



PANORAMA of global security environment 2009



Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA) is an independent think-tank, which focuses mainly on activities within the scope of security and defence policy, foreign policy and international relations. CENAA was established in 2003 and its activities cover a wide variety of research projects, conferences, workshops, education and publication activities with local and international partners involved. CENAA works with a wide network of experts in foreign and security policy in Slovakia and abroad. Education and training of the representatives from neighbouring NATO and EU states as well as from regions of strategic importance has become one of our core activities in the recent years.

CENAA's aim is to play an active role in the strategic discussion in Slovakia, to provide in-depth research, to participate in the education process of future professionals of foreign and security policy and to contribute to stability and sustainable development in all regions and countries where we are present through our educational and training programmes.

CENAA's research fields are:

- American foreign and security policy,
- Security sector reform,
- NATO and transatlantic relations,
- CFSP and ESDP,
- Central European foreign policy and security strategies,
- Iran and the Middle East,
- Balkans,
- Eastern Europe with focus on Russia and Ukraine.

CENAA's most important projects are:

- Panorama of global security environment,
- Summer School for Young Professionals (from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe),
- Slovak Strategic Forum organized annually,
- transition projects with focus on the Balkans and Eastern Europe.

CENAA

Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs

Panónska cesta 17, 851 04 Bratislava, Slovakia

Telephone: +421 905 728 715

Email: panorama@cena.org

Internet URL: <http://www.cena.org>

Marian MAJER, Róbert ONDREJCSÁK, Vladimír TARASOVIČ, Tomáš VALÁŠEK

PANORAMA

of global security environment

2009

Bratislava 2009

Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA)



This publication is supported by NATO's Public Diplomacy Division



© Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs
Bratislava, 2009

EDITORS:

Marian MAJER
Róbert ONDREJCSÁK
Vladimír TARASOVIČ
Tomáš VALÁŠEK

Lucia HUSENICOVÁ
Efraim INBAR
David JUDSON
Ivan KALBUROV
Miroslav KELEMEN
Lucia KLAPÁČOVÁ
Jana KOBZOVÁ
Mária KOČNEROVÁ

Róbert ONDREJCSÁK
Dalibor PAVOLKA
Jasmin POROBIČ
Florian QEHAJA
Alena ROCHOVSKÁ
Peter ROSPUTINSKÝ
Urban RUSNÁK
Ivo SAMSON

AUTHORS

AND REVIEWERS:

Rastislav BÁCHORA
Katarína BAJZÍKOVÁ
Peter BALLON
Alon BEN-MEIR
Peter BREZÁNI
Radoslava BRHLÍKOVÁ
Marek BRIEŠKA
Oldřich BUREŠ
Daniel DOM
Jaroslav DROBNÝ
Alexander DULEBA
Zsolt GÁL
Beata GÓRKA-WINTER
Miroslav GUTTEN
István GYARMATI
Daniel HAMILTON
Petr HLAVÁČEK
Jozef HUDEC

Matúš KORBA
Martin KUDREC
Milan LABUZÍK
Roman LAML
Luděk LUKÁŠ
Marian MAJER
Péter MARTON
Juraj MARUŠIAK
Grigorij MESEŽNIKOV
Matúš MIŠÍK
Peter MOJTEK
Lucia NAJŠLOVÁ
Pavel NEČAS
Elemír NEČEJ
Jaroslav NIŽŇANSKÝ
Andrej NOSKO
Gayane NOVIKOVA
Michal ONDERČO
Branislav ONDRÁŠIK

Marko SAVKOVIČ
Martin SKLENÁR
Peter STANO
Tomáš STRÁŽAY
Tereza ŠAFÁŘOVÁ
Vladimír ŠIMOŇÁK
Dagmar ŠKAMLOVÁ
Vladimír TARASOVIČ
Marcin TERLIKOWSKI
Ihor TODOROV
Lubomír TOKÁR
Tomáš VALÁŠEK
Beata WOJNA
Ernest WYCISZKIEWICZ
Marcin ZABOROWSKI
Tomasz ŻORNACZUK

SPECIAL THANKS:

Monika MASARÍKOVÁ
Rebecca MURRAY
Michal POLÁČEK
Martin RIDOŠ
Zdenko TARASOVIČ

Coordinator: Vladimír TARASOVIČ

Cover: Rebecca MURRAY

Photographs on the cover: www.creativecommons.org

Print-setting by: Ľudovít TATÁR, Magnet Press Slovakia

Printed by: VKÚ Harmanec

All rights reserved. Any reproduction or copying of this work is allowed only with the permission of the publisher. Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are solely those of the authors and should not be construed as representing the opinions or policy of any organization participating in preparing the publication.

ISBN 978-80-970041-5-6
EAN 9788097004156

Preface	7
Editor's address	9

A. The Euro-Atlantic Area

1. Hamilton, Daniel: A revitalized NATO in a new Atlantic partnership	11
2. Zaborowski, Marcin: Organizing a strategic EU-US partnership	21
3. Gyarmati, István: NATO's crisis – or renewal	35
4. Nečas, Pavel – Kelemen, Miroslav: New Alliance's strategic concept - Desperately wanted!	41
5. Nečas, Pavel – Nižňanský, Jaroslav: NATO-EU strategic cooperation: Mission impossible?	53
6. Terlikowski, Marcin: The European security and defence policy in 2008 and 2009: an operational breakthrough?	61
7. Brhlíková, Radoslava: ESDP – respond to 21 st century security challenges according to the new treaty?	75
8. Wojna, Beata: Eastern Partnership: The new EU's response to security challenges in the Eastern neighbourhood?	89
9. Najšlová, Lucia: Turkey and the European Union: Still marching along the common interest?	103
10. Šafařová, Tereza: Prospects for an integrated EU marine military strategy	117
11. Bureš, Oldřich: Counterterrorism policy: European Union	131
12. Ondrejcsák, Róbert: American foreign and security policy under Barack Obama: change and continuity	147
13. Tokár, Lubomír: International environment according to the Slovak Academy of Sciences. How the half-blind foretell the future	163
14. Samson, Ivo: Anti-missile defence in Central Europe and discussion in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia	177
15. Kalburov, Ivan: ESDP and Bulgaria: Ideas, perceptions and policy motivation	191
16. Nečej, Elemír – Tarasovič, Vladimír: EU – Global player?	205
17. Klapáčová, Lucia: Blocking of the EU enlargement in Western Balkans and its implications for the security situation in the region	221
18. Žornaczuk, Tomasz: Western Balkans in Poland's foreign policy	237
19. Báchora, Rastislav: "New war in October!" - The political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of the constitutional framework and the transition of the international mandate	251
20. Savković, Marko: How Serbia over calculated itself on EULEX	265
21. Qehaja, Florian: Measuring the development of private security in Kosovo	279
22. Šimoňák, Vladimír: Beyond enlargement: The European approach to the Black Sea region	287
23. Mišík, Matúš: 29 th member state of the European Union: Iceland?	299
24. Mesežnikov, Grigorij: The approach of political parties in the Slovak Republic towards Hungary and towards Slovak -Hungarian interstate relations	313

B. Commonwealth of Independent States

25. Nečej, Elemír: The Russian security policy after passing of the National Security Strategy of Russian Federation until 2020	329
26. Novikova, Gayane: The five – day war of August 2008 and shifts in security in the South Caucasus	343
27. Korba, Matúš: Caucasus crisis and perception of international security	361
28. Todorov, Ihor: European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine: Need in reboot	377
29. Marušiak, Juraj – Kobzová, Jana: Bielorusko – zblížovanie s EÚ s ručením obmedzeným	387

C. Middle East and Africa

30. Ben-Meir, Alon:	Negotiating a two-state solution	403
31. Samson, Ivo:	Development in the Palestinian Autonomy in 2008 - 2009 after the seizure of power by Hamas in the Gaza entity and the war between Israel and Gaza	413
32. Stano, Peter:	The new dynamism of the Middle East peace process: Syria as a key player	429
33. Onderčo, Michal:	Middle East going nuclear	445
34. Drobny, Jaroslav:	Irak - supervolebný rok 2009	457
35. Hudec, Jozef:	Will the Arabs remain moderate?	467
36. Brieška, Marek:	Arab unity and diversity	479
37. Bajziková, Katarína:	Pax West Africana: Ako stabilizovať konfliktný región?	491

D. Afghanistan and East Asia

38. Marton, Péter:	The sequence of state-building and related complications in the case of Afghanistan	507
39. Ballon, Peter:	New U.S Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan	525
40. Brezáni, Peter:	North Korean steps in the wrong direction	539
41. Husenicová, Lucia:	The new US and South Korea's administration policy toward North Korea	549
42. Brezáni, Peter:	Cross-strait moderation: The good beginning of the long, bumpy and uncertain road	563

E. Sector Framework

43. Wyciszkievicz, Ernest:	Energy security in Central Europe after Russo-Ukrainian gas dispute: En route to a new approach or back to business as usual?	575
44. Tokár, Lubomír:	Development of the international system or which states could be the great powers of the future?	589
45. Gál, Zsolt:	Immigration to advanced countries – five main approaches	607
46. Rosputinský, Peter:	Medzinárodnoprávny režim arktického priestoru	627
47. Nosko, Andrej:	10 years of energy policy in Slovakia	645
48. Lukáš, Luděk:	Ochrana kritické infrastruktúry jako významný prvek zajištění bezpečnosti státu	659
49. Láml, Roman:	Spravodajstvo na počiatku 21. storočia	673
50. Ondrášik, Branislav:	News and war propaganda - Two sides of one coin?	687
51. Kudrec, Martin:	Technological advance, world-wide internet network development and changes of the security environment	701

Annexes

About the authors and reviewers	713
Abstracts	722
Index	730

PANORAMA of global security environment 2009 is the sixth publication within the framework of the project, the objective of which is to provide the expert public with complete and actual information and analysis about global security and international relations. Although the first *Panoráma* mainly addressed security questions, during its six-year evolution we have achieved a publication whose scope is considerably wider. Apart from foreign and security policy analyses, the reader will also find analyses from the field of energy policy, demography or international law. The make up of the collective of authors has evolved in a similar spirit: the first *Panoráma* – published at the Institute of Security and Defence Studies of the MD SR – was composed of specialists from Slovakia. In the next phase our collective has enlarged itself with Czech specialists and gradually with even more colleagues from Central Europe. When the reader looks at the current composition of the list of contributors, they will find specialists from Slovakia and as far away as the United States and Armenia. We believe that broadening the horizons will contribute to the enhancement of *Panoráma* and enable a more active participation in the European and Trans-Atlantic discourse in the field of security policy of international relations. This dual task – present opinions of Slovak and Central-European specialists on key problems of global security and at the same time to provide space for renowned specialists beyond our region – will be promoted by CENAA as the publisher also in the continuation of the project.

PhDr. Róbert Ondrejcsák, PhD.
Executive director of Center for European
and North-Atlantic Affairs (CENAA)

Dear readers,

you have just opened the sixth edition of Panorama of Global Security Environment, Slovakia's leading annual publication focusing on international security and relations.

As every year, our ambition is to draw attention to a broad spectrum of the most relevant and pressing security challenges. We have succeeded in bringing together authors from more countries and institutions than ever before. This year's edition of Panorama contains 51 articles by 50 authors and co-authors from 11 countries including Serbia, Ukraine, Armenia, Bulgaria and Kosovo. Another 32 experts from 7 countries have acted as reviewers.

Panorama is divided into two main parts: articles in the first part, consisting of four chapters, are grouped along regional lines, while articles in the latter part (final chapter) address specific sectors of security. We strove to address every important topic that had defined the preceding year's global security environment: from contemporary developments in NATO (especially regarding the discussion of new Strategic Concept) through latest news in ESDP and events in the Middle East and Iraq and ending with East Asian and cross-strait affairs. This year's edition features a prominent discussion of Afghanistan, the site of NATO's most important current operation.

Understandably, we have also covered Caucasus and Central Asia, which have garnered much attention from the media and analytical communities throughout the year. But we also opened completely new topics (for Panorama) such as security of the Arctic region or Central European views on missile defense. Last but not least, this year's Panorama offers a discussion of several non-traditional security issues such as energy policy, global immigration and the role of media and propaganda in the time of war.

We hope that Panorama's rich content and the quality of its chapters will entice readers to read it not only once but every time they need new information on particular themes or when they need to compare their opinions on global security matters with those of Panorama's expert contributors. Thanks to readers' interest, Panorama remains at the core of Slovak and Central European security policy discourse.

Yours,

Editors

MA Rastislav Bachora eMA, (Austria) is Master in Political Science at the University of Vienna / Austria (1998-2003), executive Master Political Science University Belgrade / Serbia (2004-2005), Defense Academy of the Austrian Armed Forces (2006-2007), Kosovo / KFOR / AUCON 18/19 (2008), Bosnia and Herzegovina / EUFOR ALTHEA AUCON 10 (2009), Current position PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna.

Mgr. Katarína Bajzиковá, PhD. (Slovakia) finished Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica in program International Relations and Diplomacy. She completed PhD. studies on August 2009 on topic: Security Challenges in West Africa in context of Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Liberia. She undertook study and research stays in Bologna, Bordeaux, Saint-Louis (Senegal), Monrovia and Uppsala.

Peter Ballon (Slovakia) studied international relations and diplomacy at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, where he obtained Mgr. degree in 2007. He is currently doing his PhD. degree at the same faculty with focus on Crisis Response Operations. From 2007 to 2009, he was working in the field of telecommunications. Currently, he is working at the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic.

Dr. Alon Ben-Meir (USA) is an expert on Middle East politics and affairs, specializing in peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. Dr. Ben-Meir serves as senior fellow at New York University's School of Global Affairs where he has been teaching courses on the Middle East and negotiations. He is also a Senior Fellow and the Middle Eastern Studies Project Director at the World Policy Institute. Dr. Ben-Meir hosts "Global Leaders: Conversations with Alon Ben-Meir," a series of debates and conversations with top policy-makers around the world. He also regularly holds briefings at the US State Department for international visitors. He has authored six books related to Middle East policy and is currently working on a book about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Dr. Ben-Meir holds a masters degree in philosophy and a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University.

Peter Brezáni (Slovakia) graduated from the University of Economics in Bratislava in 2002. In 2001, he studied at Sejong University of Korea in Seoul and in 2009 spent two months as a researcher at the University of Tokyo in Japan. He began his career as a development policy analyst at the Slovak Institute of International Studies. In 2003, he joined the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association as an editor and a foreign policy analyst. He has been responsible both, as an editor and co-editor for the Yearbook of Slovakia's

Foreign Policy (2003-2008) and quarterly *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*. In his research he focuses on the issues in Northeast Asia and the development policy.

Mgr. Radoslava Brhlíková, PhD. (Slovakia) is Assistant Professor of Political Science and European Studies at the Constantine the Philosopher University, Nitra and Trnava University. She holds a PhD in Political Science (2002) and a MA in Political Science (1996) from the Comenius University in Bratislava. She has also received training from the European Parliament and took part in several study stay, last one (2008) at the UCSD, San Diego, USA. She has published articles on theoretical approaches to international relations security European studies.

Marek Brieška (Slovakia) studied at the Philological Faculty UMB Banská Bystrica. M.A. in Arabic/English. In 2003, he started his PhD - „Genesis of Substandard Oral Prestigious Arabic” in Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental and African studies. In 2009, he finished his PhD. In 2004 – 2008, he was working as a lecturer of Slovak language at the Ayn Shams University in Cairo. Since 2009, he has worked at the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic in the Middle East and Africa Department. He is an organizer of intercultural festivals (Damascus, Cairo). Published two book translations: N. Mahfouz: „Journey of Ibn Fattouma”, 2008 BAUM and G. al-Gitani: "Zayni Barakat", 2009 KALLIGRAM

Mgr. Oldřich Bureš, M.A., Ph.D. (Czech Republic) is the Head of the Department of International Relations and European Studies, Metropolitan University Prague and Adjunct Senior Lecturer at Institute for Political Studies, Charles University. He is also the founder of the Center for Security Studies at Metropolitan University Prague. His research is focused in the areas of Conflict Resolution and International Security, with special emphasis on UN peacekeeping operations, private military companies, and EU counterterrorism policy.

Mgr. Daniel Dom (Slovakia) graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, University Of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica with major in political science in 2002. In 2003-2005, he worked in the area of international cooperation and financial resources of the European communities at the Statistical Office of the SR. Since 2006, he has been working for the Department of Security and Defence policy at the Ministry of Defence of the SR.

Mgr. Jaroslav Drobny (Slovakia) graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University in Bratislava with a major in Arabic language and history. Currently, he is working as an independent publicist and a member of the preparation committee of the Institute

for Near East Studies. He concentrates on Arabic and Islamic Middle Ages, theory of Islamic state and political Islam, Shia movement, and Arabic Christianity.

Alexander Duleba (Slovakia) is the director of the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (RC SPPA). He obtained the PhD degree in political science from the Institute for Political Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in 1998. From May 1993 until August 1995, he was an analyst with the Slovak Institute for International Studies at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. In September 1995, he started to work as a research fellow for the RC SPPA; in May 2000, he became its director and simultaneously the head of the Center's *Eastern Europe* research program. His main publications include: (2008) *The Reform of the Neighborhood Policy. Tools, Institutions and a Regional Dimension*, 79 pp, co-author; *Regional Integration in the East and West: Challenges and Responses*, 250 pp, co-editor; (2004) *Foreign Policy of Slovakia after NATO and EU Accession*, 115 pp, co-editor; (2003) *Eastern Policy of the Enlarged European Union. A Visegrad Perspective*, 272 pp, co-editor; (2000) *Ukraine and Slovakia*, 402 pp.

Mgr. Zsolt Gál, PhD. (Slovakia) has been an assistant professor at the Department of Political Science at the Faculty of Philosophy at Comenius University in Bratislava since 2006. He graduated there in 2003 and continued in his post-graduate studies at Corvinus University in Budapest, Hungary. He completed the International Relations PhD. program and defended his thesis at the Department of World Economy in 2008. His main areas of interest are international migration, economic policy and the economic aspects of European integration. He teaches several courses in these fields at the Comenius University.

Beata Górká-Winter (Poland) graduated from the University of Warsaw, Faculty of Journalism and Political Science and National Security Faculty. Since 2000, she has been a research fellow and a program coordinator of international security at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. In July 2009, she completed a Program on Security, Stability, Transition and Reconstruction (SSTAR) in George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies. In 2004, she participated in the Senior Course on Security Policy in Northern Europe led by the Swedish National Defence College. Since 2007, she has been lecturing at the PISM Diplomatic Academy, occasionally also at the European Security and Defence College. She undertakes research on Polish security policy, European Security and Defence Policy, missile defence, security sector reform, advising different institutions (Polish MFA, MoD) on issues concerning security policy. Author of various publications including: *So štítom, alebo bez štítu? O ťažkých vyjednávaniach Poľska so Spojenými štátmi*

(Panorama 2007-2008, CENAA), *The EU strategy in Afghanistan*, („Polish Diplomatic Review”, 2008), *The participation of Poland in peace and stabilization operations*, („Yearbook of Polish Foreign Policy”), *EU Operational Engagement: Struggling for Efficiency, Report from the 2nd European Strategic Forum*, (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2007). She was also international polling supervisor in Kosovo (2001) and Ukraine (2006). Since 2004, a member of Women in International Security at the Georgetown University.

Mgr. Miroslav Gutten (Slovakia) graduated with a degree in international relations and diplomacy from the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of UMB in Banská Bystrica. He works at the SR Ministry of Defence. He concentrates on the Western Balkans region and the issue of the use of force in international relations.

Dr. István Gyarmati (Hungary) is currently Director of the International Centre for Democratic Transition, Chairman of the Board of the Centre for Euro Atlantic Integration and Democracy in Budapest and Senior Political Adviser of the Geneva-based Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces. He has a distinguished career in the Hungarian diplomatic service, served as Head of OSCE Missions to Georgia and Chechnya, Senior Vice President for Policy and Programs of the EastWest Institute. In February-March 2004, Head of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Monitoring Mission in Moldova. In 1996-99 he served as Under-Secretary of Defence for Policy.

Daniel Hamilton (USA) is the Richard von Weizsäcker Professor and director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR) at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Hamilton has served as U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; U.S. Special Coordinator for Southeast European Stabilization; and Associate Director of the Policy Planning Staff for two U.S. Secretaries of State.

Petr Hlaváček (Czech Republic) graduated from the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc M.A. – branch political science and European studies. In 2007-2008, he worked at the Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Defence in Brno. He is currently working at the succession Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies and is a PhD candidate in political science at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University in Brno. He is interested in theory of non-democratic regimes, theory of opposition, political system of Belarus and development of security environment.

Dr. Jozef Hudec (Slovakia) studied Archaeology, Egyptology and Political Sciences at the Charles University; worked with the Institute of Asian and Afri-

can Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences. In 2001 he joined the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs; served as Consul to Kuwait and the Deputy Head of Mission to Cairo. Currently, he is the Deputy Head of Mission to Tel Aviv. He is Chairman of the *Aigyptos Foundation* and Deputy Director of the Polish – Slovak Mission in Tell el-Retaba, Egypt.

Mgr. Lucia Husenicová, PhD. (Slovakia) received her PhD degree in international relations in August 2009 at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. Presently, she is working as a lecturer at the Department of Security Studies at the faculty, giving lectures and seminars in International Relations Theories. During her PhD studies, she participated in the international project at the United Nations University – Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS) in Brugge, Belgium and also in Korean Studies Workshop in Seoul, South Korea. In her research she is dealing with the situation in Korean peninsula and broader Northeast Asia region. Her PhD thesis was analyzing the development of North Korean political systems and its special features together with the position the country has in the region and a few scenarios of future possible development.

Efraim Inbar (Israel) is a Professor in Political Studies at Bar-Ilan University and the Director of its Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies. He served as visiting professor at Georgetown and the Johns Hopkins universities, and visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Prof. Inbar was a Manfred Warner NATO Fellow and a visiting Fellow at the (London) International Institute for Strategic Studies. His area of specialization is Middle Eastern strategic issues with a special interest in the politics and strategy of Israeli national security. His latest book is *Israel's National Security: Issues and Challenges since the Yom Kippur War* (Routledge 2008).

David Judson (USA) pôsobil dvadsať rokov ako novinár pre USA Today / Ganett newspapers. Venoval sa predovšetkým ekonomike, rozvoju a obchodným vzťahom medzi rozvinutými a rozvojovými krajinami. V Turecku žije od roku 2002, hoci väzby s touto krajinou má už vyše tridsať rokov – od vysokoškolského výmenného programu. Od roku 2004 je výkonným šéfredaktorom tureckého ekonomického denníka Referans, od roku 2006 aj šéfredaktorom novín v anglickom jazyku Turkish Daily News. (Zdroj: David Judson: Sú aj iné alternatívy ako EÚ, in *Zahranická politika*, www.zahranicnapolitika.sk/index.php?id=589,20.08.08)

Ivan Kalburov (Slovakia) graduated with merits from the Central European University, Department of European Studies and International Relations. He has also studied political science at Leiden University. He is mainly interested in the European policy making proc-

ess and the Europeanization of the new member states. His spheres of expertise are Foreign Policy of the EU and the European Security and Defence Policy. Mr. Kalburov has worked on research projects about EU Enlargement and Corporate Social responsibility. He has also published on Danish Security.

Brig. Gen. Assoc. Prof. Miroslav Kelemen, Ph.D., (Slovakia) is the Rector of the Armed Forces Academy in Liptovský Mikuláš. After graduation he has visited several Slovak and foreign educational and training institutions to broaden his knowledge in the field of air defence, aviation as well as national and international security. He is a well known author of many articles and monographs related to the national and international security and defence policy.

Lucia Klapáčová (Slovakia) has worked as the Head of the International Office at the Central Office of the SDKU-DS from 2005. She graduated in 2005 from the Faculty of Philosophy at Comenius University in Bratislava with a degree in political science. In 2000 she studied diplomatic and strategic studies at The International University in Vienna. In 2005-2009 she was enrolled in the Ph.D. study at the Masaryk University in Brno with specialization in the US – Russian relations. From 2009 she is the Ph.D. candidate at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences of the Comenius University in Bratislava, with specialization in the European political parties.

Jana Kobzová (Slovakia) was heading the Belarus programme at the Bratislava-based Pontis Foundation from 2006. Since September 2009, she is based in London, UK where she is a member of The Henry Jackson Society and a consultant for the EUCLID Network, a pan-European network of third sector leaders. She holds a degree in political science from the Comenius University in Bratislava and is currently pursuing her studies at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University College London. She has written articles on Belarus, EU Eastern policy and development assistance for various Slovak media and is a regular contributor to the Henry Jackson Society's blog.

PhDr. Mária Kočnerová (Slovakia) studied International Relations and Diplomacy at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica (2002), here also finished Ph.D. studies (2003) and nowadays is doing Ph.D. studies. From 2002, she is a young lecturer at the Department of Political Science and European Studies of Constantine the Philosopher University, presents subjects of international relations and diplomacy. She is interested in foreign policy of United States, Bask nationalism, human rights and diplomacy.

Matúš Korba (Slovakia) has a Ph.D. in Political Sciences, the Comenius University in Bratislava. He was

an assistant within the Security Education Management Project and the Program on European Security organized by the Dutch Center for European Security Studies, Groningen (1997-99). He had been working for the British think-tank Saferworld, London (2000-2002), and after that, he based at Slovak Foreign Policy Association in Bratislava. He was working as pre-doctoral research fellow at Institute of International Relations in Prague (2002-2004). He was visiting research fellow at University of Latvia (2005-2006). He is founding member of the Center for Security Studies in Bratislava (2002) and currently works as CSS project coordinator.

Martin Kudrec (Slovakia) finished his bachelor studies (major International Relations) at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica in 2007. Since 2007 he has been working on his master degree at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Charles University in Prague, the major of Security Studies.

PhDr. Milan Labuzík, CSc, Col. (Ret.), (Slovakia) spent a major part of his career as a university lector at the Social Sciences Department at the Military Academy. Last six years of his military career, he worked at the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic as the director of the Security Analysis Department. He is currently working as lector at the Security and Defence Department of the Armed Forces Academy of Gen. M. R. Štefánik in Liptovský Mikuláš. He deals with security and defence policy, international relations, with international crises management organizations – NATO, OSN, EU, OSCE and their operations, using the use of armed forces in operations of non-military character and fight against the terrorism.

RSDr. Roman Laml, Col. (Ret.), (Slovakia) graduated from the Military Academy in Bratislava (1986). He studied internal postgraduate study of Philosophy and History at the Military High School in Bratislava (1990 - 1992) and external postgraduate study of International Law and International Relations at the Comenius University in Bratislava (1995 – 1997). In 1999 he graduated in Defense and Security Studies from the G. C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (Germany) and in 2005 he graduated in International Security Policy from the National Defense University in Beijing (China). In 1993 – 2008, he was working at the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic in area of security and defense policy and as an intelligence analyst. R. Laml is currently an independent analyst and associate fellow at the SEVŠ in Skalica. He is a founder member of Forum for International Politics.

Assoc. Prof. Luděk Lukáš, LTC. (Ret.) (Czech Republic) graduated university studies from the VVTS in Liptovský Mikuláš in 1981, postgraduate studies in

1989 and doctoral studies in 1993. During his work at the Military Academy in Brno (1991 - 2005) he held the function of lecturer, group leader, department head and vice rector for study affairs. He is currently working at the Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Department of Electrotechnics and Measurements as an associate professor. His scientific research, publishing and educational activities are focused into area of communication and information support for command and control, information management, physical security and critical infrastructure protection.

Marian Majer (Slovakia) studied history and political science at the Comenius University in Bratislava. In 2002 – 2004, he was working for the SME journal as a reporter of the foreign news department. Until 2006, he had worked at the Institute for Security and Defence Studies of the Ministry of Defence. Since then he has been working in the Division of Security and Defence Policy of Ministry of Defence. He specializes in the security-political development of Afghanistan and South Asia and state defence sector reform.

Péter Marton (Hungary) is a Ph.D. candidate at the Corvinus University of Budapest. His main research areas are International Relations Theory, Security Studies, state-building and Afghanistan. He has recently finished his doctoral dissertation titled "Grand Theory meets the Afghan case: State failure and state-building in an age of uncertain policy-making." In the past, he led a one-year research project on state failure at the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, and worked for a year as a scholarship fellow at the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs.

Mgr. Juraj Marušiak, PhD. (Slovakia) graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University in Bratislava in History – Slovak language and Literature (1994). Since 1996, he has been working as the research fellow at the Institute of Political Science, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, where he obtained the PhD. degree in 2003. His research is focused on the history of Slovakia of 20th century and on the issues of international relations in the region of Central and Eastern Europe since 1989. In 2002-2003, he finished Lane Kirkland fellowship in Warsaw University, specialization in the East European Studies. He is the author of the book „Slovenská literatúra a moc v druhej polovici päťdesiatych rokov“ (Brno, Prius 2001) (English: Slovak Literature and Power in the Second Half of the 1950's). He has written several articles in the scientific journals and books as well. Since 2004 he has been the chairman of the NGO „Society for Central and Eastern Europe“ and deputy editor-in-chief of the on-line analytical journal „DespoteBorders.com“.

Grigorij Mesežnikov (Slovakia) is a graduate from the Faculty of Arts, the Moscow State University (MGU).

Between 1983 and 1993, he was working at Comenius University in Bratislava; from 1993 to 1997, he was serving at the Political Science Institute at the Slovak Academy of Sciences. He is a founding member of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), which he joined full-time in June 1997. In February 1999, he became the Institute's president. He has published expert studies on political aspects of transformation in post-communist societies in various monographs, collections and scholarly journals in Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, Germany, Denmark, USA, Canada, Great Britain, France, Serbia, Taiwan, Ukraine and Belarus. He regularly contributes analyses of Slovakia's political scene to domestic and foreign media. Since 1993, he has been an external correspondent for Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe. He has co-edited and co-authored dozens of books, including the Global Reports on Slovakia, the annually published comprehensive analysis of country's development in all relevant sectors of society (domestic politics, foreign policy, economy, social policy etc.). In 2006, he was a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment of Democracy, working on the project about role of think tanks in policy making.

Mgr. Matúš Mišík (Slovakia) completed his studies at the Department of Political Science and European Studies at the University of Constantine the Philosopher in Nitra in 2007. His master thesis concerns the relationship between Iceland and the EU. Nowadays he continues as a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at the Comenius University in Bratislava. He spent semester during his master studies in Norway in 2006, and did a part of his research in Finland in 2009. He focuses mainly on European integration and Scandinavian countries, from theoretical perspectives prefers constructivist approach to European integration.

Ing. Mgr. Peter Mojtek, Col. (Ret.), (Slovakia) graduated from the Military Command-Technical College in Martin, the Faculty of Rocket Forces and Artillery in 1978. In the years 1985-1986 he extended his education with the internal postgraduate study at the College of the National Security Corps in Prag in the field of military defence intelligence. He attended the special course of management at the Military Academy in Brno in 1992 and the course in national security education at the Central European Security Studies in Bratislava in 1995. In 1999, he finished the five year internal study at the Faculty of Law at the Comenius University in Bratislava. In the years 1993-2003, he worked at the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic in the field of military intelligence as the head of the operational territorial department.

Lucia Najšlová (Slovakia) has been the Editor-in-chief of *Zahraničná politika*, a Slovak foreign policy magazine, since 2004. The magazine is published by the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, an in-

dependent Bratislava based think-tank, where she works also as an analyst in European studies program. She authored and co-authored articles and policy briefs on topics related to EU Enlargement, ENP, the EU & Turkey relations and the Cyprus issue. Since 2006, Najšlová has lectured at the Department of European Studies and International Relations, Comenius University.

Col. (GS) Assoc. Prof. Pavel Nečas, Ph.D. (Slovakia) holds position of the Vice-rector for Science at the Armed Forces Academy in Liptovský Mikuláš. He has held numerous assignments in the Air Force training and education establishments and in research and development branches during his career in Slovakia and Europe. He is author of many monographs, books, papers and articles in the field of security and defense policy published worldwide.

Ing. Mgr. Elemír Nečej, LTC. (Ret.), (Slovakia) graduated from the University of Economics in Bratislava (1974). In 1994, he completed his studies at the Military Pedagogic University (military psychology and education). In 1999, he completed specialized post-graduate study "European integration and European Union" at the Faculty of Management of Comenius University in Bratislava. As a military professional, he was working in the former 14th Tank Division during 1971 – 1997, at the Military air force collegiate and Military Financial Office. From 1997 – to 2002, he was working at the Centre for Strategic Studies and at the Defence Planning Branch of the SR MoD. After retiring from his military service, he worked as a civilian employee at the Institute for Security and Defence Studies of MoD and at the Institute of Strategic Studies of the National Defence Academy. Currently, he is working as an external contributor of CENAA.

Col. PhDr. Jaroslav Nižňanský, Ph.D. (Slovakia) serves as Branch Director of the Slovak General Staff. He has extensive experience in Public and Media Relations, Information Warfare, Military Communication and Anti-terrorist Operations. He is a member of many distinguished International Press and Media Comities and Organizations and is a principle author of variety of publications and monographs, released by national and international press worldwide.

Andrej Nosko, M.A. (Slovakia) is researcher of energy policy and security, PhD student at the Central European University in Budapest. He has lectured, published and advised on questions of political economy of security and government-corporate relations of Central Europe and Central Asia. Previously, he worked for European Commission, in the area of internal security. His scholarly archive is freely available online at www.nosko.sk.

Dr. Gayane Novikova (Armenia) is Founder and Director of Center for Strategic Analysis, a non-profit,

non-partial independent think tank in Yerevan, Armenia. In 1995-2000, Dr. Novikova was an expert of the Armenian Center for National and International Studies. In 1978-2000, she was working for the Institute of the Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Science of Armenia. Since 2004 up to present, Dr. Novikova is Co-Founder and President of the Marshall Center Armenian Alumni Association (since 2004). In 2002-2005, was a co-chairperson of the RSSCSG at NATO PFP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes. She is the Author of 5 monographs and more than 60 articles and anthologies.

Michal Onderčo, BA (Slovakia) is an analyst of the Middle East Programme of the Association for International Affairs in Prague. He has studied International Politics and History at the Jacobs University, Bremen and International Relations at Sciences Po Paris. Currently, he is a LL.M candidate in Law and Politics of International Security at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

Mgr. Branislav Ondrášik, MA, PhD. (Slovakia) is Deputy Director of the Institute of Mass Media Communication at the Faculty of Media of the Bratislava School of Law and advisor to the Dean of the Faculty. He graduated in journalism from the Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University in Bratislava; he continued in Ph.D. studies at the Comenius University and pursued dissertation research in political economy of media as a Fulbright scholar at Michigan State University (2006-2007) in the U.S. In 2008, studying as a Chevening scholar, he finished M.A. studies in political communication at the University of Leeds in the United Kingdom. He has worked at *Hospodárske noviny* and works at SME and SME.sk as well. His research interests include political economy of media, political marketing and propaganda.

PhDr. Róbert Ondrejcsák, PhD. (Slovakia) holds Ph.D. in International Relations; Mgr. in Political Sciences, History and Philosophy. Dr. Ondrejcsák is working as a Director of Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA). Previously, he served as a Counsellor and Deputy Chief of Mission of Slovak Embassy to Hungary, as well as the Director of the Institute for Security and Defence Studies (research centre of the Slovak Ministry of Defence) and Foreign and Security Policy advisor to Vice-Chairman of Slovak Parliament. He is an editor of the *Panorama of Global Security Environment* and lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, the Matej Bel University. He is author and editor of numerous publications about international relations and security policy.

MA Florian Qehaja (Kosovo) is a Head of Operations at Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS) and Lecturer Assistant of "International Peace and Security" and "Geopolitics" at the Institute for Social Studies "Universum" in Prishtina. He is author of several publi-

cations on the security sector in Kosovo and the region. Recently, he is co-published the book "Assessment of the Security Sector in Republic of Kosovo".

Mgr. Dalibor Pavolka (Slovakia) studied political science at the Faculty of Philosophy at Comenius University in Bratislava. In 2002 – 2004, he worked for the Press and Information Department of the SR Government Office. In 2004–2005, he worked at the Institute of Security and Defence Studies of the SR Ministry of Defence, and in 2006-2008 for the Section of Security and Defence Studies at the SR MoD. Since 2008, he has been working for the Section of Defence Policy at the SR MoD. He focuses on the Middle East region, terrorism, counter-insurgency warfare and development of armed forces capabilities of the armed forces.

Jasmin Porobic (Bosnia and Herzegovina) holds a Master degree in European Studies and EU Law from the University of Bologna, Italy and the University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 2002 to 2009, Mr. Porobic worked as an attorney for NATO HQ Sarajevo at the Office of the Legal Advisor, focusing on security sector reform and parliamentary cooperation and currently holds senior advisory position at the United Nations Development Programme. His research focuses on defence reform, post-conflict development, peace building and international community's security policies. Mr. Porobic published a book and several articles for *NATO Legal Gazette*, *Panorama* and *Privredna Stampa*.

Alena Rochovska (Slovakia) was born in 1971. From 2002 she has worked as a lecturer and researcher in Human Geography at Department of Human Geography at the Comenius University in Bratislava. She finished her PhD in Human Geography at the same department in 2005. In 2005 – 2006 she worked at the Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London with Professor Adrian Smith on the project related to poverty and social exclusion. Her professional interest relates to the period of transformation, social inequalities in the space of post-socialism.

PhDr. Mgr. Peter Rospitinský, PhD. (Slovakia) is a graduate from the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of Matej Bel University (2001) and the Faculty of Law of Matej Bel University (2004). He is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations and Diplomacy of the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of Matej Bel University and especially deals with the actual questions of international law as well as the problematic of international organizations.

Ambassador Dr. Urban Rusnák (Slovakia) was educated in Moscow, Russia (Moscow Oil and Gas Institute, MSc equiv.) and Ankara, Turkey (Ankara University, PhD). Since 1992, he had been working in Foreign

Service of Czechoslovakia, after 1993 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. In 1994-98, he served as the Deputy Head of Mission at the Slovak Embassy in Ankara, in 1999-2000 as the director of the Slovak Institute for International Studies. In the years 2000-2003, he was appointed as the Executive Director of the International Visegrad Fund in Bratislava. In 2005-2009, he served as the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to Ukraine.

PhDr. Ivo Samson, Ph.D (Slovakia) graduated in history from the Philosophical Faculty of the (today) Masaryk University in Brno (Czech Republic) and in political science from the Justus Liebig University (Germany). He works as analyst at the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy in Bratislava dealing with security policy issues. Externally, he has been teaching at the Comenius University in Bratislava and at the Wolverhampton University in the United Kingdom.

Marko Savković (Serbia) has been working as a Research Associate of the Centre for Civil-Military Relations since 2006, where he participated in research, education and advocacy projects. He has written a number of essays on issues significant for the on-going reform of Serbia's security sector in Serbian daily academic journals and magazines. He focuses on the ESDP and the defence reform in Serbia and Western Balkans in general, and is currently participating in a research project mapping the challenges political elite in Serbia will face if they decide to increase armed forces' contribution to peace support operations.

Martin Sklenár (Slovakia) went on to work at the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic after graduating from Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. In 2006 to 2009, he was posted to the Permanent Representation of the Slovak Republic to the European Union, where he was following the development of the European Security and Defence Policy. During this time, he has been focusing on operations of the EU and capability development.

Peter Stano (Slovakia) studied at the Philosophical Faculty of the Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia and the Free University Bremen, Germany. He was working for 15 years as a journalist mostly for the public media. He was foreign affairs reporter and later Head of Foreign News in the Slovak Radio, presenter and Head of International News in the Slovak Television. He spent 5 years working for the BBC World Service in London, U.K. and had a short stay in the German Radio station *Deutsche Welle* in Cologne. In 2008 he was living for 6 months in Damascus, Syria, covering the region for the Slovak Radio and Slovak press agency TASR. He speaks 5 languages and joined the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs in summer 2009. He wrote this analysis as a journalist shortly

before joining the MFA. The views expressed in his article do not reflect the official position of the Slovak foreign policy.

Tomáš Strážay (Slovakia) works at the Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, where he heads the program Central and South-eastern Europe. He has also been an editor of the *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* quarterly. Currently, he is completing his PhD at the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

Bc. & Mgr. Tereza Šafářová (Czech Republic) is pursuing a doctoral program at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University (supervisor: doc. JUDr. PhDr. M. Mareš, Ph.D.), focusing on European military maritime strategy. She received her master's degree in political science from the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Charles University, having specialized in geopolitics and studied under PhDr. M. Romancov, Ph.D. (final thesis: Geopolitical circumstances at the birth of the modern Prussian state). She received her bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Humanities, the Charles University, where she had specialized in the history of political thought, studying under Dr. Rudolf Kučera (final thesis: Frederick II. the Great's conception of power and government).

Mgr. PhDr. Vladimír Šimoňák, PhD. (Slovakia) graduated from University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica in International Relations and Diplomacy (2006) and Law (2008). He is currently serving at the European Affairs Unit of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and continues teaching and scientific activities at his alma mater. Main fields of expertise include the Eastern European neighbourhood and European legal affairs. All opinions expressed in this paper are solely his private views and do not necessarily correspond with any official policies.

Dagmar Škamlová (Slovakia) completed her MA studies in political science at the University of Regina. She has worked for various departments of at the Ministry of Defence. She is currently working at the Section of Bilateral Relations at the SR MoD. She specializes in issues of security sector reform and developments in the post-soviet space and Africa.

Ing. Vladimír Tarasovič, Col. (Ret.) (Slovakia) studied at the Military Air Force SNP University in Košice (1978). In 1995, he graduated from the College of Strategic Studies and Defense Economics, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. In 1998, he undertook a year-long study at the National Defence Academy in Vienna. He worked in various positions at the Air Force, and since 1994 in various positions at the SR Ministry of Defence. He was

working at the Institute of Security and Defence Studies from 2001, from 2004 as the deputy head, and in 2005 as the stand-in head. He was the editor-in-chief of the first two volumes of *Panorama* and is currently one of its editors. He authored and co-authored several publications, studies, and academic articles focused on issues of security, asymmetry in military, Iran, and security sector reform. Since 2005, he has been working at CENAA.

Marcin Terlikowski (Poland) is an analyst at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, area of research: European Security and Defence Policy, European defence industry and market in defence products, cyber-security and cyber-warfare. Author of various papers and articles on European security problems, co-editor of a book on the role of cyber-security in the modern state. Since 2007 PhD student in Warsaw School of Economics, specializing in integration processes in the European defence industry and liberalization of the European defence market. M.A. degree in International Relations (International Security) earned from Warsaw University; master thesis on the use of information technologies by terrorist entities.

Lubomír Tokár, PhD. (Slovakia) graduated in International Relations and Diplomacy from the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica in 2002. In 2008, he obtained PhD. at the same institution, where he is currently working as an assistant. He has been contributing to „Panorama“ for three years. His main research interests are general International Relations theory and small states' foreign policy.

Tomáš Valášek (Slovakia) is director of foreign policy and defence in the Centre for European Reform, an independent, London-based think-tank. Previously, he served as Senior Official in the Slovak Ministry of Defence. He publishes regularly in the *Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and other publications.

Beata Wojna, PhD. (Poland) has been an analyst at the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw since 2004. Her main areas of research are EU foreign relations and European Neighbourhood Policy. She undertook her doctoral studies at Complutense University in Madrid, Department of Contemporary History (1999–2004), holding research grants from the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional and Université Libre de Bruxelles. She is the author of publications on EU foreign relations, the ENP and the European policy of Spain and Poland.

Ernest Wyciszkievicz (Poland) joined the Polish Institute of International Affairs in 2001 as an analyst. In 2001–2004, he was a member of the Editorial Board of *The Polish Foreign Affairs Digest* and in 2003–2008 he was a Managing Editor of *Evropa*, a Russian-language quarterly on European affairs. In February 2009, he was appointed International Economy and Energy Security Programme coordinator at the PIIA. His main areas of interest are: energy security, political economy of oil and gas, EU energy policy, EU–Russia relations, as well as Russian foreign and security policy. His publications include: *Współczesna Rosja wobec Zachodu (Contemporary Russia in relation to the West)* Łódź, 2004; *Caspian Oil and Gas – What Relevance for the West*, [in:] A. Eberhardt, A. Iwashita (eds.), *Security Challenges in the Post-Soviet Space. European and Asian Perspectives*, Warsaw-Sapporo 2007; *EU External Energy Policy and Turkey*, [in:] M. Kibaroglu (ed.), *Turkey's neighborhood*, Foreign Policy Institute, Ankara 2008; (ed.) *Geopolitics of Pipelines. Energy Interdependence and Inter-State Relations in the Post-Soviet Area*, Warsaw 2009 (forthcoming).

Marcin Zaborowski (Poland) is a Research Fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies. Doctorate in European Politics and MA in International Studies from the University of Birmingham. Lecturer in International Relations and European Politics at Aston University from 2001 to 2005. Coordinator and director of the Transatlantic Programme at the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw, Poland from 2002 to 2004. Former NATO Research Fellow (1999–2000) and EUISS Visiting Fellow (2004). At the EU ISS, Marcin Zaborowski deals with transatlantic relations, US foreign policy, EU enlargement and East Asia.

Tomasz Żornaczuk, M.A. (Poland) graduated from the Center for Europe, University of Warsaw, majoring in European Integration (B.A.). Completed the Analyzing Europe International Master Programme both at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Maastricht, and at the Faculty of International Relations, Doğuş University in Istanbul. Also graduated from the Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies, University of Warsaw, majoring in Balkan Studies. Internship at the Department of Political Affairs at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. He worked as an expert for the Balkans at the Department of the EU and International Relations of the Ministry of Interior and Administration. Currently he works at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. His main fields of interest are the politics of the Western Balkan countries, integration of the region with the EU and the EU Enlargement.

HAMILTON, D.: A revitalized NATO in a new Atlantic partnership

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 11–19

Last decade proved that NATO has its role in a new world order and its competences are being broadened. Capabilities of this alliance are enormous; the North Atlantic cooperation has reached new dimensions and requires new tasks. This article is dedicated to new roles of NATO, new approach towards a collective security policy and a possible heading of a new Atlantic partnership.

ZABOROWSKI, M.: Organizing a strategic EU-US partnership

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 21–33

The new American government lead by president Obama emphasizes changes in US – inland and foreign policy. This article is mapping current Transatlantic agenda, US – EU – NATO relations, their mutual effort in highly important topics as policy toward Russia, Israeli – Palestinian conflict, Iranian nuclear program, energy policy, climate change and many more issues, which are vital for Transatlantic cooperation.

GYARMATI, I.: NATO's crisis - or renewal

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 35–39

In the post - Cold War period, nature of conflicts changed and new security challenges arose. This article deals with new challenges, which NATO faces these days, such as terrorism, failed states, state and nation building, international criminality, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and new tasks like a necessity to accept new strategy. NATO will have to deal also with position of Russia in international relations.

NEČAS, P., KELEMEN, M.: New Alliance' Strategic Concept: desperately wanted!

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 41–51

NATO's Strategic Concept is currently more a potential source of dispute than a framework for action. What in 1999 seemed to be appropriate, to have elastic formulations whereby each member-state could adapt the framework to its own needs, is today a source of transatlantic disagreements. Some of the unresolved questions relating to the 1999 Strategic Concept as the geographical limitations of NATO's involvement are no longer applicable and have been answered through concrete actions in Afghanistan and in Iraq. The process leading to a new NATO strategy is in its initial stage. NATO should not miss its goal of formulating concise, coherent and forward looking strategic guidance that can satisfy political leaders, military planners and public elites at the same time.

NEČAS, P., NIŽŇANSKÝ, J.: NATO-EU strategic cooperation: mission impossible?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 53–59

The EU is the only major organization with which NATO

has formally structured cooperation. However, this cooperation has been far from optimal. The key problems generally derive from firmly maintained national policies. Only nations can choose to change their policies; and fundamental changes appear improbable, at least in the near term. Each nation has a sovereign right to its own policies concerning the extent to which flexibility is in order concerning the interpretation of particular agreements. Similarly, each nation has a sovereign right to its own views as to whether certain types of activities fall within the appropriate sphere of competence of specific international organization. If the political factors, the national caveats prevail, there is a little ground to expect NATO-EU relations to become more productive in the foreseeable future.

TERLIKOWSKI, M.: The European Security and Defence Policy in 2008 and 2009: an operational breakthrough?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 61–73

The paper examines the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in its operational dimension since the beginning of 2008. At first, it focuses on the biggest two ESDP missions, launched in 2008, namely EUFOR Chad/RCA and EULEX Kosovo. The article indicates their most important, distinctive features, describes main political as well as technical problems which accompanied them, and finally assesses the importance of those operations for the ESDP and the EU itself. In the same way the paper analyzes the next two mission launched in 2008 – EUMM Georgia and EU NAVFOR Somalia. Although entirely different in type and character, all those operations demanded significant efforts and were considered important political undertakings of the European Union and have significant influence on the ESDP development and the international credibility of the EU.

BRHLÍKOVÁ, R.: ESDP – respond to 21st century security challenges according to the new treaty?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 75–87

Europe has to reply to several serious questions from which the most important is the future of the EU itself. This respond depends on the EU reform that the new so called Lisbon Treaty contains. The coherent foreign, security and defence policy of the Union depends on this Treaty as well. Moreover, the new American administration shows that the relations between both sides of the Atlantic will move to more effective multilateralism, partnership and moderate enforcement of power. The Lisbon treaty can offer a new stimulus for the European security and defence policy as well as for the EU's relations with the NATO and the USA. The article has an ambition to analyze the military side of the ESDP in the Lisbon treaty. It discusses its position among the EU policies and its relation to the EU bodies. At the same time it tries to look for the alternatives in a case of non coming into force of the Lisbon treaty.

WOJNA, B.: Eastern Partnership: the new EU's response to security challenges in the Eastern neighbourhood?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 89-101

The Eastern Partnership is an initiative focused first of all on the EU exerting its influence as a "soft power." As a proposal built on the European Neighbourhood Policy, it is probably not a very original response to the security challenges in the Eastern neighbourhood. The EU's cooperation with its Eastern neighbours is to lead to the transfer of good EU practices in the fields of trade, economy and politics. The "hard" security issues related to regional conflicts are not included in the agenda. However, as an initiative designed to contribute to the transformation of the Eastern neighbours into democratic states with transparent and reliable market economies, the Eastern Partnership could have a strategic significance for the stability and security of both the countries of the Eastern dimension of the ENP and of the EU as a whole. The implementation of the EaP will depend mainly on the changes taking place in the neighbourhood countries. There is also an important role to play for those EU member countries that are particularly interested in cooperation with the EaP addressees. They will be responsible for upholding political support for this initiative within the EU and the acquisition of funds to finance it, but also for persuading the Eastern neighbours to introduce the essential political and economic reforms.

NAJŠLOVÁ, L.: Turkey and the European Union: still marching along the common interest?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 103-115

Four years after the opening of the accession negotiations, the relationship of Turkey and the European Union seems to be as fragile as ever. Eight chapters' in EU-Turkey negotiations remain blocked because of practical and political differences between the two sides. Leaders of key European states reiterate that "Europe should stay European". At the same time, the Turkish elites and public seem to be losing hope that membership is indeed possible. There is a widespread belief in the country that the EU has already made the decision, and no matter how well Turkey does on the reform track, it will never be allowed to enter. Be it on the street or in the diplomatic corridors in Turkey, one can hear a lot of cynical remarks regarding the EU membership and different scenarios for Turkey's future are floated with greater frequency. At the same time, Turkey is active in many areas that do (or at least should) matter to the EU. In the Black Sea, Turkey is one step from defrosting relations with Armenia, in the Middle East Turkey remains perhaps Israel's best friend in the Muslim world, though Prime Minister Erdogan criticized the Israeli intervention in Gaza in winter 2008. Meanwhile, the EU does not seem able to make use of Turkey's rising regional clout. Turkey's membership would turn the EU into a major strategic actor but the Union is about to miss this opportunity.

ŠAFÁŘOVÁ, T.: Prospects for an integrated EU marine military strategy

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 117-129

We address the topics of marine security and strategy, marine geopolitics, marine law and lack thereof, and discuss marine weapons. We start out in the pan-regional context of Europe and the EU, but the topic grows into the global question of where the world is headed in the 21st century in terms of the interplay between economy and security. The outlook for an integrated EU marine military strategy is a matter that closely affects all the member states. We no longer have the time or leeway to go on with a fragmented policy. The security of the continent depends on all the member states acting together. The landlocked states have it in their power to use an integrated policy to take part in, and make a fundamental mark on, the decisions about the form and development of the global security environment.

BUREŠ, O.: Counterterrorism policy: European Union

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 131-145

This chapter provides a critical overview of the key measures the European Union has adopted to fight terrorism following September 11, 2001. While on the one hand the European Council adopted a comprehensive Plan of Action and reached political agreement on a number of important counterterrorism initiatives, including strengthening of Europol and Eurojust and the introduction of a European Arrest Warrant, a closer analysis reveals that the EU counterterrorism policy suffers from an implementation deficit and a multitude of political, legal, and cultural challenges still need to be overcome in order to make it less of a paper tiger and more of an effective counterterrorism device.

ONDREJCSÁK, R.: American foreign and security policy under Barack Obama: change and continuity

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 147-161

The main objective of this paper is to analyze how American policies have changed following the inauguration of President Obama. President Obama's foreign policy is determined by several factors, among them the foreign policy legacy and traditions of the Democratic Party including President Obama's closest advisors and members of his cabinet (some of them were high-ranking officials of the Clinton administrations), his own foreign policy program presented during the election campaign (which is to a some extent based on his "personal life-story") developments and reality of the global strategic environment, domestic and international perceptions of American foreign policy and of course, long-term strategic interests of the United States.

TOKÁR, L.: International environment according to the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

How the half-blind foretell the future

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 163-175

The contribution provides a critique of a section of the study

by the Slovak Academy of Sciences dedicated to a prognosis of the international environment evolution until 2030. The study is criticised for its neglect of available studies of similar purpose from abroad, its omission and incorrect usage of established terms, and, on the whole, its DIY nature, signifying a total detachment from the discourse on the topic beyond Slovakia. The conclusion sketches a broader picture of the insufficiently developed strategic thinking in Slovakia, as illustrated by other official publications by ministries of the Slovak Republic in charge of formulating the country's foreign and security policies.

SAMSON, I.: Anti-missile defence in Central Europe and discussion in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 177-189

The paper focuses on the development of the anti-missile defence (AMD) in Europe after the governments in the Czech Republic and in Poland reached (in 2008) their bilateral agreements with the USA about the building-up of two U.S. AMD bases at the territories of Poland and the Czech Republic, respectively. The attention has been paid to the development of the AMD discussion in the Czech Republic, which has been intensively followed also in the Slovak mass media and which has been commented by some Slovak politicians, journalists and analysts much more intensively than the Polish BMD "scene". One gives details about the bilateral agreement on the radar base in the Czech Republic, analyzes the position of the Czech side as expressed in the September 2008 SOFA treaty and specifies the argumentation of the opponents to the AMD in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia. The "fate" of the 3rd (Central Eastern European) pillar of the AMD is still unclear due to several variables: parliamentary support in the Czech Parliament following the elections in the Czech Republic in the Fall of 2009; development of the Iranian nuclear program; Russian ability to intervene in the program; financial costs and efficiency of the BMD; attitude of the Barack Obama's new team to the AMD and its willingness to strike a bargain with Russia; a possible re-grouping of alliances in the world due to a threatening lower "rating" of European allies by the new U.S. government and several mores.

KALBUROV, I.: ESDP and Bulgaria: Ideas, perceptions and policy motivation

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 191-203

Up to the present, we know little about the motivation of the EU member states to participate in the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Why do they do it and what are the main determinants of countries' positions on ESDP? What role do they see for themselves? The paper is the first attempt to understand the participation of Bulgaria in the ESDP and its underlying causes. The point of view that guided the research is one that focuses on ideas as main drivers for policy behaviour. Thus the paper looks at how ESDP is perceived by the Bulgarian political lead-

ership and what is its place in the strategic documents on security and defence.

NEČEJ, E., TARASOVIČ, V.: EU – Global player?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 205-219

The paper deals with conclusions reached during the Slovak Strategic Forum discussion focused on the European Security and Defence Policy. It summarizes the security experts' opinions on 5 years of existence of the European Security Strategy and concludes that it is necessary to develop a new document which should be prepared in coordination with preparation of a new NATO Strategic Concept. It focuses on the EU missions and importance of the EU battle groups in terms of comparison between the EU's soft power and hard power. It is assumed in the paper that the EU capabilities and capacities, including a participation of the Slovak Republic, will be strengthened. In spite of existing troubles within common engagement of civilian and military forces, a future possibility of their connection is admitted by authors. A security dimension of bilateral relations between the European Union and Russia is examined, with emphasis on a proposal of the Russian President Medvedev to create a pan-European security system. The paper accentuates a significance of energy within mutual relations, too. It examines options that the Slovak Republic, as an EU member, has within formulation of its interests towards Russia.

KLAPÁČOVÁ, L.: Blocking of the EU enlargement in Western Balkans and its implications for the security situation in the region

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 221-235

The prospect of the EU membership in the countries of the Western Balkans region serves as the important incentive for their democratic political and economic reforms as well as for political stability and security in the region. However, the advancement of the candidate countries from the region of the Western Balkans in the integration process is based not only on their own capacity of fulfilling the membership criteria, but it is also influenced by the external factors such as bilateral disputes with the EU member states. The EU sets the enlargement as one of its strategic aims. Therefore the EU must find tools for preventing the blocking of the accession process of the Western Balkans candidate countries by the current EU members on the basis of unsolved bilateral issues. One of the tools suggested in this article is the positive use of the veto in the European Council.

ŽORNACZUK, T.: Western Balkans in Poland's foreign policy

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 237-249

The Western Balkans are not a significant region in Poland's foreign policy. This mainly results from its geographical location as well as from weak historical and economic ties. The main Polish interest towards this part of Europe rests in enhancing its security and stability through integration with NATO and the EU. Through these organizations

Poland is pursuing the objectives of its policy towards the region. Poland is obligated to adopt a more active approach towards the area on the forums of the Visegrád Group and the Regional Partnership. The Polish government recognized Kosovo's independence and supports Serbia's "European" perspective but it has not always granted its political support to the latter. Although Poland's relations with the Western Balkan countries maintain correct, it does not manifest a clear will to deepen bilateral cooperation.

BÁCHORA, R.: "New war in October!" - The political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of the constitutional framework and the transition of the international mandate

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 251-263

The current political development in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) causes serious concerns in the EU and is perceived as the worst since the end of the war. Ethnical based conflicts of interest reached a new critical level in June 2009. The main reason for the deterioration of the political situation is the dispute over the state and entity institutions between Bosnian Serb and Bosniak representatives who are supported by the international community. As a consequence of these political tensions, a change of the international mandate, especially the closure of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), has not been possible yet. The article's objective is to present an overview of the current political development in BiH.

SAVKOVIĆ, M.: How Serbia over calculated itself on EULEX

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 265-277

In April 2009, EULEX rule of law mission was declared fully operational. A more pragmatic stance of the new Serbian Government was of key importance for this process. Belgrade had calculated its own interests in backing up The EU mission, of which some were not founded in Kosovo's reality. In fact, in a gross overstatement of its resources, it attempted to turn EULEX into an asset in the wider context of its somewhat confusing foreign policy, aiming to slow down the recognition process, while not endangering the prospect of European integration. Half a year into EULEX's mandate, results of this policy remain to be seen.

QEHAJA, F.: Measuring the development of private security in Kosovo

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 279-285

Recently in most of the developing countries and even in the Western Balkans, Private Security Companies (PSC) numbers are increasing. This growing trend is present even in Kosovo. This paper underlines the general overview and a number of areas in which the private security industry in Kosovo needs further improvement, regulation and oversight. This sector faces insufficient legal infrastructure and a number of ambiguities in definition, scope and means. Yet, however,

PSCs need extensive internal reforms and concrete plans to offer efficient but also socially acceptable services in Kosovo.

ŠIMOŇÁK, V.: Beyond enlargement: the European approach to the Black Sea region

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 287-297

The paper looks into the present state of the Black Sea region and the prospects of the EU's influence on that part of its neighbourhood. After almost twenty years, the area lacks a strong multilateral framework, effectively reducing it to a venue for old school power politics and bilateral deals by big players. With security, economy and pressing social issues largely unattended, the EU's involvement hardly has an alternative, if another lost decade is to be prevented.

MIŠÍK, M.: 29th member state of the European Union: Iceland?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 299-311

Economic crisis and its following political impacts have made Iceland a subject of many analyses and heated discussions. One of the main results of the crisis is that Icelandic interest in the membership in the European Union has risen by a great deal. The aim of this paper is to show how the economic crisis influenced the discussion about the possible EU membership. It is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the development of the relationship between Iceland and the EU before the economic crisis, the second tries to explain what happened in Iceland in October 2008, and the third looks into the development after the crisis in connection with the membership in the European Union.

MESEŽNIKOV, G.: The approach of political parties in the Slovak Republic towards Hungary and towards Slovak-Hungarian interstate relations

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 313-327

Author analyzes the role played by political parties in Slovakia in bilateral Slovak-Hungarian relations' development, their official positions, and statements made and select practical steps undertaken by party representatives in this issue. He divides parliamentary parties in their approach to Hungary and to Slovak-Hungarian interstate relations into three categories – parties of the current ruling coalition (Smer-SD, SNS, ĽS-HZDS), center-right Slovak opposition parties (SDKÚ-DS, KDĽ) and party representing Hungarian minority (SMK), identifying elements of strategies in their approach to Hungary, based on parties' internal character, ideological profile and program priorities.

NEČEJ, E.: The Russian security policy after passing of the National Security Strategy of Russian Federation until 2020

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 329-341

The Article provides a view of the National Security Strategy of Russian Federation 2020. The NSS in 6 chapters defines tendencies of the world development, national interests and guarantee of NS RF in 9 areas, basis for NSS implementation

and characteristics for a valuation of NSS status. Concerning the national interests and priorities, the NSS quotes defence and state and civil security as the first priorities for Russia's national security, followed by social-economic aspects. The economic security penetrates several parts of the document, and its influence on the other security issues is emphasized. However, the National Defence remains very important (if not the most important) issue with emphasis on the strategic deterrence and new face of RF Armed Forces.

NOVIKOVA, G.: The five – day war of August 2008 and shifts in security in the South Caucasus

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 343-359

Insecurity in the South Caucasus reached its latest peak in August 2008, when the military actions on Georgian territory, between Russia and Georgia, followed the drastic change in the configuration of the security structure in the South Caucasus, and illuminated the role and importance of each regional and non-regional actor. This war has excluded the possibility of the creation of any acceptable format of regional cooperation in the South Caucasus. Moreover, while the U.S. and EU are temporarily reducing their involvement in South Caucasian affairs, Russia and Turkey are moving via increased economical cooperation toward a strategic partnership in the political sphere, as a result of which Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia can find themselves in a strategic "trap."

KORBA, M.: Caucasus crisis and perception of international security

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 361-375

Russian - Georgian conflict in South Ossetia was the first inter-state local war in 21st century taking place in eastern neighbourhood of NATO and EU. This conflict provoked political crisis which affected relations between Russian Federation, USA and European countries. Presented paper analyzes internal and external causes of the Russian-Georgian conflict in August 2008. Simultaneously, it analyzes political context and consequences of Caucasus crisis for international security.

TODOROV, I.: European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine: Need in reboot

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 377-385

The paper covers the modern state, factors and disadvantages of the policy for the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine. It discusses the prospects for signing an Agreement of Association with the EU, factual replacement of the Membership Action Plan by the National Action Plan in Ukraine's relations with the NATO, and evaluates the potential for deepening the Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation in the security domain.

MARUŠIAK, J., KOBZOVÁ, J.: Belarus – EU: Rapprochement Ltd

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 387-401

The article explores recent developments in the European

Union - Belarus relations and looks into underlying reasons of the current rapprochement between Minsk and Brussels. It argues that the shift in the relations between the two sides is a result of the deterioration of Belarus' partnership with Russia: after Moscow began to cut down its economic subsidies, the regime was prompted to diversify its foreign policy focus. While the rift between Minsk and Moscow has become visible in 2006, it was the economic crisis which hit Belarus in 2008 that has finally pushed the Belarusian president Alexander Lukashenko and his technocratic elite to turn westwards for what he primarily sees as an economic assistance to the country's battered economy. The European Union reacted by narrowing its democratisation demands vis-à-vis Minsk – most of which Belarus failed to meet anyway – and engaged with Belarus, suspending the visa ban for the regime's officials, inviting the country to join the EU Eastern Partnership programme and offering enhanced cooperation in energy security, health and safety standards as well as regional development. Significantly, these developments took place with no intervention of Belarus' democratic opposition, which is currently in its deepest crisis ever. The article holds that the recent developments open up a window of opportunity which may eventually bring Belarus closer to the tipping point. But to achieve that, the authors argue that the European Union must re-assert its role in Belarus by pursuing bold policy of economic assistance which is tied to regime's steps towards political liberalisation.

BEN-MEIR, A.: Negotiating a two-state solution

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 403-411

Arab – Israeli conflict which belongs to one of the longest unresolved conflicts might possibly have a solution which includes US involvement. This involvement of US requires cooperation with both sides of conflict and sets several goals to be reached and requirements to be fulfilled. It means that Israel, in order to gain support of Arab states in solving the Iranian nuclear threat, have to deal with Palestinian territorial issues and accept an effort of the Arab Peace Initiative. On the other hand, Palestinian Hamas has to become more serious political party and suppress the use of violence, if wanting to reach agreement with Israel. This article is dedicated to challenges, which result from possible solution of "Arab – Israeli rapprochement".

SAMSON, I.: Development in the Palestinian Autonomy in 2008 - 2009 after the seizure of power by Hamas in the Gaza entity and the war between Israel and Gaza

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 413-427

The paper deals with the development in the Palestinian Autonomy in 2008 – 2009, whereby the main attention has been paid to the most problematic part of Palestine, i.e. to the new (and unofficial) state of Gaza, which has formed an entity independent of the government in Ramallah. The National Authority (further Palestinian Autonomy) became definitely split between two spheres of interests and

the two strongest Palestinian Arab movements – Fatah and Hamas – have won power in Gaza and in the West Bank respectively. Although the world has not yet been ready to recognize the reality of a new state and in spite of the fact that neither Fatah, nor Hamas speak about two Palestinian semi-independent (due to the restrictions imposed by Israel to both Arab units) political autonomies, the development in these parts of Arab Palestine has been taking a distinctly different course since at least three years. The relations with Israel have been crucial for both Palestinian Arab autonomous “sub-states”. The refusal of Hamas to prolong the truce and the resume of rocket fire against the Israeli territory at the end of 2008 produced a bloody war between Gaza and Israel and helped also change the government in Israel. Political forces tired of incessant concessions to the Arabs and preferring a more radical approach toward the Palestinian Arabs won the parliamentary elections in the Jewish state.

STANO, P.: The new dynamism of the Middle East peace process: Syria as a key player

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 429-443

Syria emerges as a key player in the Middle East, getting out of the international isolation and signalling readiness to be a pragmatic force in the relations with the US and the EU. Washington and Brussels seemed to accept that the previous policy of isolating Syria has been counter-productive and both the US and the EU recognised her role in stabilising the region. The EU began to follow a new line on Syria in 2008: Syria needs to be included in the dialogue again since nothing moves without her – stabilisation of Iraq, Israeli-Palestinian talks, consolidation of Lebanon and also links to Iran. The common dialogue should now lead to what hasn't been achieved by years of ignoring and confronting Syria – to weaken her support for radical Islamic movements Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine and with this helping to bring stability in the Middle East. The Americans and Europeans also hope that the dialogue with Damascus helps them to influence the biggest ally of Syria – Iran. The Iranian factor was one of the main motivations why Israel under the former prime minister Ehud Olmert decided to embark on the peace negotiations with Syria in 2008 – although only indirectly through Turkish mediation. The expected return of the US ambassador to Damascus should signal the end of the White House policy to isolate the regime of President Assad. The Americans will need to engage with Syria also in her negotiations with Israel. President Assad repeatedly stated that the real talks and progress in the Israeli track would be possible with the American involvement only. One of the main reasons to admit Syria back on the international stage was the normalisation of the relations with Lebanon. There are still problems with the Syrian support for the Lebanese Shia movement Hezbollah, Palestinian radical Islamic movement Hamas and the close links with Iran. There were no substantial changes in these relations in 2008 and 2009

but the West stopped perceiving them as a significant obstacle in reopening the dialogue with Syria. Now the Western partners hope to weaken these links by engaging with Syria more closely.

ONDERČO, M.: Middle East going nuclear

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 445-455

In the past three years, 13 Arab states announced their nuclear ambitions, pursued further plans and signed new contracts. Despite claiming domestic energy needs, few hesitate to point to Iran as the greatest driver behind the nuclear plans of the Middle Eastern states. We also have to acknowledge that currently, most states (except for Syria, Algeria and Egypt) lack infrastructure, technical know-how, legal conditions or scientific staff to pursue successful nuclear programs. The level of the political threat by the possibility of Iranian nuclear weapon coupled with domestic energy needs determine the resolve to pursue nuclear energy. In spite of assurances, the threat of nuclear arms proliferation in the region cannot be underestimated. The region is too volatile for nuclear energy to be introduced and there are a number of possible steps to be taken in order to prevent nuclear arms proliferation in the Middle East.

DROBNÝ, J.: Iraq – Super-electoral year 2009

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 457-465

The year 2009 was marked by a large number of elections and referenda in Iraq, e.g. provincial elections were held in January. The big electoral winner was the Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's State of Law coalition. Results of the provincial elections might be instructive when looking ahead to the parliament elections, which Iraq is scheduled to hold on 30 January 2010.

HUDEC, J.: Will the Arabs remain moderate?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 467-477

The contribution is interested in historical roots of geopolitical orientation of some regional powers, Cold War and US doctrines as well as limits of democratisation in the Middle East. Countries of the region are divided into groups according to their internal security situation and external relations. Two members of so called Moderate Arab states group – Egypt and Saudi Arabia – are scrutinised in bilateral history and values of their moderation. Further possible regional developments are discussed in light of the NIC prognosis “Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World”. In conclusion, some suggestions are proposed for the Slovak foreign policy towards the Middle East.

BRIEŠKA, M.: Arab unity and diversity

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 479-489

The contribution presents an insight into the difficult and complex problem of Arab unity, nationalism and identity. Western politicians often tend to perceive Islam as a static monolith and all Muslims as the unified coherent mass. The paper focuses on the various aspects related to the Muslim/

Arab identity and complexities involved in this process. There is a short introduction to the concept of Arab unity and the role the Arabic language plays in this respect. The subsequent sections provide a brief overview of the opinions of the Arab authors on the Arab nationalism and pan-Arabism. This study focuses on Maghreb region and Egypt.

BAJŽÍKOVÁ, K.: Pax West Africana:

How to stabilize the conflict region?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 491-505

The aim of this article is to analyse the security environment of Western African region, focusing on the regional and externally driven strategies and programmes to build security architecture within the troublesome region. It copes mainly with the ECOWAS activities as for the regional perspectives and EU contribution to security sector sphere as one of the external factors in the region. In conclusion, the paper indicates the current challenges which the unstable Western African region should be facing to stabilize the security situation in the region.

MARTON, P.: The sequence of state-building and related complications in the case of Afghanistan

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 507-523

This article presents a number of examples regarding the sort of trade-offs that occur in the pursuit of not necessarily compatible, or, in some cases, downright incompatible objectives in Afghanistan, by the nominally united peace-building community, acting in the name of a vague notion of peace-building. Special attention is given to the often contradictory relationship between counter-narcotics, counter-terrorism, counterinsurgency and state-building, and some basic suggestions are made regarding a more appropriate sequencing of the international community's tasks in Afghanistan, based on a more clearly acknowledged need for the prioritisation of needs and strategic goals.

BALLON, P.: New U.S. strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 525-537

In Afghanistan, the year 2008 has been the deadliest year since the beginning of the conflict in 2001. The situation on the ground has undergone considerable changes represented by NATO increase of troops and a decision to create NATO Training mission in Afghanistan, invigoration of fighting in Pakistani tribal border areas and above all by “New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan”, presented by U.S. president Barack Obama on 27th March 2009. The strategy contains six important aspects – goal of the U.S. in Afghanistan, relations with Pakistan, training of Afghan National Security Forces, reconciliation between former enemies, development and international and regional aspects. The article is analyzing these six aspects and by comparing them with the situation in Afghanistan and the region it is looking for the strategy's pros, cons and challenges.

BREŽÁNI, P.: North Korean steps in the wrong direction

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 539-547

Despite the 2007 Six-Party talks' success, a different perspective on already signed verification agreement between Washington and Pyongyang led to the collapse of the latest round of talks held in December 2008. North Korea tested its missiles again and on May 25, 2009 allegedly conducted a second nuclear test. Why did North Korea do that? The certain thing is that the North Korean leadership was motivated and influenced by more than one factor, both external and internal.

HUSENICOVÁ, L.: The New South Korea's and US Administration Policy toward North Korea

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 549-561

In February 2008, Lee Myung Bak entered the office as a new South Korean president and as a first conservative party's candidate winning the election since Kim Dae-jung. Shortly after his inauguration the deterioration in Inter-Korean relations occurred even though the denuclearization process was still on the way as agreed during the Six-party talks. New president presented a new hard-line policy towards Pyongyang tightly linking any South Korean aid with the progress in dismantlement process.

The aim of the paper is to emphasize the impact South Korean policy has on North Korean decisions and actions. In its opening paragraphs, the paper assesses the new Policy of Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity presented by contemporary administration in comparison to the Policy of Peace and Prosperity and Sunshine Policy formulated by Lee's predecessors. Furthermore, the paper analyses the actions taken by North Koreans since the mid of 2008 particularly concerning the Inter-Korean projects that are underway already since the first summit in 2000. These projects include the Mt. Kumgang tours, the Kaesong industrial complex project, and reconnection of railways. Moreover, the paper focuses on the consequences of recent missile and nuclear test. In conclusion, the paper deals with the new American Administration prospective policy towards North Korea in context of the official documents and speeches analysis.

BREŽÁNI, P.: Cross-strait moderation: the good beginning of the long and bumpy road

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 563-573

After the 2008 elections in Taiwan, the cross-strait relations entered the new, unprecedented and, so far, positive era. The first steps have already been taken and, perhaps, laid the foundations for the more complex and sensitive issues to be discussed in the nearest future. Both sides have reached several cooperation agreements whose impact is yet to be seen in the time to come. New Taiwanese President Ma seemed to put all the eggs in the ‘China economic basket’ and it is up to China to deal with it ‘carefully’. If his plan is fully implemented, it can bring about an overall change in the

cross-strait status quo. However, one should not forget that the road ahead is still uncertain.

WYCISZKIEWICZ, E.: Energy security in Central Europe after Russo-Ukrainian gas dispute: En route to a new approach or back to business as usual?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 575-587

The January 2009 gas dispute between Russia and Ukraine demonstrated high vulnerability of Central European economies to energy supply interruptions. Theoretically, the challenge of almost total reliance on a single supplier should lead to joint regional response. In practice, however, Central Europe has neither developed common threat perception nor any joint strategy. Each state chooses its own path to secure supplies. Poland and the Czech Republic are more sensitive to energy dependence on Russia and tend to push for diversification of sources and regional cooperation, while more import-dependent Hungary and Slovakia focus on strengthening ties with the supplier. The former are afraid of increasingly asymmetrical interdependence as a possible power politics instrument, while the latter hope that enhancing their significance for Russia will make them immune to future crises. The question is: What makes them choose different strategies? What impact, if any, may this year's gas clash have on the energy policies and perceptions of the countries in question? Should a return to "business as usual" or rather "a policy reversal" be expected?

TOKÁR, L.: Development of the international system or which states could be the great powers of the future?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 589-605

The contribution deals with a range of approaches, gleaned from realism as one of mainstream IR theories, to the issues of the international system polarity on the basis of the number of great powers and/or superpowers present in it. Structural perspective is introduced and its logic laid out in a brief historical sketch of polarity changes in the twentieth century. Commonly used empirical criteria for great power status are used to identify a rather narrow set of would-be great power candidates, and, finally, conclusions for Slovakia are tentatively drawn.

GÁL, Z.: Immigration to advanced countries – five main approaches

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 607-625

The developed countries have been facing unprecedented waves of mass immigration during last decades. The immigration process has various, widespread effects on the host and sending countries, as well as on the migrants themselves. The aim of this paper is to summarize the main challenges (namely the demographic, economic, legal, security and social/political) related to immigration that the host advanced countries face and the consequences of immigration that should be taken to account by their decision makers when shaping public policies.

ROSPUSTINSKÝ, P.: International legal regime of the Arctic region

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 627-643

This article deals with the international legal regulation of the Arctic region. Firstly, it is focused on the problem of the definition of the Arctic and implications arising from different delineations of Arctic borders. Secondly, it describes the international legal regimes applied in the Arctic as well as the state praxis of the Arctic states with respect to the Arctic region. Finally, this paper identifies and analyses territorial claims and territorial disputes in this area and finally, it pays attention to the prospective zoning of the Arctic continental shelf.

NOSKO, A.: 10 years of energy policy in Slovakia

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 645-657

The article reviews the energy policy of the Slovak Republic since the country proclaimed its sovereignty from the Czechoslovak Federation. The first part of the article briefly mentions the documentary sources of energy policy, providing international and political context for the energy-policy making, and provides comparison with the Czech Republic, which was in comparable situation at the time of split of the federation. The second part of the article analyzes the possible roles of government in assuring energy policy and the roles actually assumed by various governments during the past few years, and the ideological differences which lead to different outcomes in energy policy. Finally, the article concludes with criticizing the Slovak energy policy for not sufficiently taking into account the need for assuring sovereignty and economic stability of the country in the long-term.

LUKÁŠ, L.: The Critical infrastructure protection as an important element in ensuring state security

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 659-671

The state resistance depends on the resistance of its important items like energy, economic, financial infrastructure area. The state critical infrastructure is created by the infrastructure items which provide the government and state control in crisis situations. It provides the basic life control functions for government. The Critical infrastructure protection is a concept that relates to the preparedness and response to serious incidents that involve the critical infrastructure of state. This critical infrastructure protection requires the development of a national capability to identify and monitor the critical elements and to determine when and if the elements are under attack or are the victims of destructive natural occurrences. The European Union and its member states, including the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, in response to protect critical infrastructure adopt the national policies and programs. Implementation of programs provides the conditions to state and their citizens to ensure function even during emergencies.

LAML, R.: Intelligence at the beginning of the 21st Century

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 673-685

The contribution focuses on identifying the requirements for intelligence in the framework of the current security environment. The security environment at the beginning of the 21st century is characterized by the action of state and non-state actors, the increasing importance of individual security sectors, as well as deepening their interdependence. System approach to security change in the intelligence theory and practice. There is a spread spectrum focus of intelligence than the state, to non-state actors. The principle of "need to know" is transformed into a "need to share". Functional information sharing becomes prerequisite for effective intelligence. Intelligence is becoming more complex, increases the width of the spectrum of information, timeliness and credibility of intelligence analysis. Strengthening the importance of full integration of intelligence into the state security system.

ONDŘÁŠIK, B.: News and war propaganda - two sides of one coin?

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 687-699

The objective of this paper is to contribute to the current academic discourse on the relationship among news, media, journalists and propaganda. It aims to provide the reader with pro et contra in relation to the given question. Therefore, it disproves various models and claims made by scholars and academics which present definite answers. The first part of this essay defines terms like propaganda, news and views, objectiveness, and analyse whether these terms are subject to distinction. It discusses whether propaganda and news are antonyms or whether they could sometimes

be regarded as complementary processes. It provides definitions and academic discourse by Ellul, Lippman and others. In the second part it discusses the various influences on news creation in practice, and it sets up the theoretical framework for the relationship between news and propaganda. The essay provides examples of media propaganda from history, mentions foreign news services and broadcasting as a tool for state-sponsored propaganda on the international level. The paper introduces some case examples of the media behaviour – these include positive and negative roles in their relationships with propaganda and propagandists represented by state – from more recent history. It exemplifies the situation during the 1991 Gulf War, the 1999 Kosovo war, and last but not least the war against international terrorism and the 2003 Iraq war.

KUDREC, M.: Technological advance, world-wide internet network development and changes of the security environment

In PANORAMA 2009, pp. 701-711

The article discusses briefly the security-related impacts of technological development, paying particular attention to the so-called "Web2.0". The author is trying to point out how significantly the new qualitative abilities of the Internet can change the security environment. He does not attempt at providing an in-depth analysis of individual fields discussed. These include networks analysis, the position of Google, blogs, involvement of civilians in cyber information war or the development of artificial intelligence. Being aware of the fact that the connection among them is often rather loose, the author's main aim is to illustrate the extensivity of security issues connected with the current process of Internet's fast technological development.

**MEDZINÁRODNÝ VEĽTRH OBRANNEJ TECHNIKY BRATISLAVA
INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE EXHIBITION BRATISLAVA**

**MODERNÉ OBRANNÉ SYSTÉMY PRE BEZPEČNEJŠÍ SVET
ADVANCED DEFENCE SYSTEMS FOR A MORE SECURE WORLD**



ZÁŠTITA A ODBORNÁ GARANCIA
Minister obrany SR
Združenie obranného priemyslu SR

UNDER THE AUSPICES AND EXPERT GUARANTEE OF
Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic
Slovak Defense Industry Association

5. – 7. 05. 2010
BRATISLAVA - SLOVAK REPUBLIC

www.ideb.sk



**INCHEBA
EXPO BRATISLAVA**

ISBN 978-80-970041-0-1
EAN 9788097004101