A. Euro Atlantic Area

Ondrejcsák, Róbert: *US policies towards Russia in the light of war in Ukraine: From engaging a "cooperative power" to defensive containment of regional "challenger"*

The Ukrainian-Russian conflict, which erupted in the spring 2014, was defined as a game changer not only for European security architecture and NATO itself, but also as for the US foreign policy in the regional context. Russia, being one of the focus points of Barack Obama´s "change" – with so-called "reset" of bilateral relations – was defined as a "cooperative power." According to that concept the United States made endeavours to incorporate Russia to the US-led international system, also by offering unilateral withdrawal from political, economic and also military positions. While the "reset" did not bring watershed-like progress or change in Russian-American relations, on the contrary, the US administration kept the bilateral relations with Russia in "low profile" in comparison to the Asia-Pacific, not to mention the focus on "building strong America at home." The eruption of crisis and later open military conflict in Eastern Europe turned the American attention towards Russia, but with significant limits. First, it will not slow the "rebalancing" towards Asia-Pacific; second, the US engagement in Europe, in general, militarily and politically, remains limited, but with important regional, intra-European rebalance towards the East; third, the US will not take active lead to reverse Russian gains, but will focus on defensive "containment" of Russia, in order to limit its further military, strategic or territorial gains. A major strategic shift could appear only if Russia will decide to destroy the Ukrainian statehood and threaten the Eastern flank of the Atlantic Alliance, which has a potential to rewrite strategic map not only regionally but also on a global scale.

Vasilievich, Hana: *Eastern Partnership initiative: 5 years results and future perspectives?*

After 5 years of implementing the Eastern Partnership (EaP) initiative, its initial leader Ukraine declined to sign the Association Agreement during the Vilnius Summit in November 2013. The following escalation of the political situation in Ukraine undermined the purpose of the EaP initiative, putting a question mark on the effectiveness of the current framework for the EU relations with its Eastern neighbours and the EaP attractiveness for the targeted countries.

The situation in Moldova has not attracted that much international attention yet, however, there is a big question mark on the further actions of the Transnistrian unrecognized government (so far claiming to introduce Russian legislation on its territory) vis-à-vis Moldova's plans to continue the country's European integration policy and signing the Association Agreement with the EU. Further steps from the Moldovan government may lead to an escalation of a frozen conflict and will also involve the issue of minorities residing in Transnistria and Gagauzia.

Other EaP countries remained in the shadow of Ukrainian events, however each of them requires a special approach and attention, as a one-size-fits-all policy has proven not to work for this region and the EU's capacity for influence within its neighbourhood remains limited.

Čižik, Tomáš: *Asymmetric warfare and its impact on the military presence of the United States in Afghanistan*

After the 13 years in Afghanistan, the end of the ISAF mission is coming to an end. The military presence of the United States and coalition forces in Afghanistan was deeply influenced by the asymmetric warfare. The article explains how asymmetry influences the particular elements of the military presence of the United States – strategy, tactics, technology, casualties and collateral damage and withdrawal. Where are the limits of military power of the United States in asymmetric warfare?

Tesari, Paola: *Civil-military cooperation within NATO and the EU: theoretical framework and possible prospects*

Over the last 20 years, the international community has been experiencing a growing differentiation of crisis accompanied by a transformation of the concept of security. In fact, threats ranging from internal clashes to natural disasters resulted in the need to rethink and adapt the means to properly respond to such emergency situations. As a consequence, cooperation and coordination between a plurality of actors has become a priority. In this framework, the concept of Civilian and Military Cooperation (CIMIC) emerged. This term refers to the management of the contacts and relationship between the different actors, military and civil, involved in crisis response. The paper analyzes the CIMIC doctrine, starting from its first elaboration to see how it developed within the framework of the major international actors and what it implies in practice . It provides a general overview of the emergence of the concept, and analyses two different approaches to CIMIC, NATO and EU's, two organizations which established their own policy on civil-military relationships but which inevitably find themselves working together on a number of occasions.

Kříž, Zdeněk: *The adaptation of the German military after the end of the Cold War: From territorial defence to expeditionary military*

After the end of the Cold War, German security policy underwent changes, responding to new parameters of the international security environment and changing priorities of the German society. The most crucial change that differentiates today's German security policy from the policy adopted in the period of the Cold War is an extensive use of the Bundeswehr in expeditionary operations and its gradual adjustment to the needs resulting from such a policy. In the course of the German military transformation new security threats started to be accentuated. The shift in defining Bundeswehr's main missions was reflected in the change of its size, structure, and equipment of the forces. Germany was also to abolish compulsory military service. However, the main vision of the soldier as a citizen of state in uniform remains untouched. In sum, the main trends in the reform of the German military are similar to other Western militaries. Nevertheless, its implementation was slower than was the case in other NATO countries.

Garić, Mario: *Foreign Policy Characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) after the Dayton Agreement: The analysis of BiH's voting practices in the United Nations (UN)*

This paper examines the main characteristics and difficulties in the formulation of BiH's foreign policy. The main objective is to define constitutional and legislative foundations on which Bosnian foreign policy rests and to identify whether the implementation in practical terms reflects the framework set by the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (DPA). The paper argues that BiH's foreign policy is dysfunctional, due to fundamental differences among representatives of constituent ethnic groups and inadequate constitutional provisions, which defined the framework for the formulation of the foreign policy. The cases, on which this is determined, are BiH's activities in the United Nations (UN), especially voting practices on most important resolutions adopted by General Assembly/ Security Council of United Nations. Based on these cases the study concludes that due to constitutional arrangements and divergent standpoints among representatives of the three constitutive nations, the implementation of BiH's foreign policy proved to be incoherent and dysfunctional.

B. **East and South East Europe**

Wojtowicz, Natalia: *Strategic significance of the Crimean annexation*

The article presents the strategic significance of the Crimean annexation by Russian Federation. It describes the elements of regional rivalry in the central-eastern Europe vis-a-vis the partner countries of NATO, consisting of diplomatic, economic and military means. In order to assess

the significance of the Crimean annexation the paper outlines its geopolitical connotations. The analysis involves the long-tem policy of the Russian decision-makers and the mechanisms of response from the Euro-Atlantic alliance. Finally, the article offers the summary of the consequences of destabilization of the post-Soviet region. The report indicates the necessity to revise the NATO strategy towards the Russian Federation's military planning process regarding local crises.

Yakovenko, Kateryna: *Ukrainian national identity: Challenges and the evolution in the context of Euromaidan and the Eastern conflict*

Ukraine is a big multinational state with a complicated history. Yet, the generally accepted claim that multinational states are in danger of suffering from ethnic conflicts seemed completely absent in the country until the years of 2013 - 2014. During that period, Dnepr seemed to divide not only Kiev, but the preferences of the Ukrainians as to where they belong in terms of nation and identity. The high level of aggression has led to murders among the civil population during the demonstrations against then-president Yanukovych and his power apparatus. The conflict in the East of Ukraine in 2014 also showed the cleavage present among the Ukrainians, as the pro-European West and partially pro-Russian-East seemed to fight against each other. We might claim that that separation was created artificially by "the big Eastern neighbour." However, the very possibility of creating such a division points to the fact that the establishment of the national identity in Ukraine has not developed to a full extent and is not consolidated. The article examines the question of Ukraine's national identity in the light of the events after Vilnius Summit – Euromaidan and the Eastern conflict of 2014. The author argues that incomplete establishment of the national identity was, to a great extent, behind the above-mentioned violent events in Ukraine. At the same time, those events played an utterly important role in the consolidation of the Ukrainians into a separate own nation.

Hlaváček, Petr: *Development of Civil Society under Yanukovych regime in Ukraine and the role of internal and external factors*

The contribution focuses on the problem of development of civil society in Ukraine after the Orange Revolution with emphasis on the Yanukovych presidency during 2010-2013. The state of Ukrainian civil society is evaluated from a comprehensive perspective - with a focus on the "classic" NGOs, their number, types and financing, but also by taking into account other important aspects which influence and form it, such as social capital, theoretical role and impact of non-democratic regime, characteristic of Ukraine's political (hybrid) regime, and last but not least the role of external factors. The development of civil society is an integral part of democratic transition and consolidation, and thus also of broader democracy support policy realized by external actors (international organizations, states, and NGOs). In this context, the text deals with a pro-democratic approach of the EU and its effectiveness in the Ukrainian case, which is debatable in many respects.

Ogryzko, Lesia: *EU - Ukraine energy supplies security*

Ukraine being the largest transit country for hydrocarbons in whole of Europe is undoubtedly the key energy partner of the European Union. This fact predetermines its energy relations with the EU. Hence, energy issues have always been at the top of the agenda in EU-Ukraine relations. Having the objective to ensure efficient, reliable and safe gas supply, it is in the interest of both parties to establish and maintain successful cooperation with each other in the energy sector. This collaboration was reinforced in 2005 with the signing of the EU-Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the field of energy. One of the roadmaps outlined in this Memorandum explicitly deals with the security of energy supplies and the transit of hydrocarbons. This paper intends to evaluate the general success of the EU when it comes to enhancing the security of such supplies and transit through Ukraine through the prism of two variables – effectiveness and consistency of EU´s policy.

Horemuž, Martin: *The present state and perspectives of military reform of Russian Armed Forces*

This contribution discusses the present state, process and direction of military reform in the Russian Federation. The paper's aim is to cover the crucial elements and problems directly connected to the reform. The brief historical introduction describes and evaluates the main outlines of the reform ("non-reform" rather) of the military in the last 20 years, including its basic ideological sources, political (geopolitical), security and economic aspects. The key "impulses" influencing the reform will also be discussed, such as the impact of steps and measures taken during the tenure of the ex-Minister of Defence A. Serdjukov.

The main part of the paper is dedicated to events which, with respect to the military reform as well as the Russian military and security sector in general, took part in the last 12 months. Here the author points out that 2013 was the year of the continuation of the reform started by Serdjukov, which in some cases brought significant revisions and corrections (so-called reform of the reform). The author mentions particularly the changes ("corrections") in the field of military medicine, law (military police) but also in the education of soldiers.

The paper also includes the military-industrial complex as the key segment of the system of economic and material organization of Russian military (in the broader understanding of security) sector. The author points out that in spite of relative sufficiency of financial means there exist several structural problems leading to inefficiencies in the personal, professional and technical quality of some segments of the military-industrial complex.

Zdanavičius, Liudas: *Moscow's policy in the Kaliningrad region: From the projects of the "pilot" cooperation to the creation of the outpost*

This article analyzes the latest trends in Moscow's policy in the Kaliningrad region. It demonstrates clear contradictions between the declared aims of the successful socio-economic development and actual isolationist and militarist policy carried out by Kremlin in this enclave. In the last several years Moscow's attitude has rapidly changed from the cooperative stance towards use of the Kaliningrad region as the tool in its geopolitical game in the region, including more active military force projection in the Baltic Sea region. This trend became particularly visible after the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis in 2014. This article examines balance between these two approaches in the Russian policy towards Kaliningrad region. In this case, the questions of socio-economic development, energy security and militarization of the Kaliningrad region are most important and illustrative.

Shevchuk, Zinaida: *The hybrid nature of "frozen" conflicts in Abkhazia*

By studying the hybrid nature of the armed conflicts in Abkhazia the article seeks to make more explicit distinctions between the issues at stake at each conflict phase - from its outset, to armed and "freeze." The main objective is to provide an assessment of the extent to which ethnicity is merely a convenient common dominator to mobilize ethnic groups in the struggle over resources, land, or power. A case study offers in-depth and direct observations and is an adequate tool to portray the interrelationships between issues at stake and a type of armed conflict under study. The findings of this research illuminate the most significant aspects that have to be addressed in order to achieve resolution of armed conflicts in the future.

Merabishvili, Gela – Kiss, Annamária - Rácz, András: *Development of Georgian Security Policy in the light of strategic documents: Analysis of the National Security Concepts of 2005 and 2011*

The first National Security Concept of Georgia adopted in 2005 reflected the overall optimism and pro-Western orientation of the new government that came to power in 2003 following the "Rose Revolution." However, the lost war against Russian in 2008 has

fundamentally transformed the security perception of the Georgian government, thus the National Security Concept of 2011 pays much more attention to hard security and territorial defense than the previous document did.

The chapter focuses on the developments of the security and defense policy of Georgia in the late 2000s. The first issue to be studied is how the national security perception of the Georgian government changed since the 2003 'Rose Revolution' through the 2008 war and thereafter. The second research question focuses on the perceived institutional guarantees of Georgian national security, thus on the country's prospects of NATO and EU integration.

The methodology used in the analysis is based on the comparison of the Georgian National Security Concepts of 2005 and 2011, by assuming that the documents provide a proper overview of the government's perception of national security. Rather than to compare each sections of the two documents side by side, the authors decided to subject to closer analysis the "five days war" to provide a better insight into how it has changed the security perceptions of Georgia and became the main reference point for the Georgian decision makers in all fields.

C. **Middle East**

Volfová, Gabriela Özel and Valachová, Sára: *Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle East prior to and after the Arab Spring with special focus on Syria*

While it has been a motto of the Turkish ruling Islamist AKP party to pursue a "zero problems" policy with other countries, past years have brought almost nothing but more difficulties to Turkish government. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu decided that Turkey should assume more responsibilities in her region. With AKP at the helm of Turkish politics since 2002, Turkey perceived itself as a regional power with historical and cultural ties dating back to the Ottoman Empire. By combining soft power in the form of diplomatic negotiations between parties in conflict (e.g. Syria and Israel) and the policy of the so-called Neo-Ottomanism, Turkey tried to establish economic and political integration with the region also from a wider regional security perspective. Until the Arab Spring, Turkey has viewed itself as a model for countries of the Middle East in their struggle to combine democracy, economic liberalization and Islam. With the onset of the Arab revolutions, however, Turkey started abandoning the pragmatic "zero problems" policy and found itself in the position when it had to choose between a normative approach in its foreign policy and its own interest. Moreover, the ongoing civil war in Syria, in which Turkey supports the Sunni forces to weaken the Shia-led and Iran-backed Assad regime, puts Turkey in the middle of regional sectarian conflicts. This paper thus aims at critically evaluating Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East prior to and after the Arab Spring with a particular attention on Syria.

Kapusňák, Ján: *Israeli response to the Syrian crisis and new security environment on the Israel-Syria border*

In the third year of its bloody civil war, Syria continues to implode, despite some progress in the ability of the regime to combat the rebels. The crisis in Syria has created an acute humanitarian problem for neighbouring countries except of Israel. For Israel, which considered Syria as its most bitter Arab enemy, the positive aspect of the protracted Syria civil war and the attrition of the Syrian army is the weakened conventional threat on the northern and north-eastern fronts. However, the effective disintegration of the Syrian state poses new security threats in the north of Israel. Nowadays, Syria has become a base of activity for global jihad groups against Assad regime and its supporters, particularly Hezbollah and Iranian Revolutionary Guards. The main jihad networks active in Syria are Jabhat al-Nusra and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Hezbollah and global jihad entities operating in Syria were generally not active against Israel,

except for isolated rocket fire in August 2013, but the situation is changing. Since early March 2014, there have been three violent incidents on Israel's border with Syria (Golan Heights). The Israel-Syria border is now an active conflict zone once again. This article analyses Israeli dilemma regarding its preferred outcome of the Syrian civil war and describes Israeli response to the Syrian crisis, such as building a security fence, establishing a new division and military operations against strategic weapons in Syria.

Besenyő, János and Gömöri, Roland: *Christians in Syria and the civil war*

Syria is one of the last remnants of the events that are still in motion in the Middle Eastern region after the so-called "Arab Spring." The civil war in the country has been going on for already three years, leaving the Christian population especially vulnerable. Moreover, in contrast to other religious groups, Syrian Christians are not committed to either side, and thus, being divided between government and opposition, they suffer negative repercussions from both parties. In addition, the Christian populace is focused in the main conflict zones in Syria, which increases their vulnerability.

The authors focus on the Christian community of Syria. After a summary of the historical background leading up to today's events, the paper examines the circumstances of Syrian Christians, as well as the overall effects of the "Arab Spring" on their conditions. Afterwards, the authors provide an overview of the possible outcomes of the Civil War, focusing on the influence of these scenarios on the situation of Syrian Christians. The problem of Syrian migration is also discussed: both as a regional issue with potential spill-over effects, and in terms of a security risk for Central Europe, including Hungary.

Drotár, Matej: *The Palestinian Unity Government: Repercussions for the Middle Eastern peace process*

The deal about a unity government between Fatah and Hamas announced on April 23th,

2014 was another attempt in a series of reconciliation efforts between the two most influential Palestinian factions since the schism of 2006. Whilst cooperation and dialogue might seem as blessing every time they occur, détente between these two bitter rivals should be viewed with utmost vigilance. Indeed, coming to terms with an organisation that remains committed to avoiding the Quartet Principles, aspired to be a fatal blow for Mahmoud Abbas in the long run, let alone for the Middle Eastern Peace Process that has been on hiatus mode ever since the deal was sworn in. The question is what the unity government deal will finally mean in the social, political, and security domains of the Palestinians as well as what consequences it will have for Israel's security and the Middle Eastern Peace Process in general. Given the precarious situation in the Gaza Strip after the launching of Operation Protective Edge by Israel, this agreement proved it had all the potential to be another missed opportunity. The latest developments foreshadow many scenarios, but almost certainly hold no bright prospect for the unity deal, let alone a genuine peace.

Moreira Leite de Mello, Guilherme: *Binds in the Sinai Peninsula: Israeli socioeconomic cooperation and the dichotomy of Egyptian instability*

Thirty-six years after the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, both states suffer from intrinsic differences related to the latest international torpor, the Arab Spring. The relationship between the recent wave of violence and failure of a security service in the Sinai Peninsula region is the latest reflection of the dichotomy that polarizes security and economic stability between Egypt and Israel, becoming a product modeled in the light of unexpected politicization of the Egyptian public discourse. The new reality observed in Sinai, becomes critical, unstable, marginalized and susceptible to terrorist regimes and practices, which may come to threaten trade routes vital for the region's development. The presence of Islamic extremist groups like the Salafi-Jihad, the Bedouin tribes, proves to be barriers to the

Israeli foreign policy, which is a major target to orchestrated terrorist attacks implemented through the territory of Sinai. This article seeks to understand how the recent political changes in Egypt and the deterioration of the peace treaty with Israel, signed in accordance with the principles of liberal institutionalism and cooperative security, may endanger the Israeli cooperation and effective participation in the economic development of the Sinai Peninsula. In this light, the contribution aims to answer the following: how can Israel continue to be the main actor in promoting socioeconomic development in Sinai? It is noteworthy that Israeli cooperation is related to the presence of external actors such as the U.S. and EU in an attempt to restructure democracy and promote development. Hence, the Israeli participation could be observed as an alternative method of development of the Sinai region, taking into account the inability of the Egyptian state to effectively counter the insurgencies and revolts organized by the Arab Spring and invest effectively, logistically, militarily and economically in the Sinai Peninsula.

Kubíková, Nataša: *Geopolitical chessboard of the Persian Gulf*

The geopolitical chessboard of the Middle East is transforming significantly as the Gulf countries redefine their foreign policies within the region. These strategic shifts do not evolve merely around a simplistic proposition of struggle for hegemony or competition for power between Riyadh and Tehran within the existing fixed structures of the international relations, as (neo)realism theories may suggest. The ongoing reshuffles are contingent upon a complex set of factors (both internal and external) determining the fluid nature of the regional power relations. In order to provide an in-depth analysis of the phenomena, it appears more relevant to rely on the constructivist theories instead. This theoretical framework will allow us to explain the disturbances in the status quo of the regional dynamic more accurately. Along these lines, I argue that the political dynamics has had an impact on both national and regional level through certain perceptions of threats and opportunities that the countries have adopted and employed with the help of relevant political discourses. This paper seeks to answer a general research question as to how and to what extent the geopolitics of Gulf has been modified following the Arab Spring and what are the further implications of these changes for the Middle East.

Hudec, Jozef: *Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic democracy and GCC*

After the 2011 turmoil Arab Muslim Brotherhoods had for the first time in their more than 80-year long history the opportunity to take state power. They have significantly scared their Janus-faced sponsors of the GCC, who used the Ikhwan as a tool of political influence, but without real strategic vision of the Brotherhood´s power role, probably also due to some „Bolshevik" aspect in the Ikwan´s ideological equipment.

Notwithstanding the Muslim Brotherhood´s loss of power in several cases, the contribution does not expect any real possibility of rooting out the Muslim Brotherhood and its ideology in the region. Despite significant changes in relationship with the Ikhwan´s main sponsor, Qatar, under the influence of GCC, the new developments in Iraq and Levant could reset acceptance of this relatively moderate Sunni Islamist force.

Since 2011 the EU policy towards the Muslim Brotherhood was more influenced by a self-illusion and also by expectations that the Ikwan could not fulfill. Slovakia had more realistic assumptions in its policy, likely the result of its own transformational experience.

Rózsa, Erzsébet Nagyné: *Iran and Saudi Arabia – a regional "cold war" with global relevance*

Iranian-Saudi rivalry has come to be termed a "cold war" in the Gulf and in the wider Middle East. While it is often presented as a Shiite-Sunni sectarian rivalry or even war, it bears all the elements of a conflict between conservative and revolutionary ideologies, as well as distinctive ethnic Iranian and Arab characteristics.

Besides these religious, ideological and ethnic differences, however, in fact it is hard core national and security interests that are defining the two states' relations, fluctuating between open rivalry, accommodation and even friendly gestures. Among these the Iranian nuclear dossier and the civil war in Syria have direct global relevance.

The Iranian and Saudi relationship, however, should also be perceived in the context of the undergoing deep transformation of the Middle East, especially following the series of events that has come to be known as the Arab Spring. As such, it has a deep impact on other regional and external actors' policies towards the region, especially that of Israel and Turkey, but also the US and recently increasingly of Russia, but not excluding such, so far relatively absent powers as China. The European Union, although standing firm in its value-based position relating to the issues of global relevance, can only play a secondary, complementary role to the US, if it has a role at all.

Czulda, Robert: *Is Iran really changing? An assessment of the first year of Hassan Rouhani's Presidency*

This paper will examine the foreign and domestic policy of Hassan Rouhani – Iran's president, elected in 2013. Rouhani's victory in the nationwide elections brought high hopes both in Iran and internationally. Many believed that Rouhani's victory would lead to a breakthrough in relations between Iran and the world, and introduce economic, political and social reforms. Rouhani was labelled as a moderate candidate, avoiding radical views, always seeking a peaceful solution. In the past he expressed some sympathies with the "Green Movement," and criticized media censorship and government lies. Many commentators have forgotten, however, that in 2004, Rouhani was labelled by the Iranian media as a rising star of the conservative camp.

In this article, I will try to answer a very important question – is Iran really changing under Hassan Rouhani? Or were all the hopes exaggerated? To answer that question, I will examine Rouhani's promises and the first year of his presidency, by touching upon the most important elements, such as his attitude towards political freedom in Iran, economy, the nuclear issue, the Syrian conflict, the US, Israel and others.

D. Africa

Kammel, Arnold: *EU-Africa-relations after the EU-Africa Summit: a more strategic approach than classical donor-recipient relations?*

Yaoundé, Lomé, Cotonou agreements and bilateral relations created a post-colonial donor-recipient framework. Political conditionality - respect for human rights and democracy - and the contentious economic partnership agreements were added to this framework since the nineties. The innovations to the agreements and the setting-up over the last decade of regular bilateral summits could not yet change the post-colonial paradigm: for the EU, Africa is the last region in the world where aid is still in the center of preoccupations; conversely, for Africa, Europe is still regarded as major aid provider. The appetite for raw materials and land and the spread of new donors, investors and financiers since the last decade is however changing the way Africa and most African countries look at foreign relations, and business is challenging aid as the major driver of economic development. However, also new actors, such as China identify the potential of Africa and thus seem to invest into their special relationship with the African continent. This paper aims at identifying the status-quo of EU-Africa relations by taking into consideration the latest EU-Africa-Summit in April 2014. It further provides an outlook of how EU-Africa relations should materialize in a more strategic way.

Benes, Károly – Rada, Csaba – Rada, Peter: *The EU's strategic culture and growing activity in maintaining stability in Africa*

The developing Common Security and Foreign Policy and the Common Security and Defense

Policy of the EU depend largely on the will and interests of the member states. Nevertheless, there is an evolving strategic culture, and noting that it should not be over-estimated, there is a convergence in the strategic interests of the member states. The greatest common factor is to maintain stability and support development in the neighborhood of the EU and expand the sphere of prosperity there.

The events of the last few years clearly proved that the security and stability of the neighborhood is largely influenced by the events of the regions not necessarily bordering the EU. The negative spillover of instability and political, economic and societal hardships from the Sahel became an unavoidable headache for the EU. Even if it does not provide a comprehensive picture the paper aims at choosing two illustrative examples of the EU's intention to create stability: Mali and the Central African Republic. The paper assesses these missions also through taking into account the influence of the evolving strategic culture.

Marko, Ján: *Case study of armed intrastate conflict in the Central African Republic*

The paper analyses contemporary armed intrastate conflict in Central African Republic. The presented case study looks into the development and dynamics of conflict and identifying the main but also secondary parties of the conflict. As key conflict parties we consider armed groups such as Seleka or anti-Balaka. Further, the paper deals with integral sources of conflict that caused the escalation of armed violence in terms of Galtung's structural and cultural violence. Among major causes of CAR's conflict we see especially weak and failing statehood that is unable to adequately react to the emerging security situation with high conflict potential or distribution of state power without respect for the confessional or ethnical structure of CAR's population. Moreover, the case study analyses regional context in the form of trans-border support of armed rebel groups, dominance of non-state actors in corresponding security environment or various efforts at conflict resolution under the leadership of involved international

organisations or states. As the most significant implications of the present conflict in CAR at thelocal and regional lever are considered thousands of deaths, internally displaced persons or refugees, destabilisation of the political and security situation with potential spillover effect to neighboring states.

Aning, Kwaku: *Understanding the threats to maritime security within the West African region*

In recent years, maritime security issues in West Africa have become a leading concern for both African and global political actors. The focus of this article will generally be West Africa and the Gulf of Guinea (GoG). The nations located here have been inefficient in administering its maritime policies due to its traditionally land-centric approach (Gilpin 2007, 4). It has been argued that multidimensional "domestic, regional and international threats and vulnerabilities" (Gilpin 2007, 1) are undermining the growth and potential of West Africa's ability to fully utilise its abundant resources. This jeopardises the social and economic safety of nations and its peoples within the GoG and Ghana, as it becomes an increasingly prime target for illegal maritime activities (Aning, Aning and Lartey 2011, 2).

In view of this, this article posits that in assessing human and maritime security in West Africa, it is critical to not only focus on legislative mechanisms but also traditional and informal structures that directly impact the majority of the population on a daily basis (Aning, Aning and Lartey 2011, 2). The prospect of growth in illegal activities within Ghanaian waters may lead locals and fisher folk to become negatively embroiled in such activities. In turn, not only will this increase lawlessness and complicate governance, but also negatively affect Ghana's shipping industry, social and health security within these communities.

Attuquayefio, Philip: *Trafficking narcotics in Sub-Saharan Africa: The human security dimension*

In the last five to eight years, the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have become

veritable destinations as well as active transit hubs for narcotic shipments from Latin America to markets in Europe and North America. It has been assessed that since 2006, between 40-50 tons of cocaine, with commercial values exceeding the billion dollar mark, transit through such countries en-route to Europe every year. Consequently, the implications of the transnational narcotics trade is one of the themes dominating discussions on the security landscape in Sub-Saharan Africa. An observable trend in these discussions, however, is the significant tilt towards state-centric perspectives of security, and by implication, focus on infiltration of territorial boundaries, money laundering, terrorist financing and other fallouts from the narcotics trade on national security. From a composite security perspective, this trend is disingenuous to policy making. Through content analysis and personal interviews, and adopting the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) definition of human security, this chapter presents an elementary extraction of the human security implications of narcotics trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa. It stresses that apart from the palpable manifestations of criminal behaviour associated with drug users, activities of the transnational drug networks have also threatened legitimate livelihoods and destroyed political security through the infiltration of governance institutions in the sub-region.

E. Asia

Turcsányi, Richard Q.: *The distribution of power in East Asia in the post-Crimea world: The un-checked China's rise?*

Likely the most land-sliding issue in international politics of the year 2014 is the on-going crisis in Ukraine. While the crisis is far from over, it is argued here that it presents some important impacts on the power politics in the East Asian region. In this text, the three levels of power dimensions will be analyzed – military and economic state capabilities, structural and institutional setting, and the societal perceptions. It is argued that the

distribution of power in East Asia will slip further in favor of China as the result of the Ukrainian crisis. China will benefit both military and economically from not being directly involved in the crisis and also from taking opportunities of broken ties between Russia and the West, which furthermore should be expected to continue expending some of their energy (and material resources) to Ukraine and Eastern Europe. China formally has not taken any position, which was in fact appreciated as support by both Russia and the US, which has led to increasing China's standing vis-à-vis both countries simultaneously. In this structural setting, China can expect Russia to be far closer aligned to it and even increasingly dependent, which is already visible in the new energy deal and the renewed arms trade. The US would be less likely to enter into any controversies with China as it still wants to keep China at least nominally neutral and it may worry that escalating tensions with China would only make the Sino-Russian alliance more possible. Due to Japan's anti-Russia position it may be expected that their recently thawing bilateral relations might freeze again, which will possibly negatively affect Japanese hedging options vis-à-vis China. Finally, while upholding the principle of sovereignty is still the basic principle around the region, the 'Crimea scenario' has not gone unnoticed by most countries in the region and the perception of Russia is surprisingly favorable even in countries like Vietnam and the Philippines. This may signal that the public does attach great value to principled politics and rather looks for mere 'power' option to meet national goals.

Šebok, Filip: *After the rebalance: The U.S and China's struggle for Asia*

It has been three years since the Obama administration announced its intention to shift the U.S. strategic attention to the Asia-Pacific. Washington has pledged to fully reengage with the region which was thought to have been neglected during the years of the George W. Bush administration. This renewed commitment, dubbed the Asian "Pivot" or "Rebalance," is to encompass a full range of economic, political

and military engagement. While vehemently denied by the U.S., these efforts have been linked to a containment policy against China, whose emergence poses potential risk to the U.S. position in the region. Beijing has accused Washington of disrupting China's relations with its regional partners, supporting opposing claimants in territorial disputes with China and building of encirclement coalitions. The aim of this article is to assess the impact of the U.S. rebalance on the Sino-American tensions and the regional security. The article argues that the U.S. rebalance has heightened the tensions in the region by increasing the legitimate security concerns on part of China and that it should be scrapped for a policy which accepts the role of China in regional diplomacy commensurate with its power.

Husenicová, Lucia: *North Korea after political purges of 2013*

Before the end of 2013 the political climate in North Korea has changed significantly, as the number two in state hierarchy was purged from all his positions and executed, Jang Song Taek the mentor of tutor of young leader. Therefore, the predictions that have appeared in early 2014 were rather pessimistic, even fatalistic for the North Korean future. This despite that no political instability was observed, to the contrary, the regime shows signs of political stability.

The aim of the contribution is to analyse key features of North Korean regime after latest purges. It will mainly focus on new figures that have appeared recently in the leadership. In its final phase the paper will evaluate the stability prospect of the regime.

Grestl, Alfred: *The ASEAN Community of 2015 and the future of security cooperation in Southeast Asia*

At the end of 2015, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will establish the ASEAN Community, resting on a political-security, economic and socio-cultural pillar. Focusing on the first pillar, this contribution demonstrates that its establishment will not lead to a fundamental change in security cooperation in Southeast Asia. Starting with an analysis of the status quo of security cooperation, it will explore the prospects for its deepening and fostering ASEAN´s regional centrality. It will thereby highlight crucial challenges that threaten the overall stability in the region, e.g. China´s rise, the South China Sea dispute and non-traditional threats (NTS). The argument is that even though we can observe a gradual change in ASEAN´s notion of security from traditional military to comprehensive and human security, security is still primarily defined from a state and regime-centric perspective. The author further claims that the current conflicts in the South China Sea are likely to lead to a re-traditionalization of the definition of security in Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, non-traditional security can promote further cooperation in Southeast and East Asia, facilitated by a deeper integrated and institutionalized ASEAN.

Das, Debak: *Addressing the asymmetry in space: India's strategy for space security*

The 'Asian Century' has seen strong forays into space being made by both the US and China. While this has direct implications for the Indian security matrix, Indian interests in space thus far have been primarily civilian. These however have the potential for dual-use military applications too. Regardless of a dedicated military role for Indian space assets, it is clear that space is the next frontier for power projection and India's involvement in the field shall affect its geostrategic imperatives in the region and that of its rivals. This paper focuses on the development of the Indian space programme and the future of the Indian strategy for space security. India's role and position in the weaponisation of space, in light of the Chinese expansion of ASAT weapons shall be evaluated. Some of the questions that will be considered in this article are: How central has space security become to the Indian military and economic development? Can India utilize its space assets to further its national security needs? How do India's space capabilities affect its deterrence calculus with China and Pakistan and what challenge does it pose to deterrence

stability in South Asia? And what leadership role does India have to provide in any regional and/or multilateral space security fora in order to develop a code of conduct for space?

Andělová, Petra and Strašáková, Mária: *Sino-Vietnamese relations in the 21st Century: Hugs and slaps*

Since the normalization of relations between Vietnam and the PRC in 1991 it is possible to discern two contradicting trends in their relationship. On one hand China and Vietnam are expanding contacts and cooperation in many spheres (political, economic, cultural, etc.). On the other hand, both countries seem to struggle in overcoming their territorial disputes over the Paracel and Spratly archipelagoes in the South China Sea. Despite the fact that both countries signed an Agreement on basic principles guiding the settlement of sea-related issues encompassing six principles of conflict resolution in 2011, Vietnam continues to remain vigilant vis-à-vis Chinese intentions. Relations thus continue to be strained given the PRC´s growing assertiveness in the region, China's annual fishing ban, arrests of Vietnamese fishermen, as well as differences over oil concessions in disputed waters that have resulted in the Vietnamese protesters vandalizing Chinese factories. Given the rising heat in the relations, the objective of this paper is to analyze the security-economy nexus between China and Vietnam in the last ten years with special emphasis on the areas of cooperation as well as its limitations stemming from divergent interests in the South China Sea and rise of hyper-nationalism as part of the territorial dispute.

Masariková, Monika: *The Afghan year of transition*

The NATO mission in Afghanistan - ISAF will terminate at the end of 2014. Withdrawal of the international forces was planned much in advance and the new mission will be launched as of January 1, 2015. However it will be different and significantly smaller. The new "Resolute Support" mission will focus only on training and mentoring of the Afghan National Security Forces. Therefore, after more than a decade, Afghanistan will be solely responsible for its own security. Together with security transition, Afghanistan will be also facing the economic transition, as it is currently much dependent on the international aid and foreign contracts. Yet, the foreign capital will diminish with the international troops and new international investments will be much needed. At the same time, Afghan government is undergoing the transition from an old to a newly elected president, who came out of the elections only after painstaking months of political bargaining. The success of these transitions – political, security and economic – will, however, determine the future shape of Afghanistan.

Hlouchová, Iveta: *Targeted killing as a tool of counterinsurgency: Case study of night raids in Afghanistan*

The tactic of targeted killing is one of the most often used methods in counterinsurgency and counterterrorism campaigns. It seeks to decapitate the leadership of an insurgent or terrorist organization, degrade its organization and operational capabilities and bring an end to the group eventually. Many controversies are related to the use of this tactic, especially with regards to its legality, morality, potential and practical effectiveness and wider consequences. The major subject of the debates about targeted killings is the unmanned aerial vehicles (drones) strikes. However, another similarly controversial targeted killing technique of night raids is often overlooked. This article tries to fill this gap in part. It argues that targeted killing as a tool of counterinsurgency can be more counterproductive than beneficial, as demonstrated on the general overview of the case study of night raids conducted as part of the counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan since 2001.

F. Latin America

Schenoni, Luis Leandro: *Towards a realist understanding of security in Latin America*

In Latin America, the emphasis in how institutions and norms limited interstate conflict in the past has led to a reductionist understanding of security, focusing almost exclusively on transnational criminal threats. Therefore, the state and the military – the main security actors around the globe – have been disregarded in this region, as if national security and international warfare were not a concern.

This article addresses the problem in an innovative way. First, it takes the focus away from citizen security to address the problem of international security. Second, it analyses foreign and defense policies of Latin American countries in the light of their domestic politics. Third, it shows how domestic factors led to competing understandings of security in the region. Finally, Latin American sub-regional security complexes are interpreted in the light of a broader realist interpretation of international politics that better explains security as a whole.

Mijares, Víctor M.: *The paradoxical effect of multipolarity over the South American security governance*

Within a framework built on the basis of structural realism and regional security complexes theory, this chapter addresses why and how the international process of power diffusion affected the regional security governance in South America. Presenting some evidence on global power diffusion and structural multi-polarisation, this work defines and establishes the relation among multipolarity and autonomy. The main argument is that since multipolarity increases foreign and national security policies' autonomy, there is a chance for incompatibilities among national and regional aims, distressing ambitious projects in regional security governance. The resultant accord for reaching a regional security agreement has been found in the loose engagement, a typical formula in flexible regionalism, a stable collective strategy in security complexes without overwhelming leadership and/or common threats definition.

Šubrtová, Natália: *Current challenges in Brazil-EU Strategic Partnership - defining a new framework for bilateral relations*

Over the past two decades Brazilian foreign policy focused on two main, but at the same time, mutually interrelated initiatives: to continuously increase its international projection and to build a regional leadership within the South American continent. These two initiatives go hand in hand with the efforts to use foreign policy as a boost of national socio-economic development, as well as bring together countries of the "global south." Following on these objectives Brazil signed a Strategic Partnership agreement with the EU in 2007 under the Lula presidency. However, Brazilian diplomacy´s perception of the EU had not always been clear. Although, Brazil has retained a heritage of good relations with mostly all European countries, European Union itself didn´t perceive the Latin American leader as a global actor and equal negotiating partner until only couple of years ago, when the world politics started to shift towards the emerging powers. Nowadays, both Brazil and the EU find themselves in transition.

This article puts an emphasis on defining and analyzing the scope for the two partners to enhance dialogue on a range of political issues. As both actors redefine their position in a fluid international system, both will increasingly need reliable partners to advance their values and interests on the global stage, and it seems like the effective cooperation is the best way to do it. The hypothesis is that stronger ties between Brazil and EU, however difficult they might be to achieve, will become paramount in shaping a new global order, inasmuch as they lead to a growing relevance of these subjects in international politics.

Butto, Luis Alberto: *Venezuela and the military balance in the Andean and Caribbean region*

Since 1999, Venezuela has developed a sustained process of purchase of offensive weapons with high firepower. In this regard, Venezuela has diversified its supply sources and the type of weaponry acquired. Currently, Venezuela does not buy weapons from the

U.S.A. Now, Russia, China and Spain are the major sellers of weapons to Venezuela. The weapons bought by Venezuela during this period include warplanes, tanks, surface-to-air missiles, warships, etc, giving Venezuela an important strategic advantage in the Andean and Caribbean region. Official sources say that this process will continue without major alterations in the short term to medium term, and eventually will turn Venezuela into a regional military power. Therefore, Venezuela will substantially alter the correlation of military forces in the region. This process occurs whether or not it is officially recognized by the revolutionary political leadership installed in Venezuela since 1999 (presidencies of Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro). The central goal of this paper is to show, in detail as possible, the development of this process and the immediate consequences that it may have for the influence of Venezuela.

Colmenares, Leopoldo E. G.: *Iran and Leftist ALBA's governments: Implications for Latin America*

The Islamic Republic of Iran has developed an aggressive foreign policy that has as one of its objectives the establishment of strong ties with several countries in Latin America, especially with those governed by leftist leaders such as the members of the "Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America" (ALBA). This paper analyzes the implications for the security environment of the region, arising from the deepening ties of Islamic Republic with the aforementioned countries ruled by leaders with populist and leftist tendencies. The main result derived from such a dynamic is the de facto involvement of these countries in a "global strategic conflict." Thus, the rulers of ALBA's countries involve, to varying degrees, their respective nations in a conflict of world order, which goes far beyond their political, economic and military capabilities.

G. Sectoral Framework

Goda, Samuel: *Towards 40th anniversary of the OSCE*

The role of the OSCE in the European security architecture is much greater than is recognised. In the upcoming year, we will celebrate 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and the aim of this article is to point out the ups and downs of the OSCE as well as the outlook for the future of the organization. At the beginning of the study we will go through a very brief history of the organization up to the present. Later, we will discuss the main features of the current state of the OSCE in wider and narrower context and identify the potential challenges. In the last part we will tackle the future of the OSCE and try to sum up the most important recommendations.

Mochťák, Michal: *Towards the Arms Trade Treaty*

This chapter presents the high level talks that have been initiated in the last couple of years in the United Nations concerning the negotiation and adoption of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) – an international agreement that seeks to regulate illicit/irresponsible arms flows in the world. The analysis focuses on the scope and coverage of the treaty, the main implications for arms exporters and buyers and the whole dynamic of diplomatic bargaining involved in the process.

Mišík, Matúš: *Three countries, three views? Loop and transit flows in electricity grids from Austrian, Czech and Slovak point of view*

As a consequence of energiewende in Germany and the decision to shut down all nuclear power plants in the country, Germany has significantly increased the share of renewable sources of energy in its energy mix. This has had a significant influence not only on stability of domestic electricity grid, but also on the networks of neighbouring countries in Central Europe due to technical specificities of these electricity sources. Unexpected

flows of energy created by renewables from Germany that go through the neighbouring countries (so-called loop flows and transit flows) create instability of the electricity grids of these countries. The paper analyses three different views on this issue by three countries that are impacted by unscheduled flows. While Austria imports a great share of German energy from renewables, the Czech Republic is affected negatively by this situation since a lot of electricity from Germany to Austria flows through the Czech Republic due to insufficient infrastructure between Germany and Austria. Moreover, also electricity flows from north of Germany to the south part of the country pass through the Czech territory due to lack of internal power lines. Slovakia is also negatively affected by the unexpected flows

as electricity from Germany flows to Balkan countries through its territory. The paper builds on more than 50 semi-structured interviews with decision-makers and experts from these countries as well as on official documents in order to shed more light on this overlooked issue

Klingová, Katarína: *Securitization of cyber space*

Just like economic or environmental issues, threats in cyber space have global implications and are tearing down the concepts of nations borders. Cyber attacks and especially cyber war are extensively modifying the traditional concept of conflicts and the process of providing security. Myriam Dunn Cavelty points out "cyber-security and national security differ most decisively in scope, in terms of the actors involved and in their 'referent object,' [which protection they seek]" (2010, 156). The cyber domain does not exist as a totally insulated realm, it is occupied by states, individuals, private companies and many other organizations. Therefore, while nations around the world have securitized or penalized particular actions in cyber space, it is questionable whether militarization of this 'commonly shared' network is efficient. This analysis is based on the theory of securitization as it is an appropriate approach for cyber

security discourse, because it enables fluent transition between the referent objects as well as securitizing actors, both from private to political-military sphere. We look at the securitization of cyber space as defined by Hansen and Nissenbaum who approach cyber security in terms of three different security modalities: hypersecuritization, everyday security practices and technifications (Hansen and Nissenbaum 2009, 1163).

Koehler, Daniel: *De-radicalization programs as counter-terrorism and counter-extremism tools. An introduction into theory and practice*

Violent extremist ideologies, groups and movements capable of causing acts of terrorism without a doubt constitute one of the most pressing security threats for many countries since the end of the Cold War. Multiple devastating terrorist attacks before and after 9/11 made security professionals and policy makers aware of the significance of radical and extreme milieus as potential breeding ground for violent radicalization and terrorism. Many countries have extensive experiences in working with individuals and groups who want to abstain from violent activities and leave these radical ideologies behind (e.g. Ireland, Italy, Argentina, Germany). However, de-radicalization processes and effective methods remain one of the most under-studied issues within extremism and terrorism research.

This article provides an introduction to the state of the art in de-radicalization research, explains the most important concepts and terms, and gives an overview of most crucial methods, future trends and challenges within the field. In addition the article analyses the potential for de-radicalization programs within counter-terrorism structures, i.e. assesses what effects these programs have on radical milieus and terrorist groups and how these can be used for national security purposes.

Vicenová, Radka: *Penetration of right-wing extremist groups into mainstream politics: Consequences for internal security*

This paper has an ambition to outline and evaluate the most recent developments when it comes to the increasing support and public demand for right-wing extremist parties with strong anti-minority, anti-immigrant and anti-establishment attitudes. It addresses two principal aspects: firstly, the increasing share of power of right-wing extremist parties and their penetration into the mainstream political space, and secondly, the gradual acceptance of intimidating or even violence-inducing speech aimed against immigrant or minority groups among the public. Building upon the overview of the most important and relevant incidents and statements by representatives of right-wing extremist parties in European Union countries, the causes and potential consequences are discussed with the brief assessment of implications for internal security of the EU. In addition, policy recommendation and brief evaluation of necessary responses is offered.

Struhár, Pavol: *Modern trends of the extreme right in Europe*

The paper deals with modern phenomena on the extreme right scene in Europe. The aim of this article is to outline these modernization tendencies (aimed at autonomous nationalism), but not only at the level of subculture or social movements, but at the level of political movements or parties, too. The secondary aim is, by using the example of political party "The Popular Association - Golden Dawn" to identify activities, ideology, concrete policy or strategies to present the practical implication of these modernization tendencies. Having analyzed the ideology, activities and political strategy of Golden Dawn, we have come to the conclusion that this party has many features in common with autonomous nationalism (e.g. emphasis on social themes, hostility to democracy or the use of political violence), which further illustrates the modernization trend on extreme right scene.

Mareš, Miroslav: *Legacy of the Waffen SS for contemporary neo-Nazism*

This contribution analyses the legacy of Waffen SS for the contemporary neo-Nazi scene. Author described the historical existence of the Waffen SS and addresses the position of former members of the SS in the post-war development of the neo-Nazis spectrum. Various dimensions of the use of legacy SS in contemporary neo-Nazi scene are identified, including model of organizations and actions, symbolism, education activities and art. The author comes to the conclusion that the legacy of the Waffen SS constitutes a very important part of identity of neo-Nazi activists in the contemporary era.

Kluknavská, Alena: *The inconvenient Roma? Far right strategies in framing the Roma communities in the Czech Republic and Slovakia 2010-2013*

The far right parties offer a clear identification between "us" and "them," which often transforms into friend-enemy distinction. The paper aims at exploring the discourse of the two far right parties in the Czech Republic and Slovakia – Worker's Party of Social Justice and People's Party Our Slovakia, in relation to the Roma communities. It analyses the frames employed by the far right that serve to construct meanings about one of their main perceived enemies. The paper builds upon this framing perspective to examine the schemes and discursive techniques (naming, labelling, catchphrases), which the far right parties use to create meanings about the Roma minority in the two countries. The analysis shows that the far right parties construct issue-specific frames, in which the Roma minority is presented as an increasing threat for the society. Although both parties engage in the xenophobic discourse in relation to the Roma, the rhetoric of the DSSS is less captivating and more formal than the approach undertaken by the ĽSNS, which tends to be more direct, extreme and emotional when constructing meanings about the Roma communities. The paper aims to make an empirical contribution to the research on the far right parties in Central and Eastern Europe.