA problematisk", *Politiken.dk*, 13.6.1999. www.politiken.dk.

[75] Robert Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies", pp. 180-181.

[76] Robert Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies", pp. 163-166.

system requires activism and policy choices that are in accordance with those of the leading state.[77] As a result, acquiring influence requires more work in the post-Cold War era. An important strategic location, such as Denmark's possession of Greenland (see chapter 3), is no longer enough.

A second challenge is the transatlantic relationship. As the EU's crisis-management capability is further developed and as the EU gains a more important role as an international actor, there are increasing pressures for the US to share leadership with big European powers in NATO. If NATO becomes a two-pillar NATO (the EU and the US being the two pillars), small states may have to re-orientate their membership strategies in NATO. This may mean closer cooperation with one of the big European powers.[78]

However, the road towards the two-pillar NATO is long. It is affected by the tempo of the EU's development – in 1999-2000 the tempo was fast but it may already be slowing down.[79] It is possible that for several years to come the problem will remain the same: the Europeans want the US to share leadership, and the US wants the Europeans to share the defense expenditure more equally. One factor preserving US influence in NATO is its military superiority.[80] The DCI process started in the Washington Summit of 1999 has not yet managed to narrow down the gap between US and European military capabilities.[81]

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[77] Bertel Heurlin, "Denmark's Security Policy in the Baltic Sea Area After the Cold War" in Gunnar Artèus & Bertel Heurlin (eds.), *German and Danish Security Policies towards the Baltic Sea Area: 1945 until Present* (DUPI & National Defense College of Sweden, Försvarshögskolans acta B6: Copenhagen), p. 106.

[78] See e.g. Alfred van Staden, "Small State Strategies in Alliances: The Case of the Netherlands", p. 44.

[79] Tuomas Forsberg, "Tuleeko Euroopan unionista liittovaltio omine euroarmeijoineen?"[Will the European Union become a federal state with its own euro-army?], *Sotilasaikakausilehti* 3/2001, p. 32.

[80] Charles A. Kupchan, "In Defence of European Defense: An American Perspective", *Survival* (42: 2, Summer 2000), p. 22.

[81] Final Communiqué of the Meeting of the NAC in Defense Ministers Session (Brussels, 18.12.2001). Press Communiqué PR/CP(2001)171.

In the final analysis, it is of course possible that the small states' membership, which stresses close relations with the US, will also function in the two-pillar NATO. After all, this seems to be the belief in all of the four small states examined in this report

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CHAPTER 3: DENMARK'S AND NORWAY'S INFLUENCE WITHIN NATO DURING THE COLD WAR

3.1 Background - Motives for Joining

Denmark and Norway both signed the North Atlantic Treaty among the founding members in April 1949 for security protection. The decision to join a military alliance broke their earlier tradition of neutrality and was made in the absence of other credible options for guaranteeing their security. The international situation was getting more tense in early 1948: the communists had taken over in Czechoslovakia, and Finland was pressured into agreeing to a Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance (FCMA) Treaty with the Soviet Union. There were rumors of similar Soviet pressure being directed at Norway. Denmark also felt vulnerable: due to its significant geo-strategic position it was to become a front-line state in the emerging Cold War.

Membership of NATO was considered the only viable alternative in this situation. Neutrality had not prevented Nazi Germany from invading Denmark and Norway in 1940. What is more, the UN, established in 1945, had proved incapable of guaranteeing international peace and security in the escalating Cold War. The negotiations on a Scandinavian Defense Association (SDA), conducted among the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish governments in late 1948 and early 1949, had failed.

The plans for establishing the SDA did not work out due to the incompatibility of the Norwegian and Swedish objectives. The Norwegians wanted the SDA to have a formal connection with the US-led North Atlantic alliance, which the Swedish neutralists could not accept. The Norwegian position was strongly affected by the US statement that the states, which joined it in a collective defense alliance, would be the first to receive military aid and that the supplies of arms and equipment were scant.[1] It was understood in Norway that the security guarantees of the Scandinavian pact without assured Western help would not be sufficient to protect Norway.[2]

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[1] Knut Einar Eriksen og Helge Pharo, *Norway and the early Cold War: Conditional Atlantic cooperation* (IFS Info: No 5, 1993), p. 20; Grether Vaernø, "Fate of the Nordic Option: The absence of guarantees for a Scandinavian defense association turns Norway firmly toward the Atlantic Alliance" in André de Staercke & Others, *NATO's Anxious Birth: The Prophetic Vision of the 1940's* (C. Hurst & Company, London: 1985), pp. 91-92.

[2] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War: Strategy and System in the Western Alliance (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p. 44.

For Norway, the turning point was the crisis of February-March 1948; it set in motion the process, which took Norway to full NATO membership. After Finland had signed the FCMA Treaty with the Soviet Union, there were signs that similar pressure was to be exerted against Norway. In February, Norwegian Defense Minister Hauge asked the US to clarify the position of Norway in US strategy. The Norwegians also contacted the British. In March 1948, the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, contacted his American colleague to tie the US into Europe "before Norway goes under".[3]

The Norwegian decision-makers ended up choosing NATO for two reasons. Norway's strategic position was more vulnerable than had earlier been thought. Secondly, it was understood that for the security guarantee to work in wartime or to function as a deterrent, Western assistance needed to be planned during peacetime.[4] Economic considerations also played a part. It was believed that, as an aligned country, Norway would be able to keep its defense spending at a lower level – it would receive military material from its Allies and benefit from NATO's infrastructure programme.[5] NATO membership can also be seen as a continuation and formalization of the country's Atlantic orientation deriving from the war period. During the war, Norway had created close political and military links to the UK and the US.[6]

Denmark in particular would have preferred the Scandinavian solution. The collapse of the negotiations on the SDA left the Danish decision-makers with a dilemma: isolated neutrality could tempt the Soviet Union to attack Denmark, while full NATO membership together with Norway would provoke it. In this situation, NATO membership was perceived as the better option – or "the lesser of two evils" – by the Danish decision-makers.[7] An important factor which spoke for Danish NATO membership was Greenland, which could not be defended without US help.

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[3] Rolf Tamnes, "Integration and Screening: The Two Faces of Norwegian Alliance Policy, 1945-1986", *Forsvars Studier – Defence Studies VI 1987. Årbok for Forsvarshistorisk forskningssenter, Forsvarets høgskole* (TANO: Oslo, 1987), pp. 65-66.

[4] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security*, (PRIO, Sage Publications Ltd: London, 1998), p. 85.

[5]Arne Olav Brundtland, "Norwegian Security Policy: Defense and Nonprovocation in a Changing Context" in Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands, & Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa NJ, 1985), p. 186.

[6] Sven G. Holtsmark, Great Power Guarantees or Small State Cooperation? Atlanticism and European Regionalism in Norwegian Foreign Policy, 1940-1945 (IFS Info 1/1996), pp. 16-17.

[7] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1999 (DUPI)*, pp. 30-31.

Denmark and Norway did not take part in the negotiations on the North Atlantic Treaty, but were invited to sign it. The US considered Denmark and Norway (in addition to Iceland and Portugal) "stepping-stone" countries whose membership would be a requirement for Western-European and American security.[8] From a military viewpoint, the membership of these countries would give the necessary bases for US aircraft and naval vessels carrying military equipment. Their locations were strategically important; Denmark guarded the Baltic straits, Norway the sea lines across the Atlantic. Secondly, the inclusion of the stepping-stone countries gave the US decision-makers a chance to emphasize the Atlantic character of the Treaty, which improved the possibilities for Senate approval.[9] Thirdly, it was important to prevent these countries from getting drawn into the Soviet sphere of influence.

Denmark and Norway therefore joined NATO among the founding states in April 1949. As explained above, security was the original motivation for the Danish and Norwegian alignment. However, membership of NATO also became important for reasons of influence as time went on.

3.2 Case Studies[10]

Influencing the membership conditions

The Scandinavian Allies had an "à la carte version" of NATO membership.[11] They managed to set three kinds of conditions for their membership. They declared unilaterally that they would not allow deployment of nuclear weapons or permanent Allied

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[8] Lawrence S. Kaplan, *The Long Entanglement. NATO's First Fifty Years* (Praeger: Westport, 1999), p. 15.

[9] Lawrence S. Kaplan, "NATO's First Fifty Years", *Commemorative Edition of NATO Review: NATO 1949-1999*, p. 9.

[10] Even though the aim has been to include the most important NATO decision-making cases in this report, many interesting cases had to be left out. The report does not deal with e.g. the bilateral defense agreements that Denmark and Norway made with the US in the 1970s and 1980s, which increased the credibility of their defense. In the early 1970s, the Soviet military build-up increased in Kola and the Baltic region. In 1971, Norway made an "Invictus" agreement with the US, which provided for storage facilities in Norway for spare parts and fuel for US maritime patrol aircraft. The Invictus agreement was broadened in 1980. In 1974, Norway and the US made a COB (*Collocated Operating Bases*) agreement. Certain airports in Southern Norway were equipped to receive and support American fighter squadrons in an emergency. In 1981, Norway and the US made an agreement on pre-positioning of heavy equipment for the American Marine Amphibious Brigade in central Norway. (Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security*, pp. 104-106.) In 1976 Denmark made a COB agreement with the US (Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 44).

[11] Ingemar Dörfer, "Scandinavia and NATO: à la carte", *Washington Quarterly* (Winter 1986).

troops on their territories in peacetime. They also banned NATO exercises in certain parts of their territories which were strategically sensitive from the viewpoint of the Soviet Union.

At first, the leading NATO powers were not even interested in establishing bases in these countries. However, when the building of the integrated military structure was started, the situation changed. The Alliance's October 1950 decision concerning Military Operating Requirements created the framework for negotiations on air bases. The first official NATO request for bases for tactical aircraft came in September 1951.[12] Both countries declined.

Norway had already declared its "base restriction" a few months before NATO membership in a note sent to the Soviet Union on 1 February 1949. The note was a reply to a Soviet note criticizing the Norwegian intent to join NATO. To convince the Soviet Union of the defensive purpose of the Alliance, Norway declared that it would not accept permanent foreign troops in the country in peacetime. There were also domestic considerations involved in the Norwegian base restriction: public opinion would not have allowed foreign troops in the country.[13] The Norwegian base declaration was elaborated in February 1951 just prior to the concrete negotiations concerning bases; it would allow military installations to facilitate the reception of Allied reinforcement, but not bases with Allied personnel in peacetime.[14] The base policy was clarified again in 1977.[15]

Denmark did not present a formal restriction before 1953, even though the issue was already discussed before NATO membership. In 1953, Denmark rejected the US request to establish air bases in Denmark proper (Jutland). Denmark would not allow bases during "the prevailing conditions", i.e. in peacetime. However, in 1951, Denmark had made a bilateral agreement with the US in which it allowed the continuation and expansion of US air bases and virtually unlimited military activity in Greenland.[16]

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[12] Rolf Tamnes, "Integration and Screening…", p. 73.

[13] David Arter, *Scandinavian politics today* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1999), p. 280.

[14] Rolf Tamnes, "Integration and Screening…", p. 73.

[15] In the preamble to the 1978 Defense Budget it was noted that the base policy does not rule out 1) the presence of Allied military forces in Norway as a part of short training or a NATO exercise 2) building C3, navigation or early-warning facilities for Allied military forces in Norway 3) building of depots for ammunition, equipment and provisions for Allied military forces 4) Norway's participation in the integrated military organization of NATO. Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security*, p. 104.

[16] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", pp. 32-34.

At the December 1957 Summit in Paris, NATO reached a decision about nuclear strategy. Denmark had already declared in May 1957 that nuclear weapons could not be deployed in Denmark in "the prevailing conditions".[17] Norway declared its nuclear restriction at the Summit: it rejected the deployment of nuclear weapons on its territory appealing to its base restriction.[18] It is important to note that these restrictions applied only to peacetime – i.e. during a crisis or the threat of a crisis, the nuclear option remained a possibility also in Denmark and Norway.

In the dispute about IFN deployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were pressures within the Alliance for more equal burden-sharing through adding some of the smaller states to the list of deploying countries. While Belgium and the Netherlands became deploying countries, Denmark and Norway adhered to their nuclear restriction. The Danish and Norwegian restrictions were accepted by the other Allies; the non-nuclear status of these countries had come to be viewed by the other Allies as an accepted part of the equilibrium in Northern Europe, and more generally of the European order.[19]

However, the restrictions set by Denmark and Norway were not absolute. For Denmark, Greenland was the compromise. The status of Greenland remained ambiguous in the US-Danish agreement of 1951: nuclear weapons were neither allowed, nor denied. Even though the Danish nuclear ban officially applied also to Greenland, the deployment of US nuclear weapons in Greenland was indirectly accepted in practice. An accident involving a US B-52, carrying nuclear weapons, in January 1968 in Thule forced the Danish government to clarify its nuclear policies.[20]

In the Norwegian case, there is some evidence that Norway had knowingly allowed nuclear-powered submarines to enter its surrounding waters.[21] Facilities for storing nuclear weapons were built in both Denmark and Norway in the 1960s. In Norway, these storages were built in seven different areas, but nuclear weapons were never actually stored in them.[22] In the 1970s, NATO proposed deployment of tactical nu-

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[17] Hans Mouritzen, "Thule and Theory: Democracy vs. Elitism in Danish Foreign Policy", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1998* (DUPI), p. 81.

[18] Arne Olav Brundtland, "Norwegian Security Policy:…", p. 196.

[19] Johan Jørgen Holst, "Lilliputs and Gulliver: Small States in a Great-Power Alliance", p. 270.

[20] Hans Mouritzen, "Thule and Theory: Democracy vs. Elitism in Danish Foreign Policy", pp. 81-83.

[21] Sverre Lodgaard & Nils-Petter Gleditsch, "Norway – the Not So Reluctant Ally", *Cooperation and Conflict* (12, 1977), p. 213.

[22] "New book reveals atomic storage sites", *Aftenposten* 14.5.01. www.aftenposten.no.

clear landmines in Northern Norway, but the Norwegian Defense Minister rejected the offer in 1979.[23]

In addition to the base and nuclear restrictions, Denmark and Norway had a third restriction: they did not allow NATO exercises in certain parts of their territories which were strategically sensitive from the viewpoint of the Soviet Union. Norway effectively demilitarized the Finnmark region in the North, next to the Russian border.[24] Denmark did not permit NATO exercises on the Island of Bornholm, situated in the Baltic Sea between Sweden and Poland. Danish soldiers did not take part in NATO naval exercises east of the Island of Bornholm.[25] Since the Cold War, these restrictions have gradually been abolished to allow for PfP exercises.

The restrictions placed on their membership indicated that Denmark and Norway had managed to have their voices heard in NATO. For the two countries, the restrictions were an important means of influence in many respects: in respect of the Allies, the Soviet Union, and public opinion. First, the restrictions ensured that Denmark and Norway would manage themselves in the early stages of a potential crisis.[26] Secondly, they helped to reassure the Soviet Union. Thirdly, they were aimed at placating public opinion. With the help of the restrictions, Denmark and Norway managed to "screen out" the difficult elements of NATO membership.[27] Due to the restrictions, NATO membership did not mean a break in the values and styles of their defense policies.[28]

At the same time as they restricted their membership, Denmark and Norway aimed at showing solidarity with their NATO Allies to compensate for the security guarantee. Denmark and Norway agreed to several military arrangements which were important to the US. As already mentioned, Denmark allowed US air bases in Greenland. In the early 1960s, Denmark allowed the US to build a navigation installation

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[23] "NATO proposed nuclear landmines in Northern Norway", *The Norway Post* 15.5.2001. www.norwaypost.no.

[24] David Arter, *Scandinavian politics today*, pp. 280-281.

[25] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 37.

[26] Ingemar Dörfer, "Scandinavia and NATO: à la carte", p. 18.

[27] The term "*screening*" has been used by Rolf Tamnes (*The United States and the Cold War in the High North,* Ad Notam: Oslo, 1991, p. 298) and Poul Villaume ("Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 32).

[28] Martin Heisler, "Denmark's Quest for Security: Constraints and Opportunities Within the Alliance" in Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands, & Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa NJ, 1985), p. 66.

LORAN-C (required by the Polaris submarines) in the Färö islands.[29] In 1952, an agreement was made between Norway and the US Strategic Air Command (SAC): the Americans were given frequent landing access to Norway and permission to station equipment and a limited number of American ground personnel. In 1958, Norway agreed to the US request to build a LORAN-C station in Northern Norway. In 1971, Norway agreed to the building of the OMEGA navigation system, which the US had requested back in 1964.[30]

Establishment of the Integrated Military Structure[31]

The NATO of 1949 was a paper tiger – the establishment of the integrated military structure was only begun in the summer of 1950. In 1949, however, five regional planning groups were established. Norway regarded it as important to have both the US and the UK take part in the Northern European Regional Planning Group (NERPG) and put pressure on them accordingly. The US agreed to establish a similar loose link with the NERPG as it had with the other groups. Finally, the UK gave in to Norwegian pressure and agreed to be a full participant in the NERPG.[32]

The building of the integrated military structure was instigated by the outbreak of the Korean War in the summer of 1950 – it was feared in the Alliance that the Soviet Union would have similar intents regarding Germany. The European Command and the Atlantic Command were created. There was a hot dispute on the composition of the regional command in Northern Europe. Denmark and Norway achieved their objectives: they managed to ensure that a separate Northern command was created, and that the leading member states of the Alliance, the US and the UK, were organizationally committed to its defense. Originally, the US and the UK had been reluctant to adopt such commitments and had proposed a Scandinavian Commander-in-Chief for Northern Europe.[33]

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[29] Poul Villaime, Allied with Reservations: Denmark, NATO, and the Cold War. A Study of Danish National Security Policy, 1949-1961 (English Summary). (Eirene: Copenhagen, 1995), p. 877.

[30] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security, p. 91, 94.

[31] For Denmark, a key decision was the establishment of the joint Danish-German command BALTAP in 1961-1962.

[32] Rolf Tamnes, "Integration and Screening…", p. 68.

[33] Poul Villaime, *Allied with Reservations…*, p. 872; Rolf Tamnes, "Integration and Screening…", pp. 67-69. Norway wanted primarily an American and, secondly, a British Commander-in-Chief for Northern Europe. Both big powers wanted to avoid commitment and proposed a Swede for the post – in the event that Sweden would join the Alliance later. Finally, after difficult negotiations, the UK gave in to

Enlargement[34]

Greece and Turkey 1952

Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952, although only the US – backed by Italy – had originally supported their membership. However, the membership of the two countries had already been considered in the Treaty negotiations of the North Atlantic Alliance, but they had been ruled out even though their strategic position was important to the US. According to Mark Smith, who has written on NATO's enlargement decision-making during the Cold War, the enlargement to Greece and Turkey should be understood as a formalization of US security guarantees rather than a commitment extended by NATO countries.[35]

Still, the decision was difficult for several smaller NATO states. It was not only about increasing defense commitments, but also about the nature of the Alliance and the domestic support it enjoyed. Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands in particular were opposed to Greek and Turkish membership because of their lack of democracy. A British Foreign Office document from June 1951 indicates that these countries were emphasizing NATO's character as an organization of politically homogeneous states, and Greece and Turkey were not considered like-minded states. It was feared that their membership would reduce NATO's role to that of a machine against the Soviet Union.[36] Also, strategic considerations spoke against Greek and Turkish membership in these countries. In Denmark, for example, it was feared that the enlargement

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Norwegian pressure in March 1951. The Commander-in-Chief of the AFNORTH came from the UK, but the Air Force Commander was an American.

A related case was the US proposal to establish the integrated military structure and the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) 1950-51. Denmark – fearing that its sovereignty would be compromised – accepted the US proposal on the condition that the Danish troops would defend only their own country. Poul Villaime, *Allied with Reservations…*, p. 872.

[34] Spanish membership is not dealt with in this report. Spain's joining NATO in 1982 was not so controversial as the earlier enlargement decisions. Mark Smith, *NATO Enlargement during the Cold War*, p. 140. Originally, Denmark and Norway were opposed to the membership of the dictatorially-ruled Spain and the US attempts to bring the issue onto the NATO agenda. In the early 1980s they still had some lingering doubts about the endurance of the Spanish democracy, but Denmark and Norway also supported an invitation to Spain in 1981 together with other NATO Allies.

[35] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War…, pp. 81, 62-63.

[36] Ibid., p. 79.

would provoke the Soviet Union, increase tension in Northern Europe and draw Denmark into a conflict in Southern Europe or the Middle East.[37]

After considering other possibilities for guaranteeing the security of Greece and Turkey, the US had ended up supporting their full membership of NATO by May 1951. The UK did not want to oppose the US position. The membership of Greece and Turkey soon garnered the support of several other Allies as well, who had been waiting for the British position. Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands still remained opposed in June 1951. However, they did not want to resort to the use of veto, if the majority of the Allies supported the decision. While Norway and the Netherlands dropped their opposition before the Ottawa meeting in September 1951, Denmark did not agree to Greek and Turkish NATO membership before the actual meeting.[38]

Why did the smaller Allies give up their original opposition? Smith points at three decisive factors. First, the issue of Greek and Turkish membership was secondary compared to the pressure of re-arming and to the more important question of German membership. Secondly, the two other members of the Standing Group – the UK and France – also had important interests in the region. Thirdly, the US leading position was uncontested. However, the US leadership style was persuasive – it gathered support for its proposition through the NATO infrastructure and democratic channels.[39]

West Germany 1955

When it came to the question of West German membership, the US was again the one to take the initiative, and the role of the Standing Group was important. West German membership had already been envisaged in the very early negotiations on the North Atlantic Treaty. It appeared on NATO's agenda again after the establishment of the West German state (1949) and the adoption of the forward defense strategy (1950). According to the US, the best method to re-arm West Germany would be to enlist it as part of a European army which would follow decisions reached in the NATO framework; West Germany would re-arm under the direction of the SACEUR. The US presented its offer as a package, which would include the stationing of American troops in Europe, to both the Standing Group and the NAC. The West

[37]Poul Villaime, *Allied with Reservations…*, pp. 872-873.

[38] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War…, pp. 78-81, 85.

[39] Ibid., pp. 91-93.

German contribution to the defense effort was to be handled via the Alliance framework, but the US offer did not mention West Germany joining NATO.[40]

At the September 1950 NAC meeting in New York, there was, in principle, support for West German re-armament, but no agreement on the method of implementing it. France vetoed the US solution of a European Defense Force. Towards the close of the New York NAC, there was a general consensus (minus France) within the Alliance that NATO was the optimum vehicle for West German re-armament. France, having vetoed the US proposal, proposed the Pleven Plan for a European Defense Community (EDC) in October 1950. The French proposal did not receive the support of the other Allies. However, gradually the big NATO powers started to change their position and support it; one reason was that the French were not going to give up the EDC. However, the ratification of the EDC plan did not succeed. When the plans for the EDC failed, the Allies turned back to the NATO option again in the fall of 1954.[41]

Even though the US had taken the initiative on the question of West German NATO membership, the role of the UK and France was emphasized in the implementation of the decision. The US could not persuade France to support the NATO option. When the Allies turned to the NATO option for the second time, the key role was played by London, not Washington.[42]

West Germany's integration into NATO was politically a very sensitive issue for Denmark and Norway, as both were occupied by Nazi Germany in 1940-45. Also, they feared that it might provoke the Soviet Union. However, both countries gave their support to West German membership, since its contribution to the West's defense was considered so important.

Even though West Germany's membership was a crucial question for countries like Denmark and Norway, they were not involved in preparing it. The negotiations about West German membership were conducted outside the NATO institutional framework, in a Nine-Power Conference in late September and early October 1954.[43] Norway requested that the question should be brought into the NAC, but did not succeed. The nine powers merely assured the excluded countries that an NAC approval for the decision would be needed. West Germany's membership of NATO came into force in May 1955. In 1954, it had joined the WEU together with Italy. As Smith points out, both of NATO's early enlargement decisions (Greece and Turkey,

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[40] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War…, pp. 96-99, 103-104.

[41] Ibid., pp. 104-112.

[42] Ibid., p. 123.

[43] The US, Canada, the UK, France, the Benelux-countries, Italy and Gemany

West Germany) reflected the mutual inequalities of the Allies and the internal hierarchies within the Alliance.[44]

Denmark, however, managed to use its NATO membership to gain an important concession from West Germany in their bilateral relations. Denmark linked its support for German NATO membership to political representation of the Danish minority in German politics. After West Germany had introduced a five per cent clause, the Danish minority could not be represented in the parliament of Schleswig-Holstein. Meanwhile, the German minority could be represented in the Danish Folketing with a smaller number of votes. In March 1955, West Germany agreed to abolish the 5 per cent clause for elections in Schleswig-Holstein.[45]

Nuclear strategy

Denmark's and Norway's attitude toward the Alliance's nuclear policies has been ambiguous. They have been much more skeptical than other members about nuclear weapons. Even when the draft of the first Strategic Concept was being negotiated, Denmark expressed its concern about the direct reference to the use of the atomic bomb. The draft had been prepared by the Standing Group, after which the Chiefs of Staff and the Defense Ministers of all Allies had a chance to comment on it. As a compromise solution, the explicit reference to the atomic bomb was deleted from the text, but its meaning remained the same.[46]

At the same time, Denmark and Norway understood the role nuclear weapons played in the Alliance's deterrence strategy. On the one hand, Denmark hoped that the deterrence would improve its security, but on the other hand, it feared more than other member states that it would become the theater of a nuclear war if the deterrent failed.[47] Norway's political leadership was, in principle, convinced of the value of nuclear weapons in common defense, but the question of their direct role in the defense of the Northern flank was delicate.[48]

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[44] Mark Smith, *NATO Enlargement during the Cold War*, pp. 113-115, 167-168.

[45] Axel Krohn in collaboration with Gunnar Artèus, "German and Danish Relations after 1945: Solved Problems, Different Views and Close Co-operation" in Gunnar Artèus & Bertel Heurlin (eds.), *German and Danish Security Policies towards the Baltic Sea Area: 1945 until Present* (DUPI & National Defense College of Sweden: Försvarshögskolans acta B6, 1998), pp. 25-26.

[46] Gregory W. Pedlow, "The Evolution of NATO Strategy 1949-1969" in *NATO Strategy documents 1949-1969*. Edited by Gregory W. Pedlow (Chief, Historical Office, SHAPE) in collaboration with NATO International Staff Central Archives, 1997, pp. XI-XIII.

[47] Poul Villaime, *Allied with Reservations..*, p. 872.

[48] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security, p. 92.

In 1953, nuclear weapons gained a more important role in the US defense policy. Discussions about integrating nuclear weapons into the NATO strategy were started within the Alliance.[49] In December 1954, the NAC approved a nuclear strategy based on the doctrine of massive retaliation. Denmark and Norway had reservations about the new strategy and tried to soften or question it in NATO forums – without success.[50] In 1957, the NAC accepted a new Strategic Concept that was based on the doctrine of massive retaliation.

At the December 1957 Summit in Paris, Denmark and Norway proposed a postponement of the nuclear deployment decision to allow for attempted arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union before deployment.[51] The other Allies did not agree, and the Scandinavian Allies then approved the decision. However, the decisions on nuclear deployment to Italy and Turkey were made bilaterally – not based on a unified NATO recommendation.[52]
NATO's military doctrine was changed again in 1967, as the doctrine of massive retaliation was replaced by that of flexible response. Denmark and Norway supported the new doctrine, which raised the nuclear threshold.[53] However, the Scandinavian Allies did not play a role in the formulation of the decision, only in approving it. The key compromises on the doctrine of flexible response were formulated in an informal working group consisting of representatives of the US, the UK and West Germany.[54]

Détente becomes NATO's second function

The role of Denmark and Norway in NATO grew in the late 1960s when the Alliance adopted security tasks broader than military defense. The Scandinavian countries had been early and enthusiastic supporters of détente; they were active in decreasing tensions between the blocks and in improving cooperation in the region through bilateral contacts with eastern countries. This was a natural field of activism for Denmark and Norway because their own policies in relation to the Soviet block had always included a reassuring element.

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[49] Gregory W. Pedlow, "The Evolution of NATO Strategy 1949-1969", pp. XVII-XX.

[50] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 36.

[51] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 36.

[52] Arne Olav Brundtland, "Norwegian Security Policy…", p. 196.

[53] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security*, p. 103; Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 40.

[54] Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1995), p. 186.

At first, the other Allies were not very receptive to the Danish and Norwegian ideas. In the spring of 1966, Denmark proposed that the idea of an all-European collective security conference should be discussed in NATO, but most Allies responded in a chilly fashion, and the idea was not even mentioned in the final communiqué.[55] An exception was the Norwegian Foreign Minister, who asked the Allies to adopt an open and constructive attitude.[56]

The "Harmel Report", approved by the NAC in December 1967, was an important turning point.[57] The report defined a double role for NATO: détente became NATO's second function in addition to the traditional task of collective defense. Denmark and Norway played a key role in the formulation of the Harmel report; its formula was based on a Danish-Norwegian draft.[58]

The Double Track Decision

In the implementation of the well-known Double Track Decision on Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF), several smaller Allies played an important role – although not in a very constructive way from NATO's viewpoint. The Double Track Decision was collectively approved in the NAC in December 1979. According to the decision, NATO would start a deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles to Western Europe to counter the Soviet SS-20s, but start negotiations with the Soviet Union for reductions at the same time.

New actors – the left wing of the Social Democratic and Labour parties, radical left-wing parties, and the peace movement – started to take part in foreign and security political debates in Denmark and Norway in the late 1970s and early 1980s. These new actors were all opposed to the INF deployment. They also had a significant im-

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[55] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", pp. 38-39.

[56] Rolf Tamnes, The United States and the Cold War in the High North, p. 220.

[57] It is worth noting that, in the late 1960s, NATO membership was reassessed in Denmark. Article 13 of the North Atlantic Treaty allows a member state to cease to be a Party (with a year's prior notice) after the Treaty has been in force for 20 years. It was felt in Denmark that the security problem was no longer so acute because the confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union had been institutionalized. However, the group of three ministers, which was set up to assess the different possibilities, came to the conclusion that continuing the NATO membership was the best option. Besides, the events in Prague in 1968 weakened the sense of security that the Danish had. (Omer de Raeymaeker, *Small Powers in Alignment*, Leuven University Press: Leuven, 1974), p. 400). At the same time, the approval of the Harmel report placated a group of Danes that had been skeptical about NATO membership. Martin Heisler, "Denmark's Quest for Security: Constraints and Opportunities Within the Alliance", p. 71). In Norway, there was no such debate.

[58] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 39.

pact on the defense and foreign policies of the mainstream left.[59] In Denmark, the new Social Democratic government, elected in October 1979, was pressured by the left wing of the party to take a more critical stand toward the INF deployment. Denmark proposed a six-month postponement of the Dual Track Decision in the NAC meeting of December 1979 to allow for advance negotiations with the Soviet Union on reductions. Since the proposition was not supported by the other Allies, Denmark also accepted the Double Track Decision.[60]Norway had taken an active part in the formulation of the Double Track strategy, but criticism started to increase in that country too after the Foreign Minister introduced the semi-annual foreign policy report in October 1979 in which the INF question was mentioned. Even though all Norwegian parties (except the Conservatives) had mixed feelings about the INF decision, a majority in the Storting supported it.[61]

After the Double Track Decision was made, the Scandinavian Allies (along with Belgium and the Netherlands) complicated NATO's ability to implement it. The internal debates in these countries had an unprecedented impact on the debates within NATO. An important mechanism for influencing the West-German Social Democratic Party in particular was the Scandilux network, which brought together the Social Democratic parties in the Nordic and Benelux countries. The Scandilux network had close links to sister parties in Germany and the UK.[62]

The Scandinavian Allies also contributed to efforts to persuade the US to adopt the "Zero Option" as its negotiating proposal in the INF negotiations with the Soviet Union, which began in 1981. In the "Zero Option", NATO would forego the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles if the Soviet Union accepted significant reductions in their SS-20s. The "Zero Option" was born in the left wing of various European Social Democratic parties in 1979. On the insistence of German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the possibility for the "Zero Option" was inserted in the classified version of the Double Track Decision at the last moment.[63] In addition to taking part in the Scandilux network, which enabled the Social Democratic parties to influence one another, the smaller Allies tried to affect the US directly in the NATO fora. For

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[59] Richard A. Bitzinger, *Denmark, Norway, and NATO: Constraints and Challenges*. A RAND Note M-3001-RC (November 1989), pp. 32-33.

[60] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", pp. 42-43.

[61]Arne Olav Brundtland, "Norwegian Security Policy…", pp. 205-206.

[62] Gregory Flynn, "Introduction" in Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa, NJ, 1985).p. xv.

[63] Thomas Risse-Kappen, Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy, pp. 190-191.

example, the defense minister of the new conservative government of Norway, elected in September 1981, took an active role in persuading the US Defense Minister to support the "Zero Option" in the NATO ministerial meeting.[64]

Danish footnotes[65]

In Denmark, opposition to the implementation of the INF decision led to the so-called "footnote policy". The traditional consensus between Social Democratic and Conservative parties on security and defense questions collapsed in fall 1982, as the Social Democratic government was replaced by a new Conservative-Liberal minority government. The new government enjoyed the support of the Folketing in economic policy, but not in foreign and defense policy. As a result, the so-called "alternative security policy majority" was formed in the Folketing.

During 1982-86, the alternative security policy majority made the Danish government insert a footnote in those NATO communiqués which supported deployment of the INF, and in the one supporting President Reagan's SDI initiative (1986).[66] Moreover, in 1982-83 the government had to freeze Danish participation in the NATO infrastructure program dealing with preparations for INF deployment.[67]

On the one hand, the case of Danish footnotes indicates NATO's flexibility: Denmark was allowed to pursue policies which contrasted with official NATO policies.[68] On the other hand, it demonstrates how important domestic consensus is for a small

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[64] Arne Olav Brundtland, "Norwegian Security Policy…", pp. 206-207.

[65] There were similar tendencies in Norway as well, but to a lesser extent. In October 1980 – i.e. after the Double Track Decision – a former Norwegian minister proposed that Norway should join a Nordic nuclear-free zone. All parties used positive references to the idea, even the Conservative party. A strict warning by a former US Secretary of State – that Norway should choose between NATO protection and the Nordic nuclear-free zone – made the Norwegians give up the idea. (Arne Olav Brundtland, "Norwegian Security Policy…", pp. 211-212). Norway left a footnote to a NATO communiqué only once: to the 1986 communiqué supporting President Reagan's SDI-initiative.

[66] The opposition was able to force the minority government to promote foreign and security policies which it opposed through the so-called parliamentary resolutions (*dagsorden*). Once approved, these resolutions have a force of law and oblige the government to enforce them. Richard A. Bitzinger, *Denmark, Norway, and NATO: Constraints and Challenges*, p. 36.

[67] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 45.

[68] For example, the alternative security policy majority passed several resolutions which contrasted existing NATO and US policies. For instance, it was suggested that the government should work for the creation of a Nordic nuclear-free zone. On the other hand, the Danish government at the time chose not to resign, even though it had to promote policies it did not support. Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", pp. 45-46.

state's ability to play a role within NATO. In other words, it was evident to all the Allies that Denmark spoke with little authority in NATO, since the footnotes in the NATO communiqués referred directly to the disputes in the Folketing.[69]

3.3 Danish and Norwegian Influence and Membership Strategies

During the Cold War, small states had a traditionally limited view on alignment. NATO's primary function for them was to guarantee security. At the same time, small states tried to protect their independence vis-à-vis their protectors. They wanted to confine the joint positions of NATO to the narrow fields of defense and negotiation, and they did not support attempts to globalize the common positions. One likely reason was a desire to maintain the domestic acceptance for alignment, which required demonstrating independence and projecting idealist visions on issues that were not directly related to national security.[70]

When it came to issues belonging to the Alliance's field of activity, the smaller members expected their voices to be heard. A review of Danish and Norwegian membership experiences during the Cold War indicates that they managed to have an impact on their own membership conditions and to some extent also on the common policies of the Alliance. However, early enlargement decisions as well as decisions on military strategy were dominated by the big member states.

The influence of Denmark and Norway during the Cold War was more about trying to influence decisions already on NATO agenda than setting the agenda. The key items – early enlargement rounds as well as changes in military strategy – were included on NATO's agenda by the initiative of the bigger member states. An important exception, in which the Scandinavian Allies played an agenda-setting role in the Cold War NATO, was détente (see below).

Between 1949 and 1961, the basic membership strategies of Denmark and Norway emphasized autonomy at the expense of influence. This emphasis was evident in the restrictions that the countries wanted to have on their membership. On the question

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[69] Hans Engell (former Minister of Defense, Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Parliament of Denmark, Deputy Head of the Danish Delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly), "In the name of the King – in the name of the People: Parliament and defense policy" in NATO PA, *Defense and Security for the 21st Century*.

[70] Johan Jørgen Holst, "Lilliputs and Gulliver: Small States in a Great-Power Alliance", pp. 260-261.

of Greek and Turkish membership and on the adoption of the nuclear strategy, Denmark and Norway made it clear that they were opposed and tried to prevent or postpone the decisions. Ultimately, the Scandinavian Allies, however, came to accept the NATO mainstream position. This can be considered a typical low-profile policy of small states, which includes cooperativeness and an effort to avoid conflict.

During 1949-1961, Denmark and Norway were more reactive than active in NATO.However, during the early years of their membership, the Scandinavian Allies also showed activism and attempted to influence Alliance policy. A key aim for both Scandinavian Allies was to preserve and develop NATO's democratic character. As early as 1951, Norway's Foreign Minister, Halvard Lange, proposed the establishment of direct contacts between national parliamentarians and NATO to make the NATO decision-making process more democratic.[71] Throughout NATO's history, Denmark and Norway were opposed to the membership of non-democratic states in the Alliance. They opposed Greek and Turkish membership in the early 1950s, and they were ready to approve Spanish membership only after it had become democratic in the mid-1970s.

Between 1962 and 1977, Denmark and Norway started to view NATO membership from a new angle: NATO continued to serve the key purpose of guaranteeing their security, but it was now an instrument of influence as well. The Harmel report was an important milestone – Denmark and Norway had now managed to have an impact on an important common NATO policy. On the other hand, in the formulation of the new Strategic Concept they played only a marginal role. This reflected the tendency that – while the political decision-making was based on the equality of all member states – the big states often dominated the Alliance's military policies. In the early 1970s, Norway's NATO membership was activated also as a result of its rejection of EEC membership in a referendum in 1973.[72]

The Danish and Norwegian membership strategies in NATO between 1978 and 1988 can be characterized as opposition and indirect influence. On the influence–autonomy axle, the emphasis was on influence. The Danish and Norwegian foreign policies in the late 1970s and early 1980s were shaped by internal factors – they did not follow the typical low-profile small-state foreign policy determined by exter-

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[71] Lord Ismay, *NATO – The First Five Years 1949-1954*, Part 3, Chapter 14 ("Non-military co-operation").

[72] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security*, p. 105. It was feared that the rejection of EEC membership would lead to Norwegian isolation within NATO, but it led to the increased willingness of the Norwegian politicians to react to the growing Soviet military build-up in Kola. Interestingly, the rejection of EU membership in 1994 also had an activating effect on Norwegian NATO membership (Ibid., p. 139).

nal factors. The internal debates in several small states (Denmark, Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands) had a significant impact on NATO's ability to implement the commonly accepted Double Track Decision.

Even though several smaller Allies played an untypical role at the implementation phase of the Double Track Decision, they had followed a more typical strategy in the actual decision. Denmark and Norway had kept a low profile in nuclear questions throughout their membership; one reason was that they did not want to endanger the credibility of their own nuclear restriction.[73] In the actual Double Track Decision in December 1979 the Scandinavian Allies also followed the NATO mainstream; Denmark also accepted the decision after its own proposal did not receive support.

Elements emphasizing autonomy were also present in the membership strategies of the Scandinavian Allies in 1978-1988. Both Denmark and Norway wanted to keep their nuclear restriction in force. A case in point is the Danish stubbornness in keeping defense spending at a lower level despite pressure by other Allies. At the 1978 Summit in Washington, the Allies decided to increase their defense budgets by three per cent of net growth yearly. Denmark submitted a formal reservation about this decision.

The 1970s and 1980s signified a new role for Denmark and Norway within NATO, as they were often in confrontation with the other Allies. Their reservations regarding INF modernization, interest in a Nordic nuclear-free zone, and political activities emphasizing détente and arms control irritated many Allies. Moreover, the Alliance was dissatisfied with their defense spending. In particular, the Danish policy in the Alliance's "three per cent decision" in 1978 provoked US accusations of Danish free-loading. Even though Norway's defense spending followed the NATO recommendation, it was criticized for spending too much on personnel and too little on procurement. On the other hand, the increasing criticism of Denmark and Norway within the Alliance revealed that they had become more important for the Alliance in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The growing Soviet threat emanating from Kola and the Baltic region highlighted the strategic importance of these countries and their importance to the Alliance.[74]

On the whole, the Danish and Norwegian membership strategies during the Cold War were mainly based on a cooperative attitude. The needs and values of the Scandinavian Allies were more often than not convergent with those of the other Allies. When there was a need to have one's voice heard, the selected means was coopera-

[73] For example, Denmark and Norway did not want to take part in the NPG at first because they feared that it would decrease the credibility of their nuclear restriction.

[74] Richard A. Bitzinger, Denmark, Norway, and NATO: Constraints and Challenges, pp. 3-4.

tiveness, not complication of decision-making.[75] Despite exceptions like the INF dispute and low defense spending, Denmark and Norway during the Cold War can be more aptly characterized as loyal allies rather than nuisances trying to use the common decision-making procedures for their own ends.

[75] Rolf Tamnes & Knut Einar Eriksen, "Norge og NATO under den kalde krigen", *NATO 50 år – Norsk sikkerhetspolitikk med NATO gjennom 50 år*.

CHAPTER 4: DENMARK'S AND NORWAY'S INFLUENCE WITHIN NATO AFTER THE COLD WAR

4.1 Denmark and Norway in the Post-Cold War NATO

The end of the Cold War – the abolition of the confrontation between the two hostile blocks – significantly improved Denmark's geostrategic position. The New Defense Act of December 1993 notes that there is no direct military threat to the fundamental security values of Denmark.[1] The 1997 report by the Defense Committee states that "Denmark currently enjoys a geo-strategic location with almost unprecedented security".[2]

Denmark's security has been reinforced by the NATO membership of unified Germany, increasing integration of the Baltic states into Euro-Atlantic cooperation structures, and Poland's NATO membership. A key element in Denmark's current foreign and security policy has been to promote common security; the emphasis has been on indirect security concerns. A broad political agreement prevails whereupon security policy must be shifted from territorial defense to participation in solving new security threats (for example, the crisis in Bosnia).[3]

The re-definition of the points of emphasis in Danish foreign policy has meant that the traditional low profile and caution have been replaced by active internationalism. NATO is one of the main instruments for this in Denmark's case.[4] The country's NATO policy underwent a drastic change in the 1990s – the "footnote country" and freeloader of the 1980s became an activist model pupil in the "new NATO" of the 1990s.[5]

In contrast, the end of the Cold War did not represent such a drastic change for Norway. It continued to neighbor Russia and the military build-up in the Kola region re-

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[1] Nikolaj Petersen, "Adapting to change: Danish security policy after the Cold War" in Birthe Hansen (ed.), *European Security - 2000* (Copenhagen Political Studies Press: Copenhagen, 1995), pp. 100-102.

[2] "Defense for the future", Summary of the Report by The Danish Defense Commission of 1997, p. 7.

[3] Nikolaj Petersen, "Adapting to change: Danish security policy after the Cold War",p. 108.

[4] Hans-Henrik Holm, "Denmark's Active Internationalism: Advocating International Norms with Domestic Constraints", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1997 (DUPI)*, p. 52, 58.

[5] Bertel Heurlin, "Denmark's Security Policy in the Baltic Sea Area After the Cold War" in Gunnar Artèus & Bertel Heurlin (eds.), *German and Danish Security Policies towards the Baltic Sea Area: 1945 until Present* (DUPI & National Defense College of Sweden: Försvarshögskolans acta B6, 1998), p. 106.

mained at a high level.[6] The implementation of the democratic, social, economic and military reforms in Russia caused uncertainty in Norway.[7] At the same time, the country was concerned about the decreasing military presence of the US in Europe.

The Norwegian security and defense policy of the 1990s was dominated by the approach developed before 1989, and the emphasis continued to be on territorial defense. The Norwegian army continued to prepare for the old threat (invasion of Northern Norway) even in the new security environment.[8] At the same time, the decreasing importance of Norway's geo-strategic position lessened NATO's interest in it. NATO investment in Norway decreased[9], and the number of NATO exercises in Norway was reduced, especially in the late 1990s.[10] Furthermore, the abolition of the only NATO unit earmarked for Norway's defense in a crisis situation (the composite force) has been on NATO's agenda.[11] However, since the late 1990s, Norway has been shifting its focus to the new tasks of NATO (see 4.3).

4.2 Case Studies

The first post-Cold War enlargement round

The US played a key role in NATO's first post-Cold War enlargement round. According to James M. Goldgeier, all the key decisions were made in Washington: PfP, dual enlargement strategy (the decision to take new members and sign an official agreement with Russia at the same time), the contents of the NATO–Russia Founding

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[6] Ellmann Ellingsen, "Another Look at Security on NATO's Northern Flank" in Walter Goldstein (ed.), *Security in Europe: The Role of NATO after the Cold War* (Brassey's: London, 1994), p. 56.

[7] Jørgen Kosmo, *Norwegian Security and Defense Policy – Future Challenges*. Den Norske Atlanterhavskomité, Security Policy Library No. 10 - 1997, pp. 3-4.

[8] Helene Sjursen, "Coping – or not Coping – with Change: Norway in European Security" in *Redefining Security? The Role of The European Union in European Security Structures* (ARENA Report No 7, August 2000), p. 115.

[9] "NATO slashes investment in Norway", *Aftenposten* 21.2.00. www.aftenposten.no.

[10] "NATO plans Norway cutback", *Aftenposten* 11.10.00. www.aftenposten.no. After 9/11, NATO has found a new interest in training soldiers in extreme conditions, such as the Norwegian winter conditions. The number of NATO exercises to be held in Norway has been increased; it is now back to the early 1990s level. See "Mer populaert blant allierte å øve i Norge", *Aftenposten* 25.2.2002. www.aftenposten.no.

[11] The NATO Composite Force consists of one German and one American artillery battalion, with their equipment stored in Norway, together with a Norwegian helicopter squadron. In the summer of 2002, it was decided that the Composite Force will be abolished.

Act and the decision on the number of new members.[12] In addition to the US, Germany was an important engine for the enlargement.[13]

The earliest supporters of enlargement were American officials who believed, even in the early 1990s, that the process started by the establishment of the NACC could lead to NATO enlargement.[14] At this point, it was mainly the leaders of the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe who were pushing for enlargement. Denmark and Norway, along with most other NATO countries, adopted a cautious attitude. Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen wrote in the *NATO Review* in February 1992 that the time was not yet ripe for enlargement.[15] Similarly, the Norwegian Defense Minister, Johan Jorgen Holst, wrote in the same magazine in August 1992: "Sometimes, it is argued that NATO should now extend protection to others by opening up to new members, but in the current phase of political developments such an extension could weaken the process of reconciliation."[16]

By 1993, NATO enlargement had appeared on the agendas of Western governments.[17] According to Goldgeier, a turning point for the US was the meeting between President Clinton and Central and Eastern European leaders in Washington in the spring of 1993. It has been reported that from that meeting on, President Clinton had a positive attitude toward enlargement.[18] Another crucial step was the birth of the PfP pro-

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[12] James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When. The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C:,1999),p. 5.

[13] See e.g. David S. Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington, D.C., 1999), p. 184; Jonathan Eyal, "NATO's Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision" in Anton A. Bebler (ed.), *The Challenge of NATO Enlargement* (Praeger: Westport, 2000), p. 26; Frank Schimmelfennig, *NATO's Enlargement to the East: An Analysis of Collective Decision-making*. EAPC-NATO Individual Fellowship Report 1998-2000.

[14] E.g. the US Ambassador to NATO, William Taft, noted in July 1992 that NATO enlargement is possible within a decade, maybe even earlier. NATO enlargement as the next step after the creation of the NACC was already considered in Washington in late 1990. Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty*. The Washington Papers (Praeger: Westport, 1998), p. 19.

[15] Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, "The New Europe – A Danish View", *NATO Review* (Web Edition 40:1, Feb. 1992).

[16] Johan Jorgen Holst, "Pursuing a Durable Peace in the Aftermath of the Cold War", *NATO Review* (Web Edition 40:4, Aug. 1992).

[17] Martin S. Smith & Graham Timmins, Building a Bigger Europe. EU and NATO enlargement in comparative perspective (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), p. 33.

[18] James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When. The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO*, p. 20. However, there was no consensus on this within the US administration. In the summer of 1993, US Foreign Minister Warren Christopher said that the enlargement was not on the agenda (Ibid., p. 23).

gram in October 1993 at the initiative of the US. Even though the PfP was for some a means of postponing the enlargement, for others it was a step toward taking new full members. For example, in October 1993, the German Defense Minister, Volker Rühe, proposed NATO membership of the Visegrad states and considered the PfP the first step toward full NATO membership.[19]

It was therefore the US and Germany which started the enlargement process. However, the Scandinavian Allies soon rallied to support the process. In the October 1993 Defense Ministers' meeting in Travemünde, Denmark and Norway were among those supporting fast enlargement (together with the US, Germany and the Benelux countries).[20] Formally, enlargement became part of NATO's agenda in January 1994 when the Brussels Summit Communiqué referred to the possibility of enlargement.

Even though both Denmark and Norway positioned themselves in support of enlargement, there were differences of emphasis in their views. Denmark became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of enlargement within NATO, while Norway adopted a more careful and low-profile attitude. It has been emphasized in Norway that enlargement should not take place at the expense of NATO's collective defense. The Norwegians have also been worried that enlargement would worsen their relations with Russia, weaken NATO's character as a trans-Atlantic organization, and further distract NATO' s interest from Northern to Central Europe.[21] The second round including the Balts, however, would increase NATO's interest in the North.

When it comes to the Russian aspect of enlargement, the views of the Scandinavian Allies are divided. The Danes have stressed the importance of the enlargement regardless of the Russian attitude[22], while Norwegian statements on enlargement have emphasized integration of Russia and the need to avoid new dividing lines.[23] Moreover, the Danes have been pushing for a faster timetable for enlargement. Denmark

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[19] In contrast, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel supported the integration of the Visegrad states through the WEU. Daniel J. Whiteneck, "Germany: Consensus Politics and Changing Security Paradigms" in Gale A. Mattox & Arthur R. Rachwald (eds.), *Enlarging NATO: The National Debates* (Lynne Rienne Publishers: Boulder, 2001), p. 40.

[20] Frank Schimmelfennig, NATO's Enlargement to the East: An Analysis of Collective Decision-making, p. 42.

[21] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security* (PRIO, Sage Publications Ltd: London, 1998), p. 140.

[22] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1999 (DUPI),* p. 50.

[23] Clive Archer, *Norden and the Security of the Baltic States*. Den Norske Atlanterhavskomité, Security Policy Library No. 4 – 1998. www.atlanterhavskomiteen.no.

would have been ready to invite the Baltic states at the Madrid Summit of 1997[24], while an invitation for them at the Washington Summit of 1999 would have been too early for Norway.[25] As we approach the second post-Cold War enlargement round, the Danish and Norwegian positions have become similar. Also Norway has pledged to support the invitation to all three Baltic states at the Prague Summit of November 2002, and both are strong supporters of further enlargement.[26]

The US leadership, which was evident in bringing the enlargement onto the NATO agenda, was also asserted in the decision on the number of new members. The favorite candidates during the whole enlargement process were the Visegrad countries. However, Slovakia was dropped from the list of prospective members due to the undemocratic governance by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. Instead, Romania and Slovenia became serious candidates in 1996-1997, mainly due to French and Italian pressure. The Baltic states were not considered serious candidates, and Denmark and Norway were also aware that their rapid membership would be unlikely.[27]

Still, at the Sintra Ministerial meeting of late May 1997, the majority of the Allies (Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and Turkey) supported the inclusion of Romania and Slovenia in addition to the three Visegrad states. The US, the UK and Iceland supported only a limited round consisting of the three Visegrad states. Denmark, Norway, Germany and the Netherlands were still uncertain about their position.[28] Yet it was reported in mid-April that Denmark had supported Slovenian membership in the first round.[29] At the same time, Denmark kept up the issue of Baltic membership and demanded their membership in the May 1997 Copenhagen Declaration. Norway would have been willing to accommodate it-

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[24] "Ny chance i Nato", *Aktuelt* 14.6.1997. www.aktuelt.dk.

[25] State Secretary Mrs. Åslaug Haga, "Norway and Russia – a northern connection", Carnegie Endowment for Peace, Washington, 19.10.1998. According to Foreign Minister Vollebaek, a slow enlargement process makes it possible to avoid misunderstandings on the motives for enlargement and integrate the three new members. Utenriksminister Knut Vollebaek, "Norsk sikkerhetspolitikk i et Europa i endring", *Internasjonal Politikk* (2, 1998), p. 318

[26] RFE/RL Baltic States Report (2:17, 28.6.2001).

[27] While Slovenia had been one of the most advanced former communist states, the new Romanian government, elected in November 1996, started a serious campaign for NATO membership. Romania soon received French support, while Italy supported Slovenia. Jonathan Eyal, "NATO's Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision" in Anton A. Bebler (ed.), *The Challenge of NATO Enlargement* (Praeger: Westport, 2000), pp. 29-32.

[28] Gerald B. Solomon, The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty, p. 132.

[29] "Denmark Supports Slovenia's EU and NATO Integration", *Slovenia Business Week*, www.gzs.si/eng/news/sbw/head.asp?idc=4924.

self to the position of the majority of the Allies; it would not have blocked Romanian membership.[30] In May 1997, the US declared that it only supported the inclusion of the three Visegrad states.[31] Defense Minister Cohen presented this view officially at the NATO Defense Ministers' meeting in Brussels in mid-June. Both Denmark and Norway motioned in support of the US position at least on this point. [32]

The US approach in the dispute about the number of new members irritated many Allies. It was perceived that the US had abandoned the principle of consultation: it had made its choice and then said that it was not negotiable.[33] The US blamed the European Allies for breaking the rules of the game. In the US view, it had been agreed that individual candidates would not be publicly supported until there was a consensus within the Alliance.[34]

The other Allies accepted the US view; none of them were willing to challenge the US leadership at the Madrid Summit. The US negotiation position reigned superior. The European Allies accepted the US timetable for enlargement and the US favorites for new members because opposition would have risked decreasing US interest in NATO and European security.[35] Besides, the consensus on the policy of open doors made it easier for the Allies to accept a limited enlargement round.[36]

On the whole, Denmark and Norway were satisfied with the results of the Madrid summit: the enlargement had been started and there was a commitment to continue it. The Parliaments in Denmark and Norway approved the enlargement with clear

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[30] "Utvidelse i hektisk fase", *Aftenposten* 27.5.1997. www.aftenposten.no.

[31] Ryan C. Hendrickson, "The Enlargement of NATO: The Theory and Politics of Alliance Expansion", *European Security* (8:4, Winter 1999), p. 90; Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty*, p. 136.

[32] Norwegian Defense Minister Kosmo did not reveal the Norwegian position at the Brussels meeting, but according to NATO sources interviewed by Aftenposten Norway also supported limited enlargement. "NATO I retning av tre nye medlemmer", *Aftenposten* 12.6.1997. www.aftenposten.no. When commenting on President Clinton's statement, the Danish Defense Minister noted that the US view about continuing the enlargement is in accordance with the Danish view. "Ny chance i Nato", *Aktuelt* 14.6.1997. www.aktuelt.dk.

[33] Stanley Sloan, "Transatlantic relations: stormy weather on the way to enlargement?", *NATO Review* (Web edition 45: 5, Sept/Oct 1997).

[34] Jonathan Eyal, "NATO's Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision", pp. 32-33.

[35] Frank Schimmelfennig, NATO's Enlargement to the East: An Analysis of Collective Decision-making, p. 44.

[36] James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When. The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO*, p. 121; Ryan C. Hendrickson, "The Enlargement of NATO: The Theory and Politics of Alliance Expansion", pp. 90-91.

majorities; the Danish Folketing as the first European NATO member state and the Norwegian Storting as the second.

To sum up, the key decisions on initiating the enlargement process and on the number of new members were made by the US. A key question thus emerges: did the strong US leadership in the enlargement process leave any role for smaller member states other than accommodation and passive support? The case of Denmark, to be analyzed below, demonstrates that even a small country can find its own niche of activism and have an impact on an important NATO policy.

Denmark and the Baltic states

The Director of the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Atis Lejins, has described the role of the Nordic countries in the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Baltic states as a "motor" which draws the big countries to support the Baltic states.[37] In respect of NATO enlargement, Denmark has clearly been the leading motor. The active Danish NATO policy in the 1990s has striven toward a regional leading role, with a special responsibility for Baltic security within the Alliance.[38]

Denmark's influence on the NATO enlargement process has focused on improving the membership prospects of the Baltic states. Danish military support for the Baltic states was activated when the Social Democratic minority government took up office in January 1993. Since 1994, Denmark has had a strong political will to take advantage of the windows of opportunity, which has led to an active Danish foreign and security policy emphasizing the Baltic states.[39]

Even before the PfP program was started, and before enlargement appeared on NATO's agenda, Denmark had started bilateral military cooperation with the Baltic states, Poland and Russia. Denmark has been training soldiers from all of the Baltic states for peacekeeping operations; it has integrated Baltic soldiers directly into the UN and, subsequently, NATO forces into the former Yugoslavia, and it has served as the coordinator in building the peacekeeping battalion of the Baltic states (BALTBAT). Denmark has provided military equipment and weapon platforms for the Baltic States, helped them to fulfill the PARP objectives (Lithuania), and there is a

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[37] Atis Lejin_, "The Baltic States, Germany, and the United States" in Swen Arnswald & Marcus Wenig (eds.), *German and American Policies towards the Baltic States. The Perspectives of EU and NATO Enlargement.* ZEI (Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft: Baden-Baden, 2000), p. 58.

[38] Ann-Sofie Dahl, *Svenskarna och NATO* (Elanders Gotab: Stockholm, 1999), pp. 217-218.

[39] Clive Archer, "Nordic Swans and Baltic Cygnets", *Cooperation and Conflict* (34:1, March 1999), pp. 49-50.

Danish advisor in each Baltic defense ministry. Denmark's efforts to integrate the Baltic states into Euro-Atlantic structures have taken place in the PfP framework, in regional cooperation fora and in bilateral relations. Efforts outside the NATO framework have also aimed at turning the NATO and EU statements into concrete cooperation.[40]

In the NATO fora, Denmark has been an outspoken and vocal supporter of the Baltic states from early on. An important step was the Madrid Summit of July 1997, which was considered a victory in the Baltic states.[41] Before the Summit, Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup had promised that – if the Baltic states do not receive an invitation – there would be a special formulation concerning the next enlargement round.[42] This promise was kept. The Madrid Communiqué mentions "the states in the Baltic region" – in addition to Romania and Slovenia, which had already been very much involved in the speculations about new members. The Baltic states – previously locked in their "special position" as former Soviet Republics – became formally equal candidates with the Central and Eastern European countries. This was to a large degree a Danish achievement.[43] For example, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright gave the credit to Denmark, and Estonian President Lennart Meri thanked the Danish government for its support after the meeting.[44]

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[40] Bertel Heurlin: "Denmark's Security Policy in the Baltic Sea Area After the Cold War", p. 101.

[41] Toivo Klaar, "Estonia's Security Policy Priorities" in Gunnar Artéus & Atis Leji__, *Baltic security: Looking towards the 21th century* (LIIA &Försvarshögskolan, Försvarshögskolans Acta B7: Riga, 1997), p. 21.

Atis Leji__ & _aneta Ozoli_a, "Latvia – the Middle Baltic State" in Gunnar Artéus & Atis Leji__, *Baltic security: Looking towards the 21st century* (LIIA &Försvarshögskolan, Försvarshögskolans Acta B7: Riga, 1997), p. 46. The Lithuanian membership prospects have been considered better than those of the other Baltic states. The Russian minority is smallest in Lithuania of all the three Baltic states, and Lithuania has forged close cooperation with Poland.

[42] "Ny chance i Nato", *Aktuelt* 14.6.1997. www.aktuelt.dk.

[43] See e.g. Clive Archer, *Norden and the Security of the Baltic States*; Ann-Sofie Dahl, *Svenskarna och NATO*, pp. 221-222; Martin A. Smith & Graham Timmins, *Building a Bigger Europe…*, p. 59.

In addition to Denmark, Norway and Germany also took credit for including the Baltic states in the Madrid Communiqué ("Baltere vil foran i køen", *Aktuelt*.10.7.1997. www.aktuelt.dk). A report by the North Atlantic Assembly (currently called the NATO Parliamentary Assembly) gives credit to all the Nordic countries, Germany and the US. However, as Martin S. Smith and Graham Timmins point out, only Denmark was a full supporter of the Baltic states. The US and Germany had supported the option of only three new members (Martin A. Smith & Graham Timmins, *Building a Bigger Europe…*,, p. 59). Even though Norway had supported mentioning the Baltic states in the Madrid Summit Communiqué, it had not achieved a similar high profile on Baltic questions within NATO as Denmark had.

[44] "Baltere vil foran i køen", *Aktuelt*.10.7.1997. www.aktuelt.dk.

At the Washington Summit in April 1999, no new members were invited, but all of the candidate countries – including the three Baltic states – were mentioned by name. The Baltic states also joined the newly established Membership Action Plan (MAP) together with the other candidates. In May 1999, the US Ambassador to Denmark, Richard Swett, noted that Denmark had a special reason to be satisfied, since it had been one of the countries which had worked the hardest in bringing the Baltic states closer to NATO.[45]

Since all the Nordic countries, Germany and the US have been active supporters of the Baltic states, one needs to ask whether Denmark's contribution has in some ways been special. Regarding the other Nordic states, Sweden, as the biggest Nordic country, would be the most likely "rival" to Denmark. However, Denmark's NATO membership enables its more extensive military cooperation with the Baltic states.[46] The support of other NATO member states has been subject to other considerations. For Norway, Russia has been the number one concern and Barents has come before the Baltics.[47] Big European states and the US do not want to risk their bilateral relations to Russia, and Germany has been focused on the Central European candidate countries.[48]

Denmark has given unreserved support to the Baltic states. Since 1996 (until the new member states entered NATO), Denmark has been the only NATO member openly supporting a rapid enlargement to the Baltic states despite Russian opposition.[49] Denmark has been vocal in keeping up the official NATO position that all interested European democracies should have the same opportunities to join NATO regardless

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[45] Richard N. Swett, Opening of the Conference "NATO at Fifty: The Alliance on the Threshold of the 21st Century". The conference was arranged by the Danish Institute of International Affairs, the United States Information service, and Berlingske Tidende in Copenhagen on 20 May 1999. DUPI Report 1999/9, edited by Bertel Heurlin, p. 9.

[46] Bertel Heurlin, "Denmark's Security Policy in the Baltic Sea Area after the Cold War", p. 103.

[47] Clive Archer, "Nordic Swans and Baltic Cygnets", pp. 58-59. Even though it has not looked for such a high profile in Baltic questions as Denmark has, Norway has also supported the development of the Baltic armed forces. In 1994, Norway gave each Baltic state a patrol boat. In August 1995, Norway made a reference agreement in defense cooperation with all the Baltic states. Norway has served as a coordinator in the development of the common air surveillance system for the Baltic states (BALTNET), and it had a special responsibility in training the Estonian ESTCOY troops. See e.g. Fact Sheet 01/98, July 1998: *Collaboration with the Baltic States*. Norwegian Ministry of Defense.

[48] Hans Mouritzen, "Denmark in the Post-Cold War Era: The Salient Action Spheres", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1997 (DUPI)*, p. 43.

[49] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 50.

of their history or geography.[50] In 1994 and 1997, the Folketing passed a resolution asking the Danish government to make sure that the Baltic states have the same chances of joining NATO as the Central and European countries.[51] In April 1997 – when NATO was negotiating on an agreement with Russia – Denmark emphasized that NATO enlargement does not depend on the agreement.[52]

In the spring of 2001, Denmark publicly opposed any deals on connecting the US missile defense plan with Baltic NATO membership – i.e. excluding the Baltic states from NATO as a reward for Russian consent on US missile defense.[53] Moreover, the existence of the MAP process, which Denmark has ardently supported, increases pressures to select the new members on the basis of their merits in fulfilling the membership criteria.

In its efforts to promote the Baltic states' position, Denmark has relied on close relations with the US, and the Danish policy in the Baltic Sea Region has been conducted with full US support. A key question therefore is – to what extent does Danish activism operate independently and to what extent does it depend on US preferences? According to Hans Mouritzen, it seems that Denmark is "pushing" the US and other NATO countries into military cooperation with the Baltic states.[54] Bertel Heurlin points out that Denmark has not become a US satellite and its freedom of action has not been decreased – it is just that Denmark recognizes that only the US can guarantee Danish and European security.[55]

The close Danish-American relations have also continued with the George W. Bush administration. The Danish Foreign Minister was among the first European leaders to visit Washington. The US-Danish goals converge on the enlargement issue, as President George W. Bush has positioned himself behind a large enlargement round, including the Baltic states. However, there will be challenges to these close relations – one is certainly the use of the Thule base in the US missile defense. In the long run,

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[50] Friis Arne Petersen, "The International Situation and Danish Foreign Policy 1997", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1998 (DUPI),* pp. 17-18.

[51] Gerald B. Solomon, The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty, p. 110.

[52] Statement by Minister of Foreign Affairs Niels Helveg Petersen, "NATO Enlargement and European Security Architecture". DUPI/USIS Conference "The Enlargement of NATO". 11.4.1997. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1998 (DUPI),* p. 114.

[53] "Lykketoft advarer mod politisk studehandel om Baltikum", *Berlingske Tidende* 6.3.2001. www.berlingske.dk.

[54] Hans Mouritzen, "Denmark in the Post-Cold War Era: The Salient Action Spheres", p. 47.

[55] Bertel Heurlin, "Actual and future Danish defense and security policy" in Gunnar Artèus & Atis Lejins, *Baltic Security: Looking towards the 21st century* (LIIA & Försvarshögskolan: Riga, 1997), pp. 97-98.

Denmark is sure to be worried about the increasing US interest in Asia at the expense of Europe.

In addition to promoting Baltic membership prospects, Denmark has taken initiatives and worked actively to increase the systematic character of the enlargement process, to improve NATO's ability to evaluate the candidate countries and to give them regular feedback. At the Danish initiative, the NATO Foreign Ministers review the progress and status of the enlargement process in their biannual meetings, which keeps the enlargement on the agenda.[56]

Secondly, Denmark was active in supporting the MAP program, which was adopted at the Washington Summit. The MAP process helps the candidate countries to prepare for possible membership and gives them regular feedback on their progress in five different areas. For NATO, it is an important instrument with which to evaluate the candidates. Between the Madrid and Washington Summits, Denmark stressed the need to develop and make more efficient the dialog between NATO and the candidate countries. In late 1998, Defense Minister Haekkerup demanded that more genuine feedback should be given to the aspirants in both political and military sectors.[57] Norway had also worked toward the goal by which the Washington Summit would adopt an extensive package of measures for the candidate countries to prepare themselves for membership.[58]

Denmark was active in the establishment of the Political-Military Framework (PMF) for NATO-led PfP operations. The PMF, accepted at the Washington Summit, is one element of the Enhanced and more Operational Partnership. It increases the role of the Partner countries in the areas of political control, operational planning and command arrangements.[59] It had long been the Danish goal to render the difference between NATO members and NATO partners "paper-thin", so in 1997 the PMF was proposed by Denmark in NATO.[60] In a seminar arranged soon after the Washington

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[56] Niels Helveg Petersen (udenrigsminister), "NATO I det 21. århundrede" in *NATO 50 år for fred og frihed* (Atlantsammenslutningen, LITO Tryk: Svendborg, 1999), p.118.

[57] Statement by Minister of Defense Hans Haekkerup, "NATO Reform and the new NATO Strategy". North Atlantic Assembly, Edinburgh 11.11.1998. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1999 (DUPI)*, p. 166.

[58] Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, *Statement in connection with NATO's summit meeting in Washington*. The Storting, 18.3.1999.

[59] Pauli Järvenpää, "NATO and the Partners: A Dynamic Relationship" in Tomas Ries (ed.), *NATO Tomorrow.* (National Defense College, Department of Strategic and Defense Studies, Helsinki, 2000) , p. 50.

[60] Statement by Minister of Foreign Affairs Niels Helveg Petersen, "NATO Enlargement and European Security Architecture". DUPI/USIS Conference "The Enlargement of NATO". 11.4.1997. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1998 (DUPI),* p. 112, 114.

summit, the US Deputy Secretary of State for European Affairs noted that the initiatives taken by Denmark in the context of the PfP program have played a central role in strengthening the relations between NATO and the Partners.[61]

Moreover, Denmark has played a role in preparing Poland for NATO membership, both through bilateral relations and through trilateral cooperation also involving Germany. Denmark started bilateral military cooperation with Poland as early as 1993. The Danish, Polish and German Defense Ministers made an agreement on trilateral cooperation in August 1995. This cooperation has helped Poland to achieve Western standards, strengthened civil control of the armed forces and increased knowledge of NATO standards and procedures in Poland.[62] After Poland joined NATO, it was integrated as the first new member state into the NATO integrated military structure: Poland joined an army corps formed by Germany and Denmark.[63]

Denmark's role in the NATO enlargement process and partnership activities has received praise from both the Baltic states[64] and the US.[65] An indication of US appreciation was President Clinton's choice to visit Denmark in the summer of 1998.[66] Denmark is considered an active Ally which has an important contribution to make. In the words of one high-ranking US official: "Denmark has shown how one Ally can make a difference".[67] The role of former Defense Minister Haekkerup has earned particular praise[68]. In 2000, *The Economist* cited Haekkerup as one of NATO's most well-

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[61] Marc Grossman, *NATO and the European Security Architecture*, at the Conference on "NATO at Fifty: The Alliance on the Threshold of the 21st Century". DUPI Report 1999/9. Edited by Bertel Heurlin, p. 28.

[62] "Security Cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe". Ministry of Defense Denmark. www.fmn.dk/utlandet/ostsam_en.htm.

[63]The Multinational Corps Northeast. "Poles keen to play Nato part", *The Financial Times* 14.9.2000.www.ft.com.

[64] See e.g. "Estonian Prime Minister Meets with Danish Foreign Minister", Press release 14.1.1999. www.riik.ee; Address of H.E. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, Mr. Algirdas Saudargas. The Intensified Dialog meeting with the North Atlantic Council, 26.11.1998.

[65] Address of H.E. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, Mr. Algirdas Saudargas. The Intensified Dialog meeting with the North Atlantic Council, 26.11.1998.

[66] Text: President Clinton to visit Poland, Romania, Denmark (NATO post-Summit trip by the President set for July). 27.6.1997. www.usis-israel.org.il.

[67] Marc Grossman, "NATO and the European Security Architecture" , pp. 31-32.

[68] *The Copenhagen Post*, 18.6.1998. www.cphpost.dk.

known and respected Defense Ministers credited with turning Denmark into an enthusiastic Ally.[69]

Norway and Russia

While Norway has kept a lower profile in the enlargement issue, its activism has focused on improving the relations between NATO and Russia. From early on, Norway has stressed the need for an open dialog with Russia. The 1995 defense statement to the Storting sees Norway's cooperation potential with Russia as a source of high profile and activism: Norway may play the role of an active mediator between the former blocks in matters such as PfP exercises and multilateral cooperation on nuclear safety.[70] In 1996, Norway prepared a proposal in NATO on how the NATO-Russia cooperation document could be formulated. The priorities of the Norwegian proposal were realized in the NATO-Russia Founding Act of May 1997, negotiated by Secretary General Javier Solana and Russian Foreign Minister Jevgeni Primakov.[71]

For Norway, NATO is one of the principal means of integrating Russia into the European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation structures, as was noted in the government's report to the Storting in 2000-2001.[72] However, some key aspects of Norwegian efforts to integrate Russia have been conducted outside the NATO framework (e.g. nuclear safety in Northwest Russia and environmental issues). These efforts have also carried weight with NATO. According to former Secretary General Solana, they have generally helped to reduce suspicions and deepen cooperation between Russia and the west in other areas, too.[73]

The basis for Norway's cooperation with Russia was created even during the Cold War. Ryan Hendrickson points out that the policies of Denmark and Norway toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War involved an element of reassurance. Compared to Allies that followed more confrontational policies, the Scandinavian Allies were in

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[69] "Hans Haekkerup, a Danish oriconsul for Kosovo", *The Economist*, 14.12.2000. www.economist.com.

[70] Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, *Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security*, p. 141.

[71] Christian Borch, "Norway and security policy: New tasks for a new era". Ministry of Foreign Affairs. http:odin.dep.no.

[72] *Norway and Europe at the Dawn of a New Century*, Part I of Report No. 12 (2000-2001) to the Storting, ch. 1. http:odin.dep.no.

[73] Javier Solana, "The New NATO" in *NATO ser fremover*. Den Norske Atlanterhavskomité 1999.

a better and more natural position to develop relations with Russia after the Cold War.[74]

In addition to using NATO as a forum for integrating Russia, Norway has managed to establish a strong and visible role as a mediator in international conflicts.[75] NATO membership has not constrained this aspiration, even though that has been a common assumption in the militarily non-aligned states.[76] Also in the case of the Kursk, the Russian nuclear submarine which sank in the Barents Sea in August 2000, Norway enlisted NATO assistance for Russia together with the UK.[77] According to Foreign Minister Thorbjørn Jagland, the personal relations that the Norwegian commanders had developed with their Russian counterparts helped in the rescue operation of the Kursk.[78]

NATO-Russia relations have been improving rapidly in the wake of the events of September 11th. Through the new NATO-Russia Council (NRC), established last May, Russia has gained direct access to NATO decision-making on select topics. As a result, the need for mediation between NATO and Russia becomes less relevant. What could be needed, instead, are balancing voices within NATO. The ties of the former communist countries to Russia, especially those of the three Baltic states, are tight. Having countries like Norway in NATO will make sure that Russian views are taken into account in NATO decision-making.[79]

Kosovo

NATO's air strikes in Kosovo were a two-sided issue, especially for the small Allies. On the one hand, the smaller states have traditionally been the strongest supporters

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[74] Ryan C. Hendrickson, "NATO's Northern Allies: Contributions in the Post-Cold War Era", *European Security* (8:1, Spring 1999), p. 68, 74.

[75] See page 10.

[76] For example, the role of President Ahtisaari in the final phases of the Kosovo crisis was attributed – in addition to Ahtisaari's personal achievements – to the fact that Finland is not a NATO member and has good relations with Russia.

[77] "Britisk og norsk hjelp underveis", *NRK Nyheter* 16.8.2000. www3.nrk.no.

[78] Minister for Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland, "What are the strategic challenges Norway is facing in Europe and in the Atlantic Alliance?" *Norwegian Atlantic Committee*, Oslo, 5.2.2001.

[79] According to this logic, the Finnish and Swedish NATO membership would also serve Russian interests, as Minister Max Jakobson has pointed out. Minister Max Jakobson's interview in *Optio* 20.9.2001. The Baltic states themselves, however, have presented their expertise in dealing with Russia as a benefit to NATO. See e.g. Jeff Donovan, "Lithuania: Adamkus to Press Bush on NATO Expansion". *Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty*. www.rferl.org

of international law, and NATO's action without a UN mandate was a difficult question for them. On the other hand, NATO went to Kosovo to protect Kosovar Albanians from Serb violence – to protect the human rights of a small people.

NATO's role in the solution to the conflict began in the spring of 1998, as the NATO Ministers urged all parties to find a peaceful solution for the crisis. At the same time, the NATO military leaders were asked to prepare options for a possible use of force. In June, there was a NATO air exercise in Albania and Macedonia, near their borders with Yugoslavia. The first key decision was made in October 1998, as the humanitarian crisis continued worsening. The NAC approved an activation order, setting a date for limited air strikes. A final approval for such an order required the consent of all Allies. There was hope that the threat of air strikes would force Milosevic to negotiate. In the negotiations between the US Special Envoy to the Balkans, Richard Holbrooke, and the Yugoslavian President, Slobodan Milosevic, an agreement was reached on establishing a two-part verification system, including the Kosovo Verification Mission.

NATO made the second key decision after the massacre in the village of Racak in January 1999. When the subsequent negotiations in Rambouillet in February and March did not succeed, NATO revived the threat of air strikes. On 23 March, the order was given to commence air strikes, and they began the next day. All these key decisions about starting the intervention were made unanimously in the NAC.

The strategies employed by small NATO members during the air strikes (24.3.-10.6.) can be divided into three groups according to the country's contribution and the statements made by its leadership. The first group saw the Kosovo operation as an important task of the new NATO in which it enthusiastically took part. A good example of this first group is Denmark, which took part in all military operations conducted by NATO in the Kosovo crisis. It would also have been willing to send in ground troops.[80]

Throughout the whole crisis, the statements by Danish decision-makers followed the common NATO position, formulated to a great extent by the US leadership. As Peter Viggo Jakobsen has written in his interesting article, the Danish policy in the Kosovo operation mirrored the US policy to a surprising extent. Denmark rejected all calls for

[80] In the summer of 1998, Denmark sent two F-16s to the NATO air exercises in Macedonia and Albania. In October 1998, it sent four F-16s, two reserve planes and a staff of 115 to the NATO base in Italy. In April 1999, Denmark gave an additional four F-16s to the operation. In late April, Denmark sent a reconnaissance unit of 150 for the AFOR operation, giving humanitarian aid to refugees in Albania. After the war, two Danish vessels took part in mine clearance. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Denmark at War: Turning Point or Business as Usual?", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2000 (DUPI)*, pp. 68-69.

breaks in the bombing and new negotiations, demanded by some Allies. US statements (on ground troops, refugees etc) were followed by a similar statement by a Danish policy- maker. Denmark accepted the controversial decisions on bombing the TV station and power plants, which had been opposed by several Allies (including France, Germany, Italy and Greece). Danish participation in the operation was supported by a clear domestic political consensus[81], and public support for the opinion was among the biggest (70%).[82]

The Kosovo crisis proves that Denmark – opposed to out-of-area operations and skeptical about use of force during the Cold War – is willing to use force to implement NATO's new tasks in the post-Cold War security environment. As the goals of the new NATO were very close to the Danish goals, promoting NATO goals became the Danish policy in the Kosovo crisis. At the Washington Summit, the Danish Prime Minister, Rasmussen, noted that he was "proud of NATO's decisiveness, uncompromised determination to fight for humanity and stop what we saw 50 years ago".[83]

The second group contributed loyally to the solution of the conflict, but criticized some aspects of NATO's action in public. Norway belonged to this category as it took part in the military operation and bore its responsibility.[84] Norway's government received the full support of the opposition[85], and public opinion also supported the bombings (54% for, 23% against).[86]

However, the Norwegian leadership presented public criticism against NATO during the crisis. At the Washington Summit, Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik asked

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[81] Only the Red-Green Alliance opposed all decisions except one from which it abstained.

[82] The opinion poll referred to here was conducted in May by Gallup and Taylor Nelson Sofres. The poll found the strongest public support for the military operation in Denmark. 12 European countries were included in the poll. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Denmark at War: Turning Point or Business as Usual?", p. 68, 70, 72.

[83] Speech by Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen at the NATO 50th Anniversary Summit Opening and Commemorative Event in Washington D.C., 23 April 1999. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2000 (DUPI)*, p. 171.

[84] It gave NATO six F-16s, one C-130-transporation aircraft, one frigate and a staff of 200. When viewed from a broader perspective than the air strikes, Norway was active in the solution of the conflict. It was the first NATO country to give emergency aid to the Kosovar Albanian refugees in June 1998. After the crisis escalated, Norway received a significant number of Kosovar Albanian refugees (6000). Norway was active in supporting the opposition against Milosevic. The new Yugoslavian President, Vojislav Kostunica, visited Norway among his first visits to thank the Norwegians for their support. "Kostunica kommer til Norge", *Nettavisen* 23.10.2000. www.nettavisen.no.

[85] "Full støtte til Vollebaek", *Nettavisen* 27.4.1999. www.nettavisen.no.

[86] "Norwegians support NATO bombing", *The Norway Post* 28.3.1999. www.norwaypost.no.

NATO to stop bombing civilian targets.[87] The NATO information campaign also provoked criticism. Foreign Minister Knut Vollebaek blamed NATO for giving inaccurate information about the accidental bombing of a convoy of Kosovar Albanian refugees in April 1999.[88] After the conflict, the Norwegian Defense Minister, Bjørn Tore Godal, criticized NATO (and also the Norwegian army) for insufficient information on the use of depleted uranium.[89]

In addition to Norway, Hungary also belongs to the aforementioned second category. The Czech Republic is between the second and third category, very close to the latter. The experiences of the Czech Republic and Hungary in the Kosovo crisis are dealt with in the next chapter.

The third group took no part in the military operation, and its statements and actions often went against the common NATO policy. This group was represented by Greece, whose support for the NATO operation was reserved. As the only NATO country, Greece denied NATO the use of its airspace.[90] However, it allowed NATO to use its ports and gave it logistic support.[91] Greece demanded a bombing break several times during the crisis and blamed NATO for civilian casualties.[92] In late May, Greek and Czech Foreign Ministers signed a common peace initiative.[93]

Some smaller Allies felt that they did not have enough influence on NATO's decisions concerning the Kosovo crisis. Some of the evaluations made by smaller member states after the Kosovo operation indicate that big states dominated several important decisions. For example, the Norwegian evaluation indicates that informal channels like the Yugoslavia Contact Group and G8 decreased the importance of NATO as a multilateral consultation arena and consequently Norway's chances of getting its voice and priorities heard.[94] The Dutch evaluation also points out that the decision-making was dominated in such arenas where only the big states were represented.

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[87] "Bondevik: Stop bombing civilian targets", *The Norway Post* 22.4.99. www.norwaypost.no.

[88] "Vollebaek criticizes Nato", *The Norway Post* 20.4.99. www.norwaypost.no.

[89] "Defense chief criticizes military, NATO", *Aftenposten* 18.1.01.www.aftenposten.no.

[90] "Hungary: NATO Wants More Than Words During Yugoslav Campaign", *Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty* 8.6.1999. www.rferl.org.

[91] *Operation Allied Force – International Attitudes*, www.cybercomm.nl/¨redbad/balkan/allfor_att.html.

[92] "PM urges NATO to show 'flexibility'", *Kathimerini* 10.5.1999. www.kathimerini.com.

[93] "Greek proposal at NATO", *Kathimerini* 26.5.1999. www.kathimerini.com.

[94] *Kosovo-krisen: Nasjonal Rapport*. (Rapporten er resultatet av et samarbeid mellom de sikkerhetspolitiske avdelingene i Utenriksdepartementet og Forsvarsdepartementet, or Forsvarets overkommando.).

http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/publ/utredninger/andre/010011-220003/index-dok000-b-n-a.html.

According to the Dutch evaluation, smaller states had to resort to bilateral channels to be able to indirectly affect the process.[95]

In the conflict's military aspects, the big powers played a dominating role. President Clinton had started to change his position about ground troops after mid-May – he had originally ruled out a ground operation – and in late May Defense Minister Cohen traveled to Europe to discuss the option of a ground operation.[96] The discussions were conducted in an exclusive group consisting only of the Defense Ministers of the US, the UK, Germany, France and Italy.[97] Another example is the alleged US willingness to sacrifice the NATO framework, if defeating Milosevic called for it.[98]

The other concern that small states had about Operation Allied Force was the process of selecting the targets. All Allies were involved in this process, as the NAC was in permanent session and convened daily to discuss bombing targets and other military details.[99] However, the US was clearly superior in the military aspects of the conflict.[100] The US Air Force conducted the majority of the strikes, and it was US intelligence which was used.[101] General Wesley Clark, the SACEUR during the crisis, has admitted that the US decided on all targets. The other states had either no willingness or intelligence capabilities to do it.[102] As already mentioned, Norway had problems with civilian targets. The Dutch evaluation of the crisis also refers to countries which influenced the target list outside the NAC.[103] For Hungary in particular, the selection of targets was a problem due to the ethnic Hungarian minority living in Northern Yugoslavia (see next Chapter).

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[95] NATO Parliamentary Assembly Report AT-243-DSC-0010. *National Missile Defense and the Alliance After Kosovo*, point 84. International Secretariat 11/ 2000.

[96] 1999 Topical Symposium "After Kosovo: Implications for U.S. Strategy & Coalition Warfare". Sponsored by the National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Fort McNair, Washington, D.C., November 16-17, 1999.

[97] "NATO's Game of Chicken", *Newsweek* 26.7.1999.

[98] Sean Kay, "After Kosovo: NATO's Credibility Dilemma", *Security Dialogue* (31: 1, 2000), p. 75.

[99] Peter Duignan, *NATO: Its Past, Present, and Future* (Hoover Institution Press: Stanford, 2000), p. 95.

[100] According to Guillaume Parmentier, the military plans for Operation Allied Force even came from the Pentagon; i.e. they were not a result of multilateral consultation in SHAPE: "Redressing NATO's Imbalances" *Survival* (42:2, Summer 2000), pp. 99-100.

[101] Wesley K. Clark, "U.S. Actions Push the EU to Its Own Military Force" (editorials/opinion), *The Washington Post*, 9-10.12.2000.

[102] "Harmony on defense is still a distant prospect", *Financial Times* 4.2.2001. www.ft.com.

[103] NATO Parliamentary Assembly Report AT-243-DSC-0010, point 84.

Even though the bigger Allies played the key role in the execution of the Kosovo campaign, it is important to note that the decision on military intervention was made unanimously in the NAC. According to a Norwegian researcher, Per Fr. I. Pharo, the view of Kosovo as a US affair may be justified in the military sense, but there is no justification for that view in political terms.[104]

Moreover, small states were by no means pressured to take part in the operation. According to Pierre Martin and Mark Brawley, their participation was voluntary and motivated by one of two reasons. Some of the smaller Allies had a security rationale to participate; for example, the new member states wanted to ensure by their participation that NATO would come to their aid in a possible crisis. The Allies which did not have direct security-related incentives had strong public support for the normative principles underpinning the operation.[105]

Even though the role of smaller Allies was limited in Operation Allied Force, they have been in a more prominent position in the KFOR peacekeeping operation started after the peace treaty was signed. Norway's original KFOR contribution was 980 and Denmark's 900.[106] From April to October 2001, Norway and Denmark were responsible for the command of the KFOR operation.[107]

4.3 Danish and Norwegian Influence and Membership Strategies

The end of the Cold War increased the freedom of action for small NATO members. The Alliance's agenda has been broadened, which has, in turn, opened up new opportunities of influence and new niches of activism for small Allies. At the same time, the tendencies familiar from the Cold War era were present. The US leadership has continued, as the cases of enlargement and Kosovo indicate. The role of informal groups of big states in the Balkan conflicts created worries in smaller Allies. It was feared that NATO's importance as a consultation arena would decrease as important decisions were made outside the Alliance framework.

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[104] Per Fr. I. Pharo, *Necessary, not perfect: NATO's war in Kosovo* (IFS Info 1/2000), p. 7.

[105] Pierre Martin & Mark R. Brawley, "Balancing Acts: NATO's Unity and the Lessons to Learn" in Pierre Martin & Mark R. Brawley (eds.), *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War* (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p. 229.

[106] KFOR online (kforonline.com), *Nations Contributing to KFOR*.

[107] "Norway and Denmark leaders of KFOR", *The Norway Post* 24.7.00. www.norwaypost.no. .

Denmark has been eager to seize new windows of opportunity since the Cold War. The Danish NATO membership is increasingly about influence and participation in the development of the European security structures. Denmark has managed to have an impact on several aspects of the enlargement process – ranging from improving the membership prospects of the Baltic states and helping Poland integrate itself into NATO, to contributing to initiatives for developing the PfP program. While Norway has adopted a lower profile in the enlargement issue, it has contributed to the cooperation between NATO and Russia.

The Danish and Norwegian NATO policies have become more active after the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, their efforts of influencing were directed at the decisions already on NATO's agenda, while after the Cold War they have been more active in setting NATO agenda. Even though the enlargement issue entered NATO agenda as a result of US and German initiative, Denmark played a key role in putting and maintaining the issue of Baltic membership on NATO agenda. Both Denmark and Norway have had an impact in setting NATO's Partnership agenda by proposing initiatives on the contents of the PfP programme.

NATO's new post-Cold War tasks – a broad cooperation program with former adversaries and former neutral countries – have brought it closer to the traditional Nordic foreign- policy values, such as cooperative security, openness and inclusiveness. The PfP, which aims at increasing democratization of the armed forces in the ex-communist countries, suits Denmark and Norway – countries which have a long tradition of foreign aid and humanitarian support.[108]

However, the post-Cold War NATO has served different purposes for the two Scandinavian Allies. They have adopted differing roles and a different level of activism in the post-Cold War NATO. For Denmark, the "new NATO" is one of the most important foreign-policy instruments – in particular it is a mechanism for integrating the former communist states into a wider security network through partnership and enlargement.[109] For Norway, NATO is above all an organization of collective defense.

Differences in the NATO policies of Denmark and Norway are to a great extent explained by their geo-strategic locations.[110] Denmark's geo-strategic position was re-

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[108] Ryan C. Hendrickson, "NATO's Northern Allies: Contributions in the Post-Cold War Era".

[109] Clive Archer, Norden and the Security of the Baltic States.

[110] According to the Realist explanation, a small state in the unipolar international system must work hard and follow policies in accordance with the leading state. (Bertel Heurlin, "Denmark's Security Policy in the Baltic Sea Area After the Cold War", p. 106). However, this explanation does not embrace why the small Western European countries have not been active since the Cold War. Political willingness is also required. Clive Archer, "The Nordic States and Security", *Irish Studies in International Af-*

markably improved after the Cold War, but there has been no such drastic change for Norway. As a result, Denmark has been given more freedom of action in its security policies: it has been able to shift the emphasis from territorial defense to international peace operations. However, the change in Danish NATO policies toward activism in the 1990s was due not only to geo-strategic reasons, but also to political willingness. Special credit must go to the innovative policies of former Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup, who recently served as the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN in Kosovo.[111]

Denmark's membership strategy since the Cold War has very strongly emphasized influence, and it has actively promoted NATO's new tasks. Since Denmark to a great extent shares the values and goals of the "new NATO", it has stuck to the so-called "glue strategy" of a small state: an attempt to gain influence and promote one's own security interests by promoting the values and coherence of the international institution.[112]

Norway's membership strategy since the Cold War has had both kinds of elements when measured on the influence-autonomy axle. The element of autonomy has been seen in the Norwegian effort to maintain the primacy of NATO's core task of collective defense. It has been feared in Norway that the new tasks would weaken its position in NATO, and NATO's security guarantee. At the same time, there have been elements of influence, particularly in the Norwegian high profile and major contribution to NATO's peacekeeping operations in the Balkans.[113] Norway has also contributed to the development of the Baltic armed forces. When measured by participation in the PfP program and NATO's peacekeeping operations, both Denmark and Norway have managed to adapt well to NATO's changes.[114]

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fairs (9, 1998), p. 59. One explanation for the active Danish NATO policy has been that the "footnote parties" of the 1980s have now returned to support NATO and pledge loyalty to the US. Bjørn Møller, "Dansk udenrigspolitik efter Kosovo" *Politica* (32:2, 2000), p. 180.

[111] Nikolaj Petersen, "Adapting to change: Danish security policy after the Cold War", pp. 111-112; Clive Archer, "Nordic Swans and Baltic Cygnets", pp. 64-65.

[112] Allen Sens, "Small-State Security in Europe: Threats, Anxieties and Strategies After the Cold War" in W. Bauwens & A. Clesse & O. F. Knudsen (eds.), *Small States and the Security Challenges in the New Europe* (Brassey's: London, 1996), pp. 89-93.

[113] If we take the population into account and compare the member states' proportional contributions to NATO peacekeeping; Norway is the number one *per capita* contributor to the Balkan operations. "KFOR (5) – Norway's role as Lead Nation", Norwegian Ministry of Defense. http://odin.dep.no/fd/engelsk /publ/ veiledninger/010011-120021/index-dok000-b-n-a.html.

[114] Ryan C. Hendrickson, "NATO's Northern Allies: Contributions in the Post-Cold War Era".

Despite its concerns about NATO's new tasks, Norway has chosen to play the role of a loyal ally instead of complicating NATO decision-making, and its strategy has been to contribute to the definition and implementation of common NATO interests.[115] While NATO's new tasks are a priority which it enthusiastically supports for Denmark, Norway's participation is connected to the mutual solidarity of the Allies. According to the Norwegian Prime Minister, "by helping to solve common problems in other parts of Europe, we are laying a foundation for joint Allied involvement in solving the security problems in our own neighboring areas".[116]

Denmark's and Norway's differing views on the new tasks of NATO have been reflected in the restructuring of their defense policies. In Denmark, in the early 1990s, the emphasis was already on international peace operations as a Danish International Brigade of 4,500 soldiers, which can be used as part of NATO's Ace Rapid Reaction Corps, was established in 1994.

Norway was one of the last countries to approve the change to the 1991 Strategic Concept. In the Washington Summit of 1999, where the Strategic Concept was modified again, Norway was concerned that giving the Non-Article Five tasks the same status as the old core task of collective defense would weaken NATO's security guarantee to Norway.[117] Even though Norway has been a significant troop contributor to the peacekeeping operations, its participation in the collective security operations has been based on *ad hoc* arrangements.[118]

However, the reform of the Norwegian armed forces is currently underway. In June 2001, the Storting approved the government's plan for a significant restructuring of the armed forces. The plan is based on the report of the 1999 Defense Policy Commission, published in summer 2000. According to the report, the traditional threat of an invasion is very unlikely in the short and medium term, but Norway's participation in military activities outside Norway becomes more important.[119]

One of the motivations for the restructuring is Norway's position within NATO – the reforms aim at improving the country's capability to take part in NATO's new tasks. The report by the Defense Policy Commission notes that Norway's participation in military activities outside the country is an important arena of influence.[120] According

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[115] Per Fr. I. Pharo, *Norge på Balkan 1990-1999 "Lessons Learned"* (IFS Info 3/2000), p. 9.

[116] Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, Speech on the occasion of NATO's 50th anniversary. 7.4.1999.

[117] Helene Sjursen, "Coping – or not Coping – with Change: Norway in European Security", p. 115.

[118] Sverre Lodgaard, "Norway and NATO at 50", *Perceptions* (IV:1, March-May 1999), pp. 33-34.

[119] The Norwegian Defense Policy Commission: Main Points. 29.6.2000.

[120] The Norwegian Defense Policy Commission: Main Points. 29.6.2000.

to the Ministry of Defense, the new defense plan for the years 2002-2005 is the first comprehensive response to NATO's transformation (the 1999 Strategic Concept and the DCI).[121]

The developments after September 11 have confirmed the Norwegians of the need to continue modernization and develop modern military capabilities with quality, flexibility, manoeuvrability and rapid reaction. In fact, Norway has lifted its profile in NATO after September 11 by strongly supporting NATO's transformation and its role in the fight against terrorism. Norway has promised to increase the number of its special forces and its defence budget. Moreover, Norway has contributed special forces to Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, considered participation in an UN-mandated operation against Iraq possible and given its support to the recent US proposal on creating a NATO Response Force.[122] NATO Secretary General recently described Norway a "small country but a big ally".[123]

Both Denmark and Norway have both followed very "Atlanticist" policies in the post-Cold War NATO. The activated NATO policy of Denmark in the 1990s has been based on close relations with the US. As Peter Viggo Jakobson has put it, the Danish policy-makers believe that close relations to the US help Denmark "punch above its weight" on the international scene. The dominant role of the US in the world and strong participation in European affairs are seen to be in the interests of Denmark.[124] Also Norway has continued along very Atlanticist lines since the Cold War.

A recent indication of their Atlantic orientation is that both Denmark and Norway have given the US full support in the fight against terrorism in Afghanistan. Both agreed to all US requests[125] made to NATO in early October and both have taken part

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[121] *Adapting Norway's Armed Forces to New Realities*. Press release No.: 05/2001. 16.2.2001. http://odin.dep.no. Even though NATO has found the reform important, it has been worried about the cuts in defense spending. "Weakend Feature: NATO concerned over Norway's drastic Defence cutbacks", *The Norway Post* 17.2.01. www.norwaypost.no.

[122] Sigurd Frisvold (Chief of Defence), "Norwegian defence status and challenges", *Norwegian Defence Review 2002*. www.atlanterhavskommitteen.no; "Norge lover NATO mer spesialstryrkor", *Aftenposten* 8.6.2002. www.aftenposten.no; "Norge støtter USA i NATO", *Aftenposten* 24.9.02. www.aftenposten.no; "Norge kan bli med i FN-krig mot Saddam", *Aftenposten* 24.9.02. www.aftenposten.no.

[123] "NATO-skryt til forsvarsbudsjettet", *Aftenposten* 3.10.2002, www.aftenposten.no.

[124] Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Denmark at War: Turning Point or Business as Usual?", p. 64.

[125] The eight measures involved enhanced intelligence sharing, blanket overflight rights and access to ports and airfields, assistance to states threatened as a result of their support for coalition efforts, deployment of NATO naval forces to the eastern Mediterranean and AWACS aircraft to patrol US airspace. On 4 October, the Allies agreed to the US request of assistance. Fact Sheet (10.9.2002). *11 September – one year on. NATO's Contribution to the Fight Against Terrorism*. www.nato.int.

in the two NATO operations against terrorism.[126] Both countries have contributed special forces and F-16s to Operation Enduring Freedom and peacekeepers to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).[127]

The need to stress the Atlantic element is rendered more urgent by the Danish opt-out from the EU's defense policy and the fact that Norway did not join the EU together with Sweden and Finland in 1995. Potential future problems for both countries, when viewed from the influence viewpoint, are connected to their relationship with the EU. Their influence is hindered, in Norway's case, by the lack of EU membership, and in Denmark's case by its opt-out from the ESDP.

It is well understood among the political elite in these countries that those countries which belong to both the EU and NATO form the core of the Euro-Atlantic community and are best equipped to influence collective European decisions. According to former Defense Minister Haekkerup, it may be difficult for Denmark to keep up its high profile in foreign, security and defense policy, if it cannot take part in EU-led operations.[128] The opt-out has already created confusion in the EU, for example in the case of selecting the Chair for the EU Military Committee.

Norway has tried to compensate for the lack of EU membership by emphasizing the role of marginal security institutions and its position in them (Chairmanship of the OSCE 1999). On the other hand, it has tried to create as close institutional relations with the EU as possible.[129] However, the rapid development of the ESDP in 1998-2000 has brought concerns to the surface in Norway. The Director of the Norwegian Insti-

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[126] Norway and Denmark took part in Operation Eagle Assist in which seven NATO AWACS protected North American air space against terrorism from mid-October 2001 to mid-May 2002. Denmark and Norway also take part in the NATO naval operation Active Endeavour, the purpose of which is to patrol the eastern Mediterranean and monitor merchant shipping. See e.g. "Norwegian sub on NATO patrol in the Mediterranean", *The Norway Post* 10.1.2002. www.norwaypost.no; Dansk ubåd til NATO-styrke i Middelhavet", *Berlingske Tidende* 9.4.2002. www.berlingske.dk. Both also offered to increase their troop contributions in the Balkans in the case that the US or the UK would need to transfer more soldiers to Afghanistan. See "NATO: Norway prepared to replace US troops", *The Norway Post* 27.9.2001; "Én for all, alle for én", *Berlingske Tidende* 2.10.2001.

[127] "NATO and other Allied Contributions to the War Against Terrorism", Update 17.6.2002.The US Mission to NATO; "Norge utvider styrkebidraget til Afghanistan", Forsvarsnett 8.1.2002; "Fighter jets clear for take-off", *Aftenposten* 4.1.2002. www.aftenposten.no; "Folketinget vedtager dansk Afghanistan-styrke", *Berlingske Tidende* 14.12.2001. www.berlingske.dk.

[128] "Danmarks stemme i NATO kan svaekkes" *Politiken*.31.1.2001. www.politiken.dk; "Haekkerup: Danmark isoleres", *Politiken* 31.1.2001. www.politiken.dk.

[129] Helene Sjursen, "Coping – or not Coping – with Change: Norway in European Security", pp. 112-113.

tute of International Affairs, Sverre Lodgaard, noted in 1999 that the European caucus being formed within NATO threatens to marginalize Norway.[130] The government's report to the Storting in 2000-2001 expressed concern about a development toward a multi-pillar Alliance where the EU countries formulate European security interests.[131] Thus, the influence of Norway and Denmark within the future NATO will depend on their relationship with the EU.

[130] Sverre Lodgaard, "Norway and NATO at 50", p. 39.

[131] *Norway and Europe at the Dawn of a New Century,* Part I of Report No. 12 (2000-2001) to the Storting, 2.4.1.

CHAPTER 5: THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND HUNGARY – EQUAL ALLIES OR SECOND-CLASS MEMBERS?

5.1 Background – Motives for Joining

Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland adopted full Euro-Atlantic integration as their goal in the "Visegrad Declaration" of February 1991. At the Kraków Summit in October 1991, they declared more specifically that they intended to join both the EU and NATO. Euro-Atlantic integration became such a dominant goal in the Central and Eastern European countries that, in practice, it replaced other foreign policies.[1]

What explains the strong desire of the ex-communist countries to join NATO? What is their motivation? The most common explanation is the security guarantee provided by the Alliance; their fear of Russia becoming a security threat again. It has often been said that the new member states want to join the "old" NATO.[2]

Several researchers have attributed the ex-communist states' NATO aspiration to external events. According to Stuart Croft, the Soviet use of violence in Vilnius in January 1991 made the Czechoslovakia and other Central European countries abandon the OSCE option and move closer to the NATO option. Developing the OSCE into a pan-European collective security organization had been an idea promoted, for example, by Czechoslovakia together with Germany.[3] According to Martin S. Smith and Graham Timmins, the attempted coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991 made the former communist countries seriously consider NATO membership for the first time.[4]

The worrisome developments certainly reinforced the support for NATO membership in these countries. However, leading politicians in both Hungary and Czechoslovakia had considered NATO membership even before the events of 1991. Hungary was the first Warsaw Pact country to speculate about possible NATO mem-

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[1] László Valki, "NATO Enlargement: The Hungarian Interests", *The Hungarian Quarterly* (XXXVII:141, Spring 1996), p. 34.

[2] See e.g. Yaroslav Bilinsky, *Endgame in NATO's Enlargement: The Baltic States and Ukraine* (Praeger: Westport, 1999), p. 90; Karl-Heinz Kamp, "The Folly of Rapid NATO Expansion", *Foreign Policy* (98, Spring 1995), p. 119.

[3] Stuart Croft, "The EU, NATO and Europeanisation: The Return of Architectural Debate", *European Security* (9:3, Autumn 2000), pp. 5-6.

[4] Martin S. Smith & Graham Timmins, Building a Bigger Europe. EU and NATO Enlargement in Comparative Perspective (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), p. 27.

bership (Foreign Minister Gyula Horn in February 1990).[5] In May 1990, the Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel acknowledged the possibility that NATO would develop into the seed of a new European security system – assuming that the Alliance develops contacts to the east, adopts out-of-area crisis-management as its task, and enlarges.[6]

The security argument played a bigger role for Poland and Hungary than for the Czech Republic. Poland borders unstable parts of the former Soviet Union (Ukraine, Belarussia) and Kaliningrad, and the break-up wars of former Yugoslavia have been fought right next to Hungary. In contrast, both hypothetical military threats against the Czech Republic – domination by the unified and strong Germany or a neo-imperialist Russia trying to regain control of the former satellites – are very unlikely. Since independence (1993), some analysts argue that defense planning in the Czech Republic has been colored by a sense of unrealism. There are no military threats and only friendly countries surround the country.[7] Pacifist views are common in the country.[8] According to the Czech Ambassador to NATO, the sense of security experienced by the Czechs explains the low support for NATO membership.[9]

As none of the new member states faced a real military threat, the security motivation for their NATO membership is best understood in the light of their historical experiences. The new member states feel that they are able to put an end to their turbulent history and join the West irrevocably by joining NATO. Thus, NATO membership was more about a psychological sense of security than protection against a military threat[10]

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[5] Zoltan Barany, "Hungary: An Outpost on the Troubled Periphery" in Andrew A. Michta (ed.), *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1999), p. 85.

[6] Speech by the President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 10.5.1990.

[7] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?" in Andrew A. Michta (ed.), *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1999), pp. 113-118.

[8] Ibid., pp. 128-129.

[9] "Czech Republic Benefiting from NATO Entry", *Central Europe Online Daily News*, 3.11.2000. www.centraleurope.com.

[10] See e.g. Intervention by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Mr. Jan Kavan. At the deposition of the instruments of ratification of the Czech Republic's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty. Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, 12.3.1999; Speech by the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán at the NAC Meeting and NATO's Flag Raising Ceremony, Brussels, 16.3.1999.

However, NATO membership was motivated not only by a feeling of insecurity – caused by events in the late Soviet Union or by their traumatic history. A major factor was the success of the EU and NATO as the key Western European organizations. In other words, the ex-communist countries were looking to join the zone of prosperous and stable Western European democracies. Since it is faster to achieve membership of NATO than the EU, NATO membership was regarded in the public discussions as a logical and pragmatic way of "returning to Europe".[11]

Particularly for the Czech Republic, motives for NATO membership were primarily political and related to its desire to identify with the Western community.[12] The fundamental objectives of the Czech Republic are to achieve a democratic political system and a functional market economy. The fulfillment of these goals requires the integration of the Czech Republic as a part of the broader community of European democratic free-market countries. The EU and NATO are the most important elements of this community, and that's why the Czech Republic wants full membership of both.[13] Even though the security argument carried more weight for Hungary than the Czech Republic, similar considerations were present also in the Hungarian case. The statement by the Hungarian National Assembly noted that the decision at the Madrid Summit opened the way to "full-fledged membership in the community of advanced democratic nations".[14]

It is here that the influence argument for NATO membership comes into play. Influence was a key motivation for the new member states. In the view of the new member it is only possible to become a full-fledged actor in European politics by joining both Euro-Atlantic organizations.[15] With the help of NATO membership, they can ensure that decisions affecting them are no longer made without their participation.[16]

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[11] Gale A. Mattox, "New Realities, New Challenges" in Gale A. Mattox & Arthur R. Rachwald (eds.), *Enlarging NATO: The National Debates* (Lynne Rienne Publishers: Boulder, 2001), pp. 244-245.

[12] Stephen J. Blank, *Prague, NATO, and European Security* (SSI, U.S. Army War College, 17.4.1996), p. 3.

[13] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", pp. 115-116.

[14] Political Declaration issued by the National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary at its plenary session on July 15, 1997, on the decision of the summit meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization held in Madrid on July 8, 1997. www.meh.hu.

[15] Heinz Gärtner, Small States and Alliances. Part I: Concepts, European Security and Changing Alliances: Concepts and Institutions (Arbeitspapier 30/ Dezember 2000, Austrian Institute for International Affairs), pp. 6- 7.

[16] Otto Pick, "The Czech Republic in the world", *Perspectives* (8, Summer 1997), p. 6.

Moreover, by joining NATO they gain a voice in collective European security political decision-making.[17]

From aspirants to full members

The Czech Republic and Hungary joined a very different kind of NATO than the one the Scandinavian founding members had joined. In contrast to Denmark and Norway, the post-Cold War members did not try to restrict their membership. Instead, they emphasized their goal of getting integrated into all NATO structures with full obligations and rights as soon as possible. [18]

Putting conditions on one's membership would have been more difficult in the post-Cold War NATO, as a big group of enthusiastic member candidates were knocking on NATO's door. What is more, the 1995 Study on NATO Enlargement notes that new members will be "full members of the Alliance, enjoying all the rights and assuming all the obligations under the Washington Treaty".[19] However, the question of restricting membership was present in the internal debates in the countries. For example, in the Czech Republic the Social Democrats (when in opposition) suggested that the Czech Republic should adopt a similar modified version of NATO membership as Norway had.[20]

However, NATO's own enlargement policy applies the same restrictions to the new member states that Denmark and Norway had on their membership. NATO does not intend to deploy nuclear weapons or permanent troops in the new member states. The NATO Study on Enlargement notes that the Alliance does not intend to change its nuclear policies after the enlargement. It is also confirmed in the NATO-Russia Founding Act of 1997 that the Alliance has "no intention, no plan, no reason" to deploy nuclear weapons in new members states. The deployment of permanent foreign

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[17] See e.g. János Martonyi and Zsolt Németh, "Hungarian Foreign Policy and Euro-Atlantic Integration" in *Hungary: A Member of NATO* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary: Budapest, 1999), p. 22.

[18] First Vice Minister Alexandr Vondra (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic), "NATO and the Future Security of Central Europe: A Czech Perspective", XIIIth NATO Workshop On Political-Military Decision Making. Warsaw, Poland 19-23.6.1996.

[19] Study on NATO Enlargement (Chapter 5). www.nato.int.

[20] Radek Khol, "Czech Republic: A Pan-European Perspective" in Gale A. Mattox & Arthur R. Rachwald (eds.), *Enlarging NATO: The National Debates* (Lynne Rienne Publishers: Boulder, 2001), pp. 151, 156. Also in the academic debate, there have been some suggestions about restricting the Czech membership in the Scandinavian way. See e.g. Ramon Lopez-Reyes, "Czech Foreign Policy after Joining NATO", *Perspectives* (12¸ Summer 99).

troops in the new member states is ruled out by NATO's agreement that there would be no quantitative changes in force levels in new member states which might negatively affect the existing CFE Treaty.[21]

The Czech Republic and Hungary, along with Poland, played an active role in the enlargement process. They served as an impetus for enlargement, and managed to help increase support for it within NATO through their active lobbying and argumentation appealing to the Western leaders.[22] A well-known example is the meeting between President Clinton and President Havel at the opening of the Holocaust museum in Washington in April 1993. It has been reported that President Clinton adopted a positive attitude towards NATO enlargement after that day.[23]

On the other hand, the aspirant states had no impact on the timetable of enlargement, nor on the conditions for membership – they just did everything they could to fulfill the membership criteria set by NATO. According to Frank Schimmelfennig, the enlargement process resembled a class in which the NATO members were teachers and the former communist countries pupils. It has therefore borne little resemblance to the normal bargaining process.[24]

Since becoming members in March 1999, the Czech Republic and Hungary have tried to dispel the fears of enlargement opponents, get rid of the "new member" tag, and complete their integration into NATO political and military structures. For their voice to carry full weight in NATO's decisions, it is crucial for them to prove themselves loyal and contributing members who bear full responsibility. From the viewpoint of their influence on Alliance politics, it is important for them to find their own niches of influence – such aspects of Alliance policy in which their country-specific assets can be best employed.

In the following, a few select cases are examined. The Kosovo operation is dealt with separately because it has probably been the most significant event shaping their

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[21] Study on NATO Enlargement, Chapter 4; Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation. Paris, 27.5.1997. www.nato.int. Sean Kay, "NATO Enlargement; Who Gains? Who Loses?" in Gustav Schmidt (ed.), *A History of NATO: The First Fifty Years*. Volume 1. (Palgrave: New York, 2001), p. 231.

[22] Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty*. The Washington Papers. (Praeger: Westport, 1998), p. 140; Ryan C. Hendrickson, "The Enlargement of NATO: The Theory and Politics of Alliance Expansion", *European Security* (8:4, Winter 1999), pp. 94-95.

[23] James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When. The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C:,1999), p. 20.

[24] Frank Schimmelfennig, *NATO's Enlargement to the East: An Analysis of Collective Decision-making* (EAPC-NATO Individual Fellowship Report 1998-2000), p. 50, 53. www.nato.int.

membership experiences so far. The other cases or topics reflect, on the one hand, the problems which may hinder Czech and Hungarian influence within NATO, and, on the other, the strengths which may increase their role and influence within the Alliance.

5.2 Case Studies

Kosovo

The Kosovo operation started less than two weeks after the new members had joined the Alliance. On the one hand, it made the new member states feel equal to the old Allies. They felt that they bore responsibility for the solution of the conflict as much as the other Allies did. As stated by the Hungarian Foreign Minister on the first anniversary of their membership, "we are no longer so-called new members. NATO only knows members, old and new alike."[25] One the other hand, the role played by them (especially the Czech Republic) in the solution to the conflict was not satisfactory from NATO's viewpoint. The new member states did not have the technical readiness and compatibility to take part militarily in the operation, while their political statements during the crisis also deviated from NATO's policies.

The new member states took part in all key decisions on NATO's role in Kosovo. Even before their membership entered into force, they took part in the October 1998 decision on the activation order of limited air strikes. The decision on starting the intervention on March 24 was made unanimously in the NAC. However, as noted in Chapter 4, the big Allies dominated some of the key decisions once the military operation had started. The implementation of the military strategy posed a severe challenge to Hungary in particular due to its delicate position. It was also a test of how a new, small Ally gets its voice heard in NATO crisis decision-making.

Of all the Allies, the position of Hungary was the most difficult. Hungary is the only NATO country which has a common border with Yugoslavia and the only NATO country which is not surrounded by other NATO Allies. An ethnic Hungarian minority of over 350, 000 people lives in Vojvodina, Northern Yugoslavia.

Hungary's position in the Kosovo crisis was defined by pressures pulling in opposite directions. On the one hand, it tried to restrict its participation in Operation Allied Force because it feared that the Serbs might retaliate against the Hungarian minority

[25] Press Conference of Foreign Ministers János Martonyi of Hungary, Bronislaw Geremek of Poland and Jan Kavan of the Czech Republic on the occasion of their meeting on the 1st anniversary of the three countries' accession to NATO. Budapest, 18.3.2000 www.mfa.gov.hu/ Szovivoi/ 2000/Martonyi/0318_3sajtoa.htm

in Vojvodina. On the other hand, Hungary tried to prove that it is a loyal Ally. By the Washington Summit, the Hungarian position was clarified. It would support the operation but not take part in the air strikes, nor allow a NATO ground operation to be launched from its territory. [26]

On the whole, Hungary's role in the Kosovo crisis was satisfactory considering its difficult situation. As early as the summer of 1998, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban had expressed his unreserved support for the decisions NATO had already made concerning the Kosovo crisis and stressed Hungary's willingness to take part in the solution of the crisis.[27] In addition, Hungary promised NATO unrestricted use of its airspace back in October 1998.

In the actual crisis, Hungary allowed NATO to use its air space, airfields and service facilities. While the airspace had already been granted in October, permission to use Hungary's airfields and service facilities was granted on the first day of the air strikes (24.3.).[28] It was understood in Hungary that NATO's planes would not depart for bombing missions from Hungary.[29] Later in the conflict, however, the Hungarian government also allowed NATO bombing flights from Hungary.

In the final phases of the conflict in June, Hungary (together with Romania and Bulgaria) denied overflight from Russian planes. The request for urgent overflight was submitted on the eve of the Russian surprise invasion of Pristina Airport. Russian troops had intended to establish their own KFOR-sector, independent of NATO, in Northern Kosovo.[30]

The new member states released joint statements in full support of NATO's actions in Kosovo.[31] However, there were a few cases where the Hungarian behavior raised eyebrows in NATO. The Hungarian leadership stated during the conflict – when the

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[26] Milada Anna Vachudová, "The Atlantic Alliance and the Kosovo Crisis: The Impact of Expansion and the Behaviour of New Allies" in Pierre Martin & Mark R. Brawley, (eds.), *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War: Allied Force or Forced Allies?* (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p. 208.

[27] Hungarian Prime Minister's visit to NATO HQ, 24.7.1998, Excerpts of the address at the meeting with the NAC. www.mfa.gov.hu/NATO/Orban_EN.html.

[28] Gábor Iklódy, *The Kosovo conflict – experiences of a new NATO member*. Den Norske Atlanterhavskomite, Security policy library no. 5-2000, pp. 16-17.

[29] Milada Anna Vachudová, "The Atlantic Alliance and the Kosovo Crisis: The Impact of Expansion and the Behaviour of New Allies", pp. 208-209.

[30] Martti Ahtisaari, *Tehtävä Belgradissa* [Mission in Belgrade] (WSOY: Juva, 2000), p. 241.

[31] For example, the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees and the Defense Ministers of the new member states published statements giving their full support to NATO's action in Kosovo.

Defence News 19.4. and 21.4. www.army.cz.

ground troop option was not even being discussed – that Hungary would not send combat troops to Kosovo.[32] A deviation from the common NATO position was also the effort to link the final settlement of the status of Vojvodina Hungarians to the solution of the Kosovo conflict. Hungary's aim was to restore Vojvodinan autonomy in the course of the post-war settlement in Yugoslavia.[33]

The role played by the Czech Republic in the Kosovo crisis was more problematic than that of Hungary. The Czech Republic also took part in the solution to the conflict by allowing NATO to use its airspace and airfields, by giving it the right to move troops across its territory, and by sending a field hospital to Albania, where the Kosovo refugees fled.[34] However, several Czech statements or political actions during the crisis created confusion and went against the NATO policies.[35]

In late March, the Czech government published a statement disapproving of the air strikes. It was claimed in the statement that NATO had made a decision on the air strikes a few days before the Czech Republic joined the Alliance, and therefore the Czech government had not been consulted about the decision. Five days later, the government had to admit that it had lied: the Czech Republic had approved of the air strikes in the NAC meeting, but tried to cover up its commitment fearing public reaction.[36]

When the Czech Social Democratic minority government made the decision to support the bombings, a number of party members sent an open letter of support to the Yugoslavian Ambassador in Prague.[37] Another deviation from NATO policies was a peace initiative by Czech Foreign Minister Jan Kavan together with Greece. In an interview with Radio Prague, an unnamed NATO source considered that the peace initiative, which required a bombing break, was against NATO policy and sent the wrong signal to Milosevic.[38] Astonishment also flared when Prime Minister Milos

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[32] Martin Woollacott, "The not-so-old alliance", 21.5.1999. www.newsunlimited.co.uk.

[33] Béla Galgózci, "The Impact of the Kosovo crisis on Hungary", Balkans Workshop, 1.7.1999, Helsinki. www.etuc.org/KOSOVO/new_pages/Congress3.cfm.

[34] *Defence News* 20.&26.4.1999. www.army.cz.

[35] The Czech Ambassador to NATO, Karel Kovanda, has recognized that some Czech statements during the conflict came as a surprise to the other Allies. "Czechs and Kosovo", Czech Republic in NATO: Kosovo Crisis (Radio Prague). www.Prague.org/nato/English35.html.

[36] Milada Anna Vachudová, "The Atlantic Alliance and the Kosovo Crisis: The Impact of Expansion and the Behaviour of New Allies", pp. 211-212.

[37] Tomas Pecina, "Arranged Marriage with Aborted Honeymoon? The Czech republic and NATO", *Central Europe Review* (1:5, 26 July 1999). www.ce-review.org.

[38] "Czech-Greek initiative gets cold-shouldered", *Radio Praha*, www.radio.cz/nato/english59.html.

Zeman stated in late April that the Czech Republic would not send its soldiers to a possible NATO ground operation in Kosovo.[39] Since the solution of the crisis, both Prime Minister Zeman[40] and the leader of the main opposition party (The Civic Democratic Party, ODS) Vaclav Klaus[41] have declared that NATO intervention in Kosovo was a mistake.

The alleged Czech lack of influence within NATO was one of the arguments used by the opponents of the air strikes in the domestic arena. The ODS Chairman, Klaus, always used the word "they" – not "we" – when speaking about NATO. According to Klaus, a newcomer like the Czech Republic would not have a say in NATO and its opinion would be as irrelevant there as it was in the former Warsaw Pact.[42]

The behavior of the Czech leadership in the Kosovo crisis may be explained by the low public support for the operation.[43] And vice versa – the behavior of the Czech leadership probably further reinforced the negative views among the public. More than half of the Czechs (53%) were opposed to the bombings, while a little more than a third (36%) supported them.[44] In Hungary, support was stronger. According to a poll conducted in late March, 60 percent of Hungarians supported the bombings, while about 30 percent were opposed.[45]

According to the Czech researcher, Radek Khol, the divided views among the political leadership and the public on NATO's actions in Kosovo can be explained by the Czech Republic's membership process. There was no real information campaign – the Czech government did not start one before late 1998. The controversial attitudes towards the air strikes in Kosovo can be explained by the citizens' lack of basic infomation on NATO and the fact that public opinion was not consulted on the NATO ques-

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[39] *Defence News* 27.4.1999. www.army.cz.

[40] "Deconstructing Zeman", *The Prague Post* 31.5.2000. www.praguepost.cz.

[41] CTK Czech News Agency, News Summary 2.7.1999. www.ctk.cz.

[42] Tomas Pecina, "Arranged Marriage with Aborted Honeymoon? The Czech republic and NATO".

[43] For example, only a quarter of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party supported NATO's action in Kosovo, which may explain the decision by Social Democratic Prime Minister Kavan to sign the peace initiative together with Greece. Jan Sefranka,"Audiences baffled by Czechs' unclear role", *The Prague Post* 7.7.1999. www.praguepost.cz.

[44] *Defence News* 11.5.1999. www.army.cz.

[45] A public opinion survey published in the *Magyar Nemz* daily on 27.3.1999. Quoted in Gusztav Kosztolanyi, "Chronicle of a Conflict Foretold: Hungary, NATO and the Kosovo Crisis, Part Two". www.enp.cz.

tion. The air strikes brought to the surface such questions about Czech NATO membership that had not been dealt with earlier.[46]

Even though the public assessments by NATO and the US have commended the support of the new members in the Kosovo crisis[47], there has been criticism behind the scenes. It has been reported that NATO Secretary General Javier Solana had reproached the Czech Ambassador to NATO on the Czech inability to bear responsibility for NATO bombings in Kosovo.[48] The behavior of the Czech Republic in the Kosovo crisis has been regarded as the biggest disappointment for NATO – only Greece was more reluctant.[49]

The role of President Havel in compensating for the damage caused by controversial statements has been crucial. Havel supported NATO consistently during the crisis. After Operation Allied Force had ended, he was the first NATO leader to visit Kosovo in June 1999. The trip was motivated in part by a desire to convince NATO partners about Czech commitment.[50]

For Hungary, the most difficult issue was the bombing of Vojvodina. The Hungarian minority in Vojvodina had pressured the Hungarian government to keep Vojvodina and especially its non-military targets off the NATO target list. At the outset of the bombings, the Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orban, said that he had been promised that the conflict would not be extended to Vojvodina. However, to the dismay of the Hungarians, Vojvodina was also bombed.[51]

NATO's strategy was that Milosevic should not be given a safety zone anywhere in the country, which required the bombing of targets in Vojvodina as well.[52] In the Washington Summit, Orban did not renew his request that Vojvodina should be left out.[53] According to the US Congressional service report, Hungary did not block the

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[46] Radek Khol, "Czech Republic: A Pan-European Perspective", p. 158, 163.

[47] See e.g. the assessment by the US Department of State. Statement by James B. Foley, Deputy Spokesman, on 13 March 2000. Security Issues Digest no 49. "First Year of NATO Membership for Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland". usa.grmbl.com/s20000313c.html.

[48] "Solana scolded Kovanda for Czech attitude", Czech Republic in NATO: Kosovo Crisis (Radio Prague). www.Prague.org/nato/English35.html.

[49] Andrew A. Michta, "Conclusion" in Andrew A. Michta (ed.), *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1999), pp. 196-197.

[50] "Havel pronounces NATO war a success", *The Prague Post* 30.6.1999. www.praguepost.cz.

[51] Béla Galgózci, "The Impact of the Kosovo crisis on Hungary".

[52] Gábor Iklódy, *The Kosovo conflict – experiences of a new NATO member*, pp. 19-20.

[53] "NATO Summit: Hungarian Press 24.4.1999", Weekly selection from the Hungarian News (13.-30.4.1999). www.h-m.hu/MOD/Cron/1999/04141999043019 99.htm.

bombing of Vojvodina, even though it was opposed to it.[54] In the final analysis, it is difficult to know for sure whether Hungary could really have prevented the bombing of Vojvodina, or if it even wanted to go against NATO strategy and risk its position within the Alliance.

On the other hand, one episode in the Kosovo crisis reveals that the word of a new and small Ally also carries weight in a crisis situation. It has been reported that NATO had a detailed plan to send troops to Yugoslavia through Hungary, had it decided to use ground troops. However, the plan was rejected because of the fierce opposition by the Hungarian Prime Minister.[55] The Hungarian Foreign Minister has later recalled that when Hungary said "no" to NATO in the Kosovo crisis, its arguments were accepted.[56]

Problems of military integration and the issue of free-loading

The biggest challenge for both the Czech Republic and Hungary is to complete the reforms of their armed forces.[57] Their military integration into NATO structures has been slower than expected.[58] Unless they manage to complete the reforms of their armed forces, they risk becoming militarily second-class members of NATO.[59] Inability to take part in NATO's operations can provoke accusations of freeloading, which would not increase the countries' chances of getting their voices heard in NATO's decisions. This problem has been recognized by the Hungarian Foreign Minister: "We have to see clearly that the way in which we fulfill our obligations and the efficiency

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[54] Congressional Research Service; Library of Congress: Memorandum 3.9.1999. *Operation Allied Force: Lessons Learned*. www.senate.gov/~roth/press/crs.html, p. 14.

[55] MTI (Magyar Tavirati Iroda) News 25.6.99. www.mti.hu/news.

[56] Speech by Hungarian Foreign Minister János Martonyi at "The First Year of NATO Membership – A balance". Conference organized by the Teleki László Institute on 18.3.2000, on the occasion of the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, Budapest, 18.3.2000.

www.mfa.gov.hu/Szovivoi/2000/Martonyi/0318telekia.htm.

[57] See e.g. Laszlo Nagy, "Security Concepts of the Visegrad Countries", *Atlantische Perspectief* (Special Issue 8: 22, 1998), p. 14; Peter Tufo (the US Ambassador to Hungary), "Hungary and NATO - Facing a Decade of Challenges Together". Address to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 10.3.2000. www.usis.hu/tufosp24.htm.

[58] "NATO's newer members battle to upgrade their military punch", *The Financial Times* 10.7.2001, www.ft.com.

[59] Sean Kay, "NATO Enlargement: Policy, Process, and Implications" in Andrew A. Michta (ed.), *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1999), p. 171.

of our participation in the activities of NATO will have a crucial influence on our place and role in the Alliance."[60] Moreover, it was feared that the failure to integrate into NATO military structures could dampen the motivation of the old Allies for further enlargement.[61]

The integration of the new member states into the NATO defense planning system was started soon after the Madrid Summit. The new member states were asked to fill out the Defense Planning Questionnaire (DPQ). The analysis of their military preparedness indicated that in no country was the military system strategically compatible with NATO systems. The DPQs indicated deficiencies in equipment, combat readiness and level of training, which were all below the NATO operating standards.[62] The new members did not manage to fulfill all the objectives, established together with the old members in the military planning process, before their membership entered into force. For example, Hungary declared that it could only fulfill about 60 percent of the requirements before joining.[63]

After the new members had filled out the DPQ in the fall of 1997, the US publicly criticized the Czech defense establishment for its inadequate planning for NATO membership. In response to the criticism, the Czech Republic decided to annually increase its defense budget by 0.1 percent of GDP until it reached the recommended two- percent level of GDP in 2000.[64]

The problems of military integration and failure to keep the promises made to NATO resulted from financial problems as well as from "overcommitment" in the membership negotiations. Both the Czech Republic and Hungary promised too much to NATO in the membership negotiations, and fulfillment of those promises was not re-

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[60] Exposé of Dr János Martonyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs at the submission of the Bill on the accession of the Republic of Hungary to the North Atlantic Treaty and the promulgation of the text of the Treaty to the National Assembly, 8.2.1999. www.mfa.gov.hu/Szovivoi/Korabbi/1999/Martonyi_beszed/expozeen.htm.

[61] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", p. 144. However, this fear has not been realized, as NATO will begin a big enlargement round at the upcoming Prague Summit.

[62] Lawrence S. Kaplan: *The Long Entanglement: NATO's First Fifty Years* (Praeger: Westport, 1999), p. 216.

[63] Tomas Valasek, "Preparations for NATO Membership Behind Schedule", *Weekly Defense Monitor* (3:1, January 7, 1999). www.cdi.org/weekly/1999/issue01.html.

[64] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", pp. 137, 139.

[65] Sean Kay, "NATO Enlargement: Policy, Process, and Implications", p. 171.

alistic.[66] Another reason has been insufficient preparation for the military aspects of NATO membership. This is the case at least in the Czech Republic. Even though the Czech Republic aimed at NATO membership from the early 1990s (at least on the rhetorical level), practical preparations for membership were started too late. Security and defense questions were secondary to both governments of Vaclav Klaus. The National Defense Doctrine and the National Defense Strategy were not accepted until 1997 – under pressure from NATO.[67]

In both the Czech Republic and Hungary, the armed forces suffer from the legacy of the communist era: they are big and heavy with out-dated equipment. The Hungarian armed forces have suffered from old-fashioned equipment, inadequate supplies, and a technically low level of training. While the tasks of the Hungarian army increased, the defense budgets decreased for most of the 1990s.[74] To some extent, Hungary's integration into NATO structures has been made easier by the close day-to-day cooperation with the US in the Taszar base. The Czech army has suffered from a low level of readiness and training, bad salaries and low societal appreciation of the army.[75] The latter is a common problem in many ex-communist

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[66] Documents on the preparation of the CR Armed Forces Reform. "Analysis of Required Capabilities, Target Structure and Composition of the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic", kohta 4, www.army.cz/reforma/english; "Hungary overcommitted itself when joining NATO – Junior Ex-Defence Minister", BBC Monitoring/Hungarian Radio 11.6.2002. NEDB 12.6.2002; "New PM delivers message to NATO summit", *The Budapest Sun Online* (Vol. X, Issue 23, 6 June 2002). www.budapestsun.com.

[67] Radek Khol, "Czech Republic: A Pan-European Perspective", pp. 154-155.

[68] Radek Khol, "Czech Republic: A Pan-European Perspective", pp. 154-155.

[69] M-DPC-2 (2001)156 - Financial and Economic Data Relating to NATO Defense. Table 3: Defense expenditures as % of gross domestic product. The figures for year 2001 are estimates.

[70] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", p. 143.

[71] "Nato urges Czech army reform", *The Financial Times*, 22.2.2001. www.ft.com.

[72] "Czechs falling short on NATO", *The Prague Post* 31 January 2002. www,praguepost.cz. The Czech government purchased L-159 subsonic jets from a domestic producer.

[73] See e.g. Laszlo Nagy, "Security Concepts of the Visegrad Countries", *Atlantische Perspectief* (Special Issue 8: 22, 1998), p. 14; Peter Tufo (the US Ambassador to Hungary), "Hungary and NATO - Facing a Decade of Challenges Together". Address to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 10.3.2000. www.usis.hu/tufosp24.htm.

[74] Zoltan Barany, "Hungary: An Outpost on the Troubled Periphery", pp. 106-107.

[75] Jeffrey Simon, "Expansion – Czech Republic: Prologue As Future: What Central Europe Needs to Do (Czech Republic)" The Center for NATO Documentation & Information (at The Center for Democracy and Free Enterprise, Prague). www.cdfe.cz.

countries: during the communist era, the armies were an instrument of the country's communist party and that of the Soviet Union – they were not an instrument for preserving the country's independence.Another problem in both countries has been the modernization of the military personnel structure, which has been too top-heavy. It has been estimated that full military integration of the new member states into NATO will take approximately a decade.[76]

In addition to technical interoperability requirements, full participation in NATO's operations requires also "intellectual" interoperability – learning NATO doctrines, terminology, practices and culture and harmonizing one's own practices with them. A problem for both the Hungarian and the Czech armies has been an inadequate command of English.[77] Other problems have related to the legal system, national security documents as well inadequate preparation of the decision-makers and citizens for NATO membership.[78] For example in the Czech Republic, the information campaign on NATO membership was not started until October 1998.[79]

The Kosovo crisis was a wake-up call in the sense that it brought home just how outdated some of the equipment in these countries is. The Hungarian MIG-destroyers had Soviet-era radars, with the result that they would not be able to identify Allied planes, and the Allied planes would not be able to identify the Hungarian ones as friends.[80] The Czech Air Force also suffers from interoperability problems. Both countries are currently in the process of replacing their old aircraft with new or leased Western aircraft.[81]

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[76] "The first year of Czech Republic's NATO membership". www.army.cz/zpravy/english/2000/brezen/1styear.htm.

[77] See e.g. Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", p. 140;

Zoltan Barany, "Hungary: An Outpost on the Troubled Periphery", p. 107.

[78] Ks. esim. NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Political Sub-Committee on Central and Eastern Europe. Draft Interim Report: NATO Enlargement (kohta 18). 19 April 2001; Ji_í _ediv_, "The Puzzle of NATO Enlargement", *Contemporary Security Policy* (22:2, August 2001), s.10.

[79] Radek Khol, "Czech Republic: A Pan-European Perspective", pp. 154-155.

[80] "Hungary Balks at the Price of NATO Membership", Stratfor.com. Global Intelligence Update, 25.11.1999.

[81] The Czech Republic and Hungary have both been planning to buy the Swedish Gripen fighters. However, the Czech parliament rejected the government's proposal on the Gripens in the spring 2002. In August 2002, the Czech Republic announced that it will have to reconsider the fighter deals due the serious flood damages. The decision on whether to buy the Gripen fighters will not be made before the Prague Summit. See e.g. *Prague Post Online Briefs* 11.8.2002. www.praguepost.cz. Also Hungary has announced that it will reconsider the fighter deal, as the comprehensive review of Hungary's defence forces will examine all procurement contracts. It has been reported that the US has been lobbying the

Modernization programmes are currently underway in both the Czech Republic and Hungary. In the summer of 1999, the Hungarian government ordered a Strategic Defense Review conducted by a steering group composed of senior military leaders and civilians. The purpose is to create a modern, NATO-compatible, flexible and sustainable professional defense force. However, the tempo of modernization has not been satisfactory. As the former Hungarian Ambassador to NATO put it in the summer of 2002, Hungary still behaves as if it was only preparing for membership and has not adopted to the new challenges. The Ambassador pointed out that the proportion of the force that is mobile, permanent and easily deployable, that can be used for new types of mission, has not increased. Moreover, the modernization of the communication system is not proceeding fast enough, language skills are still insufficient, experiences from NATO operations have not been utilized in the right way, military career has not become an attractive career opportunity.[82] The Hungarian government, which began in May 2002, has admitted that Hungarian credibility in the eyes of the NATO Allies has been weakened. The new government has ordered a comprehensive review of the state of the armed forces, which will last until early 2003.[83]

The Czech reforms aim at abolishing compulsory military service by 2006 and at having a fully professional army in place by 2010.[84] However, the Czech reforms only started to gain momentum with the selection of a new defence minister in April 2001. According to an evaluation by a US expert, the ongoing reform plan, whose objectives and principles were approved by the government in the spring of 2001, is sound and in accordance with NATO objectives.[85] A recent setback for the Czech defence reform was caused by the floods in the summer; money planned for defence may need to be cut to repair flood damages.

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new Hungarian government to give up the Gripen deal in favour of the F-16s. See e.g. "Government gets to grips with Gripen", *The Budapest Sun Online* 8.11.2001.www.budapestsun.com;. "Troubled military faces shakeup", *The Budapest Sun Online* (Vol. X., issue 32, 8.8.2002). www.budapestsun.com. "US push to reopen fighter deal", *The Budapest Sun Online* (Volume X, Issue 30, 25.7.2002). www.budapestsun.com.

[82] "Out three wasted years", *The Budapest Sun Online* (Vol X, Issue 23, 6 June 2002). www.budapestsun.com. András Simonyi served as Hungary's Ambassador to NATO in 1995-2000.

[83] Interview with the Minister of Defence: "Transparency - inside and outside", *Hungarian Ministry of Defence, Hungarian Defence Mirror* 31.7.2002.

[84] "Czech Defence Minister Says Army Wants "Less Bureaucracy, More Drills"". *Central Europe Online, Czech Today* 30.1.2002. www.europeaninternet.com.

[85] "Assessment of the Reform of the Armed Forces of the CR". Author: Daniel Schroeder (Lieutenant General, US Army, retired) 19.6.2002. www.army.cz.

Even though the Czech Republic and Hungary do not yet possess all the capabilities for taking fully part in the whole spectrum of NATO operations, they are not free-loaders when measured by their defence spending. The Czech Republic spent 2.2 percent of GDP on defense in 2001; Hungary 1.8 percent.[87] The limit for freeloading has been considered to be 1.5 percent or less of GDP.[88] Still, the issue of defence spending has been problematic in both countries. First, with their GDPs being lower than in older NATO countries, the new member states do not simply get as much as the older Allies do with their spending. In parallel with this pressure to increase defense budgets, the Czech Republic and Hungary have been pressurized by their EU aspirations. Even though these goals are in many ways complementary, when it comes to financial aspects they can pull in opposite directions. An example is the warning by the IMF that loans and credits would be more difficult to get if the NATO candidates transferred their budget priorities into defense.[89]

Secondly, the existing defence resources have not always been used as efficiently as possible. For example, in NATO's view, the Czech Republic has made a mistake by consuming a huge proportion of the defense budget on expensive military purchases instead of focusing on basic reform and modernization of the armed forces.[90] According to some analysts, the reasons are national pride and lobbying by defence industry.[91]

From the NATO side there has been constant pressure on the new members to continue their military reforms.[92] On the other hand, it is hardly fair to compare the ar-

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[86] See e.g. Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", p. 140;

Zoltan Barany, "Hungary: An Outpost on the Troubled Periphery", p. 107.

[87] M-DPC-2 (2001)156 - Financial and Economic Data Relating to NATO Defense. Table 3: Defense expenditures as % of gross domestic product. The figures for year 2001 are estimates. In reality, Hungary's defence spending has been smaller than the promised 1,8% of the GDP. "Hungarian Defence Ministry vows not to shoulder excessive NATO commitments", *Hoover's Online* 10.8.2002. hoovnews.hoovers.com..

[88] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", p. 143.

[89] Sean Kay, "NATO Enlargement: Policy, Process, and Implications", p. 171.

[90] "Nato urges Czech army reform", *The Financial Times*, 22.2.2001. www.ft.com; "Czechs falling short on NATO", *The Prague Post* 31 January 2002. www,praguepost.cz. The Czech government purchased L-159 subsonic jets from a domestic producer.

[91] See e.g. "NATO Newcomers Pay Price of Military Pride", *The Moscow Times* 26.2.2002.

[92] See e.g. "NATO Commander Urges Faster Hungarian Military Reform", *Central Europe Online Daily News*, 26.10.00. www.centraleurope.com; "NATO Pushes Czechs on Arms", *International Herald Tribune*, 22.2.2001.www.iht.com.

mies of the new member states to the armies of the US or Germany, which are the best-equipped armed forces in the world. According to defense analyst Thomas Szayna, it would be better to compare the Czech Republic with Portugal, which has the same size and population. Even in 1999, the Czech contribution was close to the Portuguese one (one brigade).[93]

To be able to play a full role in all NATO activities and decision-making, it is crucially important for both the Czech Republic and Hungary to complete their military reforms. There have already been some lukewarm evaluations of their performance. A study ordered from the Congressional Budget Office by the US Senate came to the conclusion at the end of 2000 that the contribution of the Czech Republic and Hungary to NATO has been smaller than expected.[94] In a secret annual evaluation in NATO in 2001, the Czech Republic's performance was criticized.[95] According to a report compiled for the US Congress in the spring 2002, it was noted that Poland has succeeded better than the Czech Republic and Hungary in military reforms and in restructuring the armed forces.[96]

Spying activities in Prague, arms deals with rogue states – problems to Czech trustworthiness?

There have been some allegations of spying activity in the Czech Republic, which may diminish its trustworthiness and consequently its chances of getting its voice heard in NATO. In the Security Strategy of the Czech Republic of 2001, it is noted that "A considerable security risk is also the chance of secrets being leaked or betrayed, especially secrets shared with the Czech Republic's allies in NATO which could seriously damage the Czech Republic's trustworthiness".[97]

The Czech Republic has been considered a center of European activity for Russian spies. It has been feared that similar problems would be found in other ex-communist countries, and the states which cannot be trusted as much as the others would form

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[93] Thomas A. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'?", p. 143.

[94] Tomas Valasek, "President George W. Bush and the "Other" Europe", *Weekly Defense Monitor* (4:49, 14.12.2000). www.cdi.org/weekly/2000/issue49.html.

[95] "Czechs falling short on NATO", *The Prague Post* 31 January 2002. www,praguepost.cz.

[96] CRS Report for Congress (Received through the CRS Web). *NATO Enlargement.* Paul E. Gallis (Specialist in European Affairs. Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Division). Order Code RS21055. Updated May 16, 2002, s. 2.

[97] Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, 22.1.2001. Part C.

an outer circle in NATO.[98] Spying allegations in the early phase of the Kosovo crisis – when targets were leaked from NATO HQ to the Serbs – were also linked to the Czech Republic. The Czech government minister responsible for intelligence services said that the Czech role could not be ruled out.[99] However, a French officer has been on trial for passing NATO military secrets to a Serb spy during NATO's campaign in Kosovo.[100]

According to some commentators, this has already led to a situation in which the other Allies cannot trust the Czech Republic as much as they can each other.[101] While some reports certainly exaggerate the problem, it is a serious issue. However, NATO has played down these reports and given assurances that the news reports do not affect Czech relations to NATO.[102]

The Czech reputation has also been damaged by the connections of Czech firms to global weapon smuggling and to the so-called "rogue states". During the 1990s, Prague sold tanks, rocket launchers, armored personnel carriers, ammunition and jets to more than 100 countries, including Syria, Algeria and Angola. After the country joined NATO, requirements to modernize the Army made the peddling of aging Soviet-era equipment even more tempting.[103] In 1999-2000, a Czech company was accused of smuggling arms to a "rogue state". According to Washington, a Czech firm named "Agroplast" had mediated in the sale of 40 MIG-21s to North Korea – one of the biggest enemies of the leading NATO state.[104]

In March 2000, the exports of a Czech company to Iran were blocked by the lower house of the Czech Parliament. The company was exporting to an Iranian plant which has, according to the US, the potential to be used in a nuclear arms program. The fear of US sanctions against the Czech Republic made the lower house block the exports. The US had stated that it was the Czech responsibility as a new NATO country not to

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[98] "Russian Spies in Prague Trouble NATO Ties", *Global Intelligence Update*, 2.11.1999. www.nyu.edu/glonalbeat/nato/GIU110299.html.

[99] *Central Europe Report* 14.3.2000, "Czechs Respond To NATO Spying Allegations". www.central europe.com.

[100] "Officer 'gave NATO secrets to the Serbs'", news.telegraph.co.uk. 12.12.2001.

[101] "Russian Spies in Prague Trouble NATO Ties", *Global Intelligence Update*, 2.11.1999. www.nyu.edu/glonalbeat/nato/GIU110299.html.

[102] "NATO chief in positive mood", *The Prague Post* 17.11.1999. www.praguepost.cz.

[103] "Weapons of Choice", *The Prague Post*, 23.5.2001. www.praguepost.cz.

[104] "Profits of doom", *The Prague Post*, 2.2.2000. www.praguepost.cz.

provide any assistance.[105] In April 2001, the Czech Defense Minister, Vladimir Vetchy, visited Chinese defense officials with a delegation including representatives of the producers of the Czech radar system "Tamara". As the Director of the Czech Institute of International Affairs pointed out, visits like this weaken the Czech position as a NATO member state.[106]

Hungarian expertise on the Balkans

Even though the achievement of the military requirements of NATO membership is a crucial goal for the Czech Republic and Hungary, the countries may have more of a political significance for NATO than a military one. The countries have certain "country-specific assets" that can be put to more influential use within NATO – in the same way as Denmark has managed to adopt a key role in the integration of the Baltic states, and Norway has been active in integrating Russia.

For Hungary, one such "country-specific asset" is its location next to the former Yugoslavia and its expertise on the region. These are important for NATO's operations in the Balkans. The Hungarian Foreign Minister has formulated it this way: "We are able to provide a particular Hungarian 'surplus' in the case of problems where we have accumulated substantial experience due to our history, set of relations and geographical proximity. NATO also looks to Hungary as its member state situated most closely to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, one that may therefore provide a substantial contribution to a realistic assessment of the situation and to the most viable solutions for regional security."[107]

Even before becoming an Ally, Hungary had close cooperation with NATO in the Balkan region. In 1992, Hungary opened its air space to NATO's AWACS, which were monitoring the UN no-fly-zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the Dayton peace agreement in 1995, Hungary allowed the transit of the SFOR/IFOR troops via its territory, their temporary basing in Hungary, and contributed a 400-strong pioneer battalion to the operation. Moreover, it allowed the US to use Taszar Airport as its base

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[105] "Czechs Agree To Halt Exports For Iran Power Plant", *Central Europe Online*, 9.3.2000. www.centraleurope.com.

[106] "Weapons of Choice", *The Prague Post*, 23.5.2001. www.praguepost.cz.

[107] János Martonyi and Zsolt Németh, "Hungarian Foreign Policy and Euro-Atlantic Integration" in Hungary: A Member of NATO (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary: Budapest, 1999), p. 22.

in the SFOR/IFOR operation. In the negotiations between Hungarians and Americans about Taszar Airport, Hungary linked its use to its NATO aspiration.[108]

PfP, further enlargement and contacts to current candidate countries

An important source of activism for both the Czech Republic and Hungary is NATO's further enlargement: they are in a key position to help the current candidate countries to integrate into NATO. Sharing their experiences is a valuable asset to the membership preparations of the current candidate countries.[109] The Visegrad states are the only countries in NATO today which have their own experience of the membership process.[110] The NATO Secretary General has also recognized the special position of the newest member states in this respect.[111]

As Andrew Michta has put it, the new member states are bridge-builders between NATO and the former communist countries. The activism of the Czech Republic and Hungary has mainly focused on their neighboring states. The Czech Republic, together with Poland, has already made an agreement with Slovakia to create a common brigade.[112] Hungary has established a joint Hungarian-Romanian peacekeeping battalion and a Hungarian-Italian-Slovenian brigade. However, serving as a link between the current candidate countries and NATO is only a temporary "niche" of influence for the Czech Republic and Hungary, since they will soon lose their special status as the only ex-communist states in the Alliance.

The newest member states are in a unique position within NATO also in the sense that they are the only ones who have been NATO partners. They could play a role in developing the PfP program to face new challenges.[113] However, the new member states have not been so eager to use this possibility.[114] On the other hand, there has

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[108] Donald Blinken, "How NATO Joined Hungary", *European Security* (8: 4, Winter 1999), p. 114.

[109] See e.g. Peter Tufo, "Hungary and NATO - Facing a Decade of Challenges Together".

[110] Andrew A. Michta, "Conclusion", p. 190.

[111] Speech by the Secretary General, "European Security in the 21st Century – completing Europe's Unfinished Business", Warsaw University 29.3.2001.

[112] Andrew A. Michta, "Conclusion", pp. 190-191.

[113] See e.g. Jeffrey Simon, "Partnership For Peace (PfP): After the Washington Summit and Kosovo", National Defense University Strategic Forum (Number 167, August 1999). www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/nato/NDU0899.html.

[114] The militarily non-aligned EU states, especially Sweden and Finland, have been among the most active PfP countries. An example is the joint Finnish-Swedish initiative on action against terrorism, see "Finland and Sweden present a joint initiative on action against terrorism in NATO's Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council", Press Release (Finland's MFA) 7.11.2001. www.formin.fi.

also been a feeling in the new member states that NATO has not shown enough interest in the new perspective that they bring.[115]

The new member states have been active in promoting further enlargement in NATO's internal debates. Czech President Havel in particular has been one of the most ardent proponents of a second enlargement round to include the Baltic states. In the meeting of the candidate countries in Bratislava in May 2001, Havel gave an influential speech which served as a trigger for the next round of enlargement – in addition to President Bush's speech in Warsaw the following month. According to Havel, the exclusion of the Baltic states in the second enlargement round would equal a new Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.[116]

5.3 Czech and Hungarian Influence and Membership Strategies

After gaining membership in March 1999, the goal of the Czech Republic and Hungary has been to move from the role of an enthusiastic pupil to that of a full-fledged and equal Ally. The initial Czech and Hungarian experiences of their influence and role within NATO are two-fold. On the positive side, the Kosovo operation – which started less than two weeks after they joined – made them feel equal to the older Allies.Moreover, the Czech Republic and Hungary have increased their standing within the Alliance by finding their own niches of activism. The newest members are the best experts on enlargement and partnership activities since they are the only Allies having actual experience of both. Both the Czech Republic and Hungary have been active in preparing their neighbors for membership by e.g. establishing NATO-compatible military units together with them (an example is the Czech-Slovakian-Polish peacekeeping brigade). For Hungary, a key asset has also been its expertise in the Balkan region.

To continue on the positive side, the Czech President, Havel, has managed to profile himself as one of the most influential leaders among the Alliance in promoting further enlargement. A significant recognition for the new members is that the important NATO Summit of 2002, where the second round of enlargement will be started, will

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[115] This has been noted by at least the Czech Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Otto Pick. "NATO gives new members mixed review", *The Prague Post* 30.6.1999. www.praguepost.cz.

[116] "Havel Assails Russia On NATO Expansion", *The Washington Post*, 12.5.2001. www.washingtonpost.com.

be held in Prague. This has been regarded by Czech leadership as an indication that the new member states now are full-fledged and reliable allies.[117]

Prague was selected as the summit venue largely due to the important role played by President Havel in Euro-Atlantic integration.[118] It is also worth recalling at this point that President Havel gave consistent support to NATO in the Kosovo crisis, meanwhile the performance of the Czech government during the conflict was a disappointment to NATO (see above). The problem with influence gained through an internationally respected and influential leader is that the influence will go away as the term of the leader ends. In this sense, the end of Havel's second and last term in early 2003 will pose a challenge to the Czech Republic's future role in NATO.[119]

On the negative side, one may note that from NATO's viewpoint the role played by the Czech Republic in the Kosovo crisis (and also, in some respects, that played by Hungary) was not satisfactory. Moreover, the biggest problem for both countries is the slow tempo of their military integration into NATO structures. In the case of the Czech Republic, there has been some concern about its reputation as a center for spying activities and about the Czech connections to global arms smuggling.

The war against terrorism has offered the Czech Republic a chance to repair the damage caused by its inadequate performance in the Kosovo crisis. Even though the contributions of the newest member states to the US-led war against terrorism in Afghanistan are small, they are symbolically important.[120] Both the Czech Republic and Hungary have been loyal supporters of the US from the beginning, both agreed to all requests made by the US to NATO in early October, and the Czech Republic made a troop contribution.[121] In March, a Czech anti-chemical unit of 251 was

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[117] Address by Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, at the Conference "Europe's New Democracies: Leadership and Responsibility", Bratislava, 11.5.2001. www.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/2001/1105_uk.html; "Most Politicians For NATO Summit In Prague, Communists To Protest", *Central Europe Online Daily News* 18.12.00. www.centraleurope.com.

[118] Text: Clinton Statement on Results of NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting, 20 December 2000. http://usinfo.state.gov/cgi-bin/washfile.

[119] "The last waltz. Vaclav Havel makes a final trip to the U.S. as president", *The Prague Post Online* (25.9.2002). www.praguepost.cz.

[120] Elizabeth Williamson, "War on Terror Tests Readiness Of Three New NATO Members", *The Wall Street Journal* 26.11.2001.

[121] Early in the operation Hungary offered to serve as a medical base for soldiers returning from Afghanistan and to increase its peacekeepers in the Balkans. There was also talk about sending a Hungarian medical unit to Afghanistan, but that was never offered as a troop contribution. See e.g. "Hungary May Serve As a Medical Base, if Needed, in U.S. War", *Hungary Today* 8.10.2001. www.europeaninternet.com; "Magyar troops to take up US slack?", *The Budapest Sun Online* (Volume

deployed to Kuwait as part of the Operation Enduring Freedom.[122] A Czech field hospital was deployed in Afhanistan in May.[123]

In common with the Scandinavian Allies, the newest member states have also adopted a strategy, which emphasizes close relations with the US. The countries were already very Atlanticist before joining the Alliance. As early as the Gulf War in 1991, the Czech Republic declared itself a strong partner of the US by giving an anti-chemical unit to the US-led coalition.[125] Hungary made a bilateral agreement with the US (an addition to the PfP agreement), which enabled US military presence in Hungary.[126] The Taszar base has brought the US and Hungary closer together at the level of practical cooperation.

The Czech Republic and Hungary consider that the US global leadership and strong presence in Europe are in their interests. A document from the Hungarian MFA (1997) emphasizes NATO's role as a guarantee of the Trans-Atlantic relationship which binds the world's strongest state into the Euro-Atlantic region.[127] According to the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic of 1998, it is important that the Czech Republic joins an organization which binds the US to Europe. The new Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (2001) also points out that the strong US presence in Europe is in the interests of the Czech Republic.[128]

IX, Issue 45, 8.11.2001).www.budapestsun.com; "Hungary-U.S. Secret Services Cooperation Intensified", *Central Europe Online* 8.1.2002. www.europeaninternet.com. As a result, Hungary does not have troops in Afghanistan. See "NATO and other Allied Contributions to the War Against Terrorism", Update 17.6.2002.The US Mission to NATO. The new Hungarian government has admitted that the Hungarian contribution has not been sufficient, and the government will look into increasing Hungary's role. See "Hungarian official on plans to boost role in Afghanistan", Hungarian Radio 28. 7.2002. NEDB 29.7.2002.

[122] *The Prague Post*, Briefs 1.4.2002. www.praguepost.cz.

[123] "NATO and other Allied Contributions to the War Against Terrorism", Update 17.6.2002.The US Mission to NATO.

[123] George W. Grayson, *Strange Bedfellows: NATO Marches East* (University Press of America: Lanham, 1999), p. 160.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

[126] George W. Grayson, Strange Bedfellows: NATO Marches East, p. 159.

[127] Fact Sheets on Hungary 1/1997 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs): "Hungary and NATO: on the road to membership".

[128] Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, part D.

The Atlantic orientation of the Czech Republic and Hungary has also continued within the Alliance. A good example is the attitude toward the US plan of building the missile defense system. Hungary's attitude (at least that of the previous government) has been much more favorable than that of most European allies: at the NATO Ministerial meeting in late 2001, Prime Minister Orban's speech was like an echo of the arguments put forward by the Bush administration.[129] It has also been reported that President Havel had implicitly given his support to the US missile defense system.[130] The new member states seem to side with the US also on the question of Iraq – a position not shared by many European leaders.[131]

As loyal Allies, the Czech Republic and Hungary are likely to send soldiers to fight in the US-led coalitions of the willing. Even though their ability to give military support may be limited, they are politically very important allies for the US.[133] As put by one analyst in 1998, it is more likely that the new member states will help the West to protect its oil interests in the Middle East than it is for Washington to have to fight for Warsaw, Prague or Budapest.[134]

The newest NATO members are among Europe's most determined Atlanticists. They have strongly supported the building of the EU's crisis management capability in close cooperation with NATO. The prediction that they would transfer their loyalty to the big EU members as soon as they gained NATO membership does not seem to have become a reality.[135]

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[129] "Hungary echoes US over missile defense", *The Budapest Sun* 7.6.2001, www.budapestsun.com.

[130] "Bush, in Europe, plays Havel's tune on defense", *The Prague Post* 20.6.2001. www.praguepost.cz.

[131] See e.g. "The last waltz. Vaclav Havel makes a final trip to the U.S. as president", *The Prague Post Online* (25.9.2002). www.praguepost.cz; "Ungarn støtter USA i striden om Irak-angrep", *Aftenposten* 8.10.2002. www.aftenposten.no.

[132] Andrew A. Michta, "Conclusion", p. 190.

[133] Thomas S. Szayna, "The Czech Republic: A Small Contributor or a 'Free Rider'", p. 142.

[134] Tomas Valasek, "Democracy à la NATO", *Weekly Defense Monitor* (February 21&28, 1998). www.nyu.edu/ globalbeat/nato/cdi0298.html.

[135] This view has been presented e.g. by David S. Yost, NAT*O Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington, D.C., 1999), pp. 185-186.

From the influence viewpoint, it is of crucial importance for the Czech Republic and Hungary to learn to use their close relations to the US to increase their role within the Alliance.[136]

[136] A good example is Denmark, which has managed to play a bigger role in certain Alliance policies in the post-Cold War NATO. The activist NATO policies of Denmark have been based on close relations with the US. See Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary: The Influence of Small States Within Nato

The decision-making of NATO, an Alliance of democratic countries, is based on the equality of all member states. This is demonstrated by the *de facto* veto right of each member and the consultation norms. At the same time, the US has been an uncontested leader of the Alliance and big states have formed an informal "directorate" within NATO.

Small Allies have accepted US leadership as a fact – after all it is the most important state guaranteeing their security. US leadership has even increased the influence of small states by improving their position in relation to big European Allies, as well as to third parties during the Cold War. For example, it has bound the big neighbor of a small country to multilateral structures under US leadership, increased the mutual equality of big and small European Allies by preventing a formation of unequal categories among them, and improved the position of small states in the NATO integrated military structure. While small states have generally considered the US leadership to be in their interests, the "directorates" have been more problematic from their viewpoint. The informal channels of big states decrease NATO's importance as a multilateral consultation arena and threaten to make it a forum for accepting pre-made decisions.[1]

US leadership and the groups of big states have not prevented the small states from having influence within NATO. During the Cold War, Denmark and Norway had an influence on shaping the conditions of their own membership and, in some cases, on common NATO policies. The Scandinavian Allies managed to set three kinds of conditions for their membership: they did not accept nuclear weapons or permanent Allied troops on their territories in peacetime, and they did not allow NATO exercises on certain parts of their territories. When the NATO integrated military structure was being built, Denmark and Norway managed to ensure that a separate Northern command was created, and that the leading member states of the Alliance were organizationally committed to its defense.

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[1] It is worth noting that there have been decisions pre-made by the big member states also in the EU. President Halonen noted in an interview after the Nice Summit that there seems to be a tendency for deeper cooperation between the big EU members particularly in preparing security political decision-making. President Halonen's interview in *Kansan Uutiset* 15.12.2000.

The role of Denmark and Norway in NATO grew in the late 1960s when the Alliance adopted security tasks broader than military defense. An important achievement was "The Harmel report" of 1967, which defined détente as NATO's second main task in addition to defense. The formula of the Harmel report was based on a Danish-Norwegian draft. In 1966-67, there were also some structural reforms which ended up improving the position of small member states. The Standing Group of the three big powers was replaced by an Integrated Military Staff open to all Allies, and the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG), which brought nuclear questions to the multilateral NATO arena, was established.

During the Cold War, decisions on military strategy and early enlargement rounds were dominated by the US and the big European Allies. On the question of Greek and Turkish membership (1952) and on the adoption of the nuclear strategy (1957), Denmark and Norway made it clear that they were opposed and tried to prevent or postpone the decisions. Ultimately, the Scandinavian Allies, however, came to accept the NATO mainstream position in these questions. This can be regarded as the typical low-profile policy of small states, which includes accommodation, cooperativeness and an effort to avoid conflict.[2]

Denmark and Norway supported the second enlargement decision (German membership 1955), but were not involved in its preparation, which took place partly outside the NATO framework. The replacement of the doctrine of massive retaliation with that of flexible response was supported by both Scandinavian Allies, but the key compromises concerning the new strategy were made in an informal group of big states.

The Double Track Decision on Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) witnessed a new role for Denmark and Norway. They accepted the actual Double Track Decision – albeit only after a failed attempt by Denmark to postpone it – but complicated its implementation in the early 1980s together with other small states.

The end of the Cold War increased the freedom of action for small NATO members. The Alliance's agenda has been broadened, which in turn has opened up new opportunities of influence and new niches of activism for small Allies. While the Danish and Norwegian policies during the Cold War were mostly aimed at influencing the issues already on NATO's agenda, the countries have been more involved also in

[2] The key for a small state is to strike the right balance: too cooperative a strategy may decrease the influence of the small state because its support is taken for granted. Too much opposition and blocking of decisions irritates the other Allies and decreases the small state's chances of garnering support for its own initiatives in the future.

setting the agenda after the Cold War. The most important example is the Danish success in keeping the Baltic membership on NATO's agenda.

Denmark has managed to have an impact on several aspects of the enlargement process and on the development of the PfP program. The country has played a key role, in fact, particularly with regard to the integration of the Baltic states into NATO structures. An important step in improving their membership prospects was the Madrid Summit of 1997. The Madrid Communiqué specifically mentions "the states in the Baltic region", which was to a large degree a Danish achievement. While Norway has adopted a lower profile in the enlargement issue, it has contributed to the cooperation between NATO and Russia.

At the same time, the familiar elements from the Cold War era have continued. US leadership in NATO has also prevailed since the Cold War. The US, together with Germany, played the key role in putting the enlargement issue on NATO's agenda, and it decided on the number of new members. The military aspects of Operation Allied Force were controlled by the US, even though the decision to intervene was made unanimously in the NAC. Some of the key decisions in the Balkan conflicts have been made in big-state groupings (e.g. the Contact Group), which has provoked concerns in some small states.

The transformed post-Cold War NATO has approached the traditional Nordic foreign policy values, such as cooperative security, openness and inclusiveness. The responses of Denmark and Norway have been different. While the "new NATO" is one of the most important foreign policy instruments for Denmark, for Norway it has been above all an organization of collective defense. Denmark's geo-strategic position was remarkably improved after the Cold War, and its freedom of action in security policy has increased. However, the Danish activism of the 1990s was due not only to geo-strategic reasons, but also to political willingness to seize the windows of opportunity.

Denmark's membership strategy after the Cold War has very strongly emphasized influence – it has been an active and enthusiastic promoter of NATO's new tasks. Norway's membership strategy since the Cold War has involved elements of both autonomy and influence. The former has been seen in the Norwegian effort to maintain the primacy of NATO's core task of collective defense; the latter in the significant contribution to NATO's peacekeeping operations in the Balkans and in active participation in the PfP program. Since the late 1990s, there have been signs of a shifting emphasis in the Norwegian policy. The ongoing reforms of the armed forces aim at improving Norway's capability to participate in NATO's new tasks. It is worth noting that Norway has lifted its profile in NATO after September 11 by actively supporting

NATO's transformation and by contributing troops to the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

Both Denmark and Norway have followed very "Atlanticist" policies. It is perceived in Denmark that close relations with the US help the country to play an influential role. Norway has also continued the Atlantic orientation for which it is well known. The need to stress the Atlantic element is made more urgent by the Danish opt-out from the EU's defense policy and the fact that Norway did not join the EU together with Finland and Sweden.

The Czech Republic and Hungary joined a very different kind of NATO and in very different circumstances compared to the Scandinavian founding members. NATO membership was above all about security for Denmark and Norway – for the Czech Republic and Hungary it involved considerations not only of security but also of influence and identity. In contrast to the Scandinavian Allies, the first post-Cold War members did not try to restrict their membership. Instead, they stressed full and rapid integration into all NATO structures. Setting conditions on NATO membership would be more difficult today: there is a big group of eager NATO aspirants, and there is a structured and systematic enlargement process in place, embodied in the PfP and MAP.

While they were aspirants, the Czech Republic and Hungary, along with Poland, served as an impetus for enlargement and managed to increase support for it in NATO countries. However, they had no influence on the timetable and conditions of their membership. Since becoming members in March 1999, the Czech Republic and Hungary have tried to dispel the fears of enlargement opponents, get rid of the "new member" tag, and complete their integration into NATO structures. The biggest challenge for both is to complete the reform of their armed forces – otherwise they risk becoming militarily second-class members.

The Kosovo crisis – which started less than two weeks after the new members had joined the Alliance – was a key event which shaped their membership experiences. On the one hand, it made the new member states feel equal to the old Allies since they also bore responsibility for the solution to the conflict. On the other hand, the role they played (especially that of the Czech Republic) was not satisfactory from NATO's viewpoint.

The Czech Republic and Hungary plan to improve their military contribution to NATO by focusing on certain niche capabilities which are important to the Alliance's operations. The Czech Republic aims at focusing on protection against NBC weapons

and the development of passive surveillance systems. Hungary will focus on technical unit (engineer), military medicine and protection against NBC weapons.[3]

So far the Czech Republic and Hungary have had more political importance for NATO than military importance. Their influence within the Alliance is related to further enlargement and the development of the PfP program, since they are currently the only Allies having experience of both. Regarding the former, they have supported their neighbors' goal of joining the Alliance by e.g. establishing NATO-compatible military units with them. For Hungary, a specific asset is its location next to the former Yugoslavia and its expertise on the region. In common with the Scandinavian countries, the Czech Republic and Hungary have adopted very Atlanticist membership strategies. A central aspect in their foreign policies is to strengthen the trans-Atlantic link.

6.2 The Means of Influence for Small States Within Nato

The important **strategic location** of Denmark and Norway in the Cold War context helped them to set conditions on their membership. Restrictions on membership were a special measure considering the tense international situation and the fact that it was not employed by the other Allies (at least to the same degree). Denmark was in the key position as a "cork" to the Baltic Sea and because it possessed Greenland. The "Greenland card" was skillfully played by the Danish decision-makers to increase their negotiation position vis-à-vis the US. In the late 1950s, the Danish decision-makers often emphasized that the US air bases in Greenland must be taken into account when making an overall assessment of Denmark's contribution to NATO, which was seen as a veiled threat by the US decision-makers.[4]

Norway was obviously important to NATO due to its border with the Soviet Union, and as a key to controlling the sea lines of communication over the Atlantic. Early in the Cold War the Norwegian negotiation position vis-à-vis the US was also improved because it was considered that the Norwegians had an influence on Denmark and

[3] "Hungarian Defence Ministry vows not to shoulder excessive NATO commitments", *Hoover's Online* 10.8.2002. hoovnews.hoovers.com.

[4] Poul Villaume, Allied with Reservations: Denmark, NATO, and the Cold War. A Study of Danish National Security Policy, 1949-1961 (English Summary). (Eirene: Copenhagen, 1995), p. 876.

Iceland.[5] When the Soviet military build-up in the Kola region increased in the 1970s, Norway's location became even more important.

Later on, the Danish and Norwegian nuclear restrictions were accepted by the other Allies because the non-nuclear status of these countries had come to be regarded by the other Allies as an accepted part of the equilibrium in Northern Europe, and more generally of the European order.[7]

It has been interpreted in Denmark that its important strategic location and possession of Greenland allowed it more freedom in defense spending; Denmark had a "discount" on defense spending thanks to Greenland.[8] At the 1978 Summit in Washington, the Allies decided that they would increase their defense budgets by 3% of net growth yearly. Denmark submitted a formal reservation to this decision, provoking accusations of freeloading by the other Allies (especially the US).

A country's use of its important strategic location to increase its bargaining power is a means identified in the classical variant of Realism (see 1.3): the bargaining power of small allies in a bipolar world increases when they control resources needed by the superpowers. There is an interesting paradox related to the ability of small states to set conditions on their membership. They had more influence when they joined in a Realist context (i.e. during the early Cold War). After all, it is assumed in Realism that the influence of small states is marginal.[9]

In the post-Cold War environment, small NATO members have also played the "strategic card". While still an aspirant state, some Hungarian officials gave the impression that allowing NATO bases in Hungary would be an important contribution which would allow the country to postpone purchases of new systems and army reforms.[10] In order to improve their membership prospects, the Southern European NATO candidates (Bulgaria and Romania) have appealed to their important location

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[5] Rolf Tamnes, The United States and the Cold War in the High North (Ad Notam: Oslo, 1991), p. 65.

[6] Rolf Tamnes, The United States and the Cold War in the High North (Ad Notam: Oslo, 1991), p. 65.

[7] Johan Jørgen Holst, "Lilliputs and Gulliver: Small States in a Great-Power Alliance" in Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa, NJ, 1985), p. 270.

[8] "Faerøerne ikke vigtig for NATO", Prof. Ole Weaver's interview, *Politiken* 15.6.2000. www.politiken.dk.

[9] However, the classical Realists recognize that in certain conditions small states can play a proportionally big role. The Scandinavian membership restrictions were one of the cases where the conditions were fulfilled.

[10] Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty*. The Washington Papers (Praeger: Westport, 1998), pp. 124-125.

and to their assistance to NATO during the Kosovo crisis. Romania and Bulgaria have assisted the US also in the Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and offered bases to be used in a possible attack against Iraq.[11] Bulgaria and Romania seem to have benefited from playing the strategic card: they are very likely to receive a membership invitation at the Prague Summit, even though they have problems in fulfilling NATO's political criteria.[12]

Since NATO is an Alliance of democracies, Liberal means of influence have also proved effective. One of them is **appealing to domestic pressures and constraints** (see 1.3). Denmark and Norway played the "domestic card" several times during the Cold War. To counter the constant criticism of its low defense spending, Denmark replied that additional spending would nurture anti-NATO and neutralistic attitudes in the country.[13] According to the Norwegian decision-makers, Norway was entitled to have the special restrictions on its membership because it was a "special case" – not only was it located next to the eastern superpower but public opinion in the country was critical.[14]

The domestic card was also played by the Scandinavian Allies in NATO's internal discussions on Greek and Turkish membership in the early 1950s – though without

[11] Romania and Bulgaria have allowed the US to use their airspace, bases and ports, and both countries have troops in Afghanistan. See e.g. "Black Sea: new focus of NATO expansion", *International Herald Tribune* 26.3.2002; "Romania helpful in war against terrorism: US expert", Rompres 28.6.2002. NEDB 28.6.2002.

[12] Another factor is significant military contribution. It is a well-known fact that small states are weakest when measured by traditional indicators of power, such as military capability. However, small states may be useful in developing a special capability for which there is demand in NATO. The Netherlands is an example of a smaller Ally which has managed to increase its influence in NATO by profiling itself as an active and competent contributor to NATO's operations. In Operation Allied Force, the Dutch air force was among the first NATO aircraft to enter Serbian airspace. The Dutch took part in the most important and difficult sorties, also night-time, and flew 5 % of all combat sorties – a number equalling the British contribution. The Netherlands has currently (October 2002) over 2200 troops on foreign deployment, 820 troops in operations related to the international fight against terrorism. ("Dutch participation in international operations abroad". The Dutch Ministry of Defence. www.mindef.nl:30280/nieuws/media/170701_dailynews.html; "How Dutch F-16Ams shot down a Mig-29", *Jane's Kosovo Crisis index* 1.4.1999). The Dutch have also held important lead positions in NATO operations, such as command responsibility for NATO's Operation Amber Fox in Macedonia since June. The Netherlands, together with Germany, is likely to take responsibility for commanding the ISAF operation in Afghanistan in December.

[13] Poul Villaume, "Denmark and NATO through 50 Years", p. 33.

[14] Rolf Tamnes, "Integration and Screening: The Two Faces of Norwegian Alliance Policy, 1945-1986" in *Forsvars Studier – Defence Studies VI 1987. Årbok for Forsvarshistorisk forskningssenter, Forsvarets høgskole* (TANO: Oslo, 1987), p. 72.

success. The Danish Prime Minister argued that the majority of Danes supported NATO as a political alliance, not as a military alliance – the membership of Greece and Turkey would strengthen the latter view and thereby endanger the ratification of the enlargement in the Danish Folketing.[15] When campaigning for NATO and EU membership, the leaders of Central and Eastern European countries appealed to domestic pressures – to the frustration of their citizens if the reforms and sacrifices did not bring results.

An example of **skillful argumentation** is *an appeal to NATO's fundamental values as an alliance of democracies*. Appealing to the values underpinning NATO is a typical Liberal means of influence used both during and after the Cold War by several small Allies. In the Cold War era, it was used by Denmark and Norway when opposing Greek and Turkish membership. The Scandinavian Allies stressed NATO's character as an organization of democracies and pointed out that Greece and Turkey were not like-minded states.

When campaigning for NATO membership, the Czech Republic and Hungary appealed to the fundamental values of the Euro-Atlantic liberal community and presented themselves as a natural part of that community. To some extent, the leaders of the US and Germany – the key players in the first post-Cold War enlargement round – were responsive to these arguments.[16]

The Danes have promoted the inclusion of the Baltic states in NATO by, for instance, referring to NATO as a value community of democracies and by stressing every democracy's right to join NATO. The logic of this argument perpetuates the enlargement process; NATO's door cannot be closed as long as there are democratic countries outside. Frank Schimmelfennig has noted that the public commitment to the moral aspects of enlargement in the first round makes it difficult for the supporters of the first round not to support further enlargement – even though their motivation for the first enlargement round might have been selfish.[17]

Another example of skillful argumentation in Denmark's support of the Baltic states' membership aspirations is to *stress a merit-based approach to the selection of new members*. This is an efficient means, since merits are the best justification for Baltic membership. The Balkan candidates can refer to the importance of their location to NATO's opera-

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[15] Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement during the Cold War: Strategy and System in the Western Alliance (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p. 85.

[16] Frank Schimmelfennig, *NATO's Enlargement to the East: An Analysis of Collective Decision-making* (EAPC-NATO Individual Fellowship Report 1998-2000), pp. 22-24, 37, 50.

[17] Frank Schimmelfennig, NATO's Enlargement to the East: An Analysis of Collective Decision-making, p. 47.

tions in the Balkans and to the aid they gave NATO in the Kosovo conflict. Denmark has been vocal in keeping up the official NATO position that all interested European democracies should have the same opportunities to join NATO regardless of their history or geography.[18] The Danes were active in the establishment of the MAP process, which gives NATO a means to evaluate the candidate countries' progress.

A relevant means of influence is **activism and the proposing of initiatives**. The activism of small states in the Cold War NATO was limited by the fact that they needed NATO for security protection, and possible efforts for activism were conducted in other international organizations. Moreover, NATO's agenda was much more limited than it is now. Still, there are examples of small-state activism in NATO even during the Cold War. For example, in the 1960s, Denmark and Norway took an active part in NATO discussions and managed to have their voice heard in drafting the Harmel report.

Particularly since the Cold War, activism is required from any small country which wants to have influence within NATO. In contrast to the Cold War circumstances, the control of an important resource needed by leading NATO members is not enough. A good example of post-Cold War activism in NATO is Denmark, especially its efforts to promote Baltic membership. Danish activism has taken place at different levels: bilateral relations, the framework of the PfP program, and internal NATO discussions.

Means of influence deriving from NATO's decision-making system are **capable representatives** in different NATO councils, securing **high NATO posts** for a citizen of one's own country and skillful **coalition-building**. Since representatives of small member states seldom present an initiative without prior consultation, an ability to align with like-minded states and persuade those opposing is of great importance. Coalitions are not only built among different member states, but coalition-building can take place at the level of representatives of governmental sub-units of different

[18] In 1994 and 1997, the Folketing passed a resolution in which it asked the Danish government to make sure that the Baltic states have the same chances of joining NATO as the Central and European countries. (Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997: Blessings of Liberty*, p. 110). In April 1997 – when NATO was negotiating on the basic treaty with Russia – Denmark emphasized that NATO enlargement does not depend on the agreement (Statement by Minister of Foreign Affairs Niels Helveg Petersen, "NATO Enlargement and European Security Architecture". DUPI/USIS Conference "The Enlargement of NATO". 11.4.1997. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 1998 (DUPI)*, p. 114). It depends on the aspirant states' ability to fulfill the membership criteria. In spring 2001, Denmark publicly opposed any deals about connecting the US missile defense plan and the Baltic membership of NATO ("Lykketoft advarer mod politisk studehandel om Baltikum", *Berlingske Tidende* 6.3.2001. www.berlingske.dk).

countries. These "transgovernmental" coalitions aim at influencing public opinion in the leading country of the Alliance.[19]

In the INF dispute, Danish and Norwegian Social Democrats relied on transnational coalition-building. Through the Scandilux mechanism, the Social Democratic parties of different countries influenced each other and national decision-making. A more recent example is the campaign for NATO membership by Central and Eastern European countries. The American Poles were an important interest group lobbying for Polish NATO membership within the American decision-making system.

In some cases, it may be possible to turn weakness into strength by using **smallness as a means of influence**. In the dispute on INF deployment in the early 1980s, it was probably easier for small states to avoid clear commitments than it was for big countries such as Italy, Germany and the UK. The small deploying countries (Belgium and the Netherlands) postponed and complicated the deployment due to domestic problems. [20]

In the post-Cold War era, Denmark has managed to benefit from its smallness in promoting the cause of the Baltic states. According to Ann-Sofie Dahl, Denmark has played such a role in the Baltic Sea Region that could not have been played by the bigger member states with the same credibility or without political problems.[21] In the words of Bertel Heurlin, "Denmark … is attempting to enter in an activist way the international scene in some way acting as a great power by using its smallness as a vehicle. Nobody will accuse this small state of imperialism or megalomania".[22]

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[19]Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies: The European Influence on US Foreign Policy* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1995), pp. 36-39.

[20] Josef Joffe, "The 'Scandilux' Connection: Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway in Comparative Perspective" in Gregory Flynn (ed.), *NATO's Northern Allies. The National Security Policies of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway* (Rowman & Allanheld: Totowa, NJ, 1985), p. 254.

[21] Ann-Sofie Dahl, *Svenskarna och NATO* (Elanders Gotab: Stockholm, 1999), p. 222.

[22] Bertel Heurlin, "Actual and future Danish defence and security policy" in Gunnar Artéus & Atis Lejins, *Baltic Security: Looking towards the 21th century* (LIIA & Försvarshögskolan: Riga, 1997), p. 80.

6.3 Implications for the Finnish NATO Debate

Membership of NATO is a multi-dimensional question – it involves considerations related to security, influence and identity.[23] Influence is becoming an increasingly important dimension in the Finnish NATO debate. NATO is no longer a traditional military alliance, but one of the two key pillars of the European security system. There are important questions on the NATO table, many of which influence Finland in any case: enlargement, cooperation arrangements between the EU and NATO, Russia-NATO relations, transatlantic relations, US missile defense etc. After the Baltic states join NATO – they are likely to get an invitation at the Prague Summit – there will be more issues dealing with Finland's immediate security environment on the NATO table.[24]

As a NATO member, Finland would have a voice in these decisions. It would be one of the smaller members of the Alliance, but it would take part in the decisions and have an impact through activism, skillful argumentation and coalition building. As a PfP country, Finland only takes part in decision shaping on questions connected to the PfP program and its development. The possibilities of influence for the PfP countries were increased by the decisions taken at the Washington Summit, and Finland's views as an active and reliable Partner are listened to. Still, the influence of PfP countries in NATO is limited. In the final analysis, it is NATO states that define the scope and limits of partnership.

With regard to possible problems deriving from NATO membership, as a NATO member Finland would also have to take a stand in some difficult issues that it has tried to avoid. An example is NATO enlargement to the Baltic states – until the autumn of 2001 Finland had no clear position on it.[25] As a non-member, Finland has no formal say in the matter. However, as one of the countries in the region it would be natural for it to take a stand. The careful attitude and the reluctance to take a clear stand led to confusion abroad on what Finland's position actually is.[26] Secondly, decision-making in NATO – as in other international institutions – is full of compromises.

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[23] Tuomas Forsberg, "Turvaa, valtaa sekä kunniaa? Suomen Nato-keskustelun kolme tasoa" [Security, power and honor? The three levels of the Finnish NATO debate], *Ydin* 2/99.

[24] Pentti Sadeniemi, "Itämeren alue ja Nato" [The Baltic Region and NATO] *Helsingin Sanomat* 12.6. 2001.

[25] See Chapter 1, footnote 27.

[26] E.g. President Halonen's interview in the German *Der Spiegel* magazine in April 2001 irritated the Balts and also created confusion in Western countries on what Finland's view is. After the interview, Finnish decision-makers had to correct misunderstandings to e.g. the Baltic leaders.

As a NATO member, Finland would at times have to accept decisions, which it did not originally support.

Thirdly, Finland would become an inseparable part of the US-led community whose actions are not legitimate from the viewpoint of all actors in the international arena. However, it is valid to argue that through its EU membership Finland is closely linked to NATO and already part of the Euro-Atlantic community (though without a full voice). The Euro-Atlantic community will become institutionally more overlapping in the future, as most of the EU candidates are also applying for NATO membership or are already NATO members.

The widespread fear that Finland would be drawn into operations against its will as a NATO member has no foundation. NATO has no supranational powers; every Ally takes the decision on its participation in a possible operation at the national level. The events of September 11th, 2001demonstrated that each Ally is free to decide about the nature and scope of its response.[27]

While the North Atlantic Treaty obligation of collective defense applies only to the territory of member states, participation in out-of-area operations is voluntary and member states decide about it according to their constitution.[28] Different levels of participation are tolerated in NATO. In the Kosovo crisis, restrictions to a state's participation were due not only to technical incapability but also to political considerations (new member states, Greece). The pressure not to use veto may be hard, but an opt-out from the implementation of the decision is possible (Greece in the Kosovo crisis). At the same time it is worth remembering that solidarity among the member states requires that each Ally contributes in one way or another.

The membership experiences of Norway, Denmark, the Czech Republic and Hungary indicate that NATO membership involves two types of influence: general and country-specific. First, the member states are able to participate in the most important decisions on European security. Secondly, they are able to influence their own security environment with the help of their NATO membership. These observations pose a challenge to the militarily non-aligned EU members. While NATO membership used to be about national security, it is now also about the country's influence and position in European politics.

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[27] Even in a "classic" Article Five case, there would be no automatics. The member states earmark troops to NATO during peacetime, but they are only transferred to NATO after a national decision, if a positive decision about participation is made.

[28] The Alliance's Strategic Concept. Approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. on 23 and 24 April 1999. Part 31.

In Finland's case, NATO membership would also be connected to the country's position in the EU. In EU crisis-management decision-making, countries belonging to both the EU and NATO have the best chances of influence. There are already examples where the principle of mutual equality of EU member states has not been realized in real life.[29] The non-NATO EU members risk a second-class status in EU crisis-management decision-making.[30]

Finland's country-specific role as a NATO member could be similar to its role in the EU where it has benefited from its expertise on Russia. According to the 2001 defense white paper, "Finland has a key role in influencing the implementation of the EU's Common Strategy on Russia".[31] According to several analysts, a natural role for Finland as a NATO member would be to develop NATO's cooperation with Russia.[32]

Finland would have the same resources with which Denmark acquired its influence in NATO in the 1990s: a capacity for constructive initiatives and activism proved in the EU, competent political and military representatives and good relations to the US.[33] At the same time, Finland would share some of the restrictions which have limited Norwegian activism in, for instance, promoting the Baltic states' NATO membership.[34]

The thing that differentiates Finland from Denmark and Norway the most - and also from Hungary and the Czech Republic – is the low public support for NATO membership. According to an opinion poll conducted in the summer of 2002, only 20% of Finns support NATO membership.[35] For example, in 1999, more than 80% of the

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[29] See pp. 5-6.

[30] Tomas Ries, "Finland: The Case for NATO" in Pekka Sivonen (ed.), *Security-Political Prospects in Northern Europe at the Beginning of the Millennium*. National Defence College, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies: Helsinki, 2000).

[31] *The Finnish Security and Defense Policy 2001*, Report by the Council of State to Parliament on 13 June 2001, p. 42. http://www.vn.fi/plm/report.htm.

[32] See e.g. a comment by Pavel Baev in Tapani Vaahtoranta & Riku Warjovaara (eds.), *NATO's Northern Dimension* (Edita: Helsinki, 1997), pp. 95-97.

[33] Regarding the good relations with the US, there have been some questions about Finland's role in the war against terrorism. See e.g. Risto Volanen, "Suomi piti matalaa profiilia terrorismikeskustelussa" [Finland kept a low profile in the terrorism debate]. *Helsingin Sanomat* 21.1.2002.

[34] However, there are important developments going on in this respect. If the NATO-Russia relations continue to get closer, the restrictions become less and less valid.

[35] "Natosta halutaan kansanäänestys" [Finns want a referendum on NATO membership], *Finnish Broadcasting Company news* 30.6.2002. www.yle.fi/uutiset. The support has been even lower. In a poll conducted in late September and early October 2001, only 16% of Finns supported membership. "Suomalaiset eivät halua Natoon" [The Finns do not want to join NATO], *Finnish Broadcasting Company*

Danes – more than ever before – supported Denmark's NATO membership.[36] Sufficient public support is not only a criterion for NATO membership, but also a requirement for a small state's influential role within NATO.[37] At the same, it is important to note that public support for membership is unlikely to increase unless there is a serious debate on the merits and downsides of NATO membership in the new security environment among the key politicians.

Would NATO membership be necessary for Finland for reasons of influence? The answer depends on how one sees the position of a small state in the post-Cold War international system. Is it wisest to have an individual package – tailor-made from elements of integration and opt-out? Or would it be best to integrate as widely and deeply as possible into all international institutions consisting of like-minded states? Regarding the EU, Finland has followed a policy of active participation – regarding NATO, it is only mid-way.

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news 21.10.2001. www.yle.fi/uutiset. The terrorist attacks and the US war on terrorism resulted in a decreasing public support for membership. Before the crisis, the figure was around 20%. The Kosovo crisis had a similar effect – before the Kosovo crisis the support was around 30%.

[36] "Danish membership of NATO" (The Gallup Research Institute). *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2000*, p. 247.

[37] NATO member states expect all main parties in the candidate country and public opinion to support membership. For example, in the MAP review of April 2001, Slovakia was criticized for low public support (50%). It is, of course, possible that this criterion would not be applied so strictly to an EU member.

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