

ONDREJCSÁK, R.: Strategic Defense Review – Case of the Slovak Republic

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 9-23

The Strategic Defense Review is a tool how to fulfill the continually-declared but never realized goal of Slovak defense community and political parties: to create smaller, but well-trained and equipped Armed Forces able to protect Slovak interests both at home and abroad, to act effectively in Alliance's framework as a full-fledged member of broader security and military community. The SDR defines the final goal, the state of the future Armed Forces in the 2024 perspective and describes the way how to reach it. Based on common efforts of civilian and military experts, both Ministry and think-tanks, Slovak and partner's experiences and approaches, it proposes the most ambitious project in the country's security and military policy. The process was started in August 2010 by establishing intra-ministerial working groups tasked with analyzing four main areas: political-strategic framework of defense and security policy including political-military ambitions, economic framework of defense, future structure of armed forces, and supporting elements. After defining the necessity of Strategic Defense Review and its crucial aim to restore the balance between ambitions, resources and structures, logical sequence of steps are established.

SCHMIDT, C.: Reorientation of the Bundeswehr

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 25-33

German security policy is based on a comprehensive, preventive and multinational approach. Active participation in international and supranational organisations is of key importance for national security, prosperity and also credibility with allies and partners. Germany's Security Objectives and Security Interests are: the security and protection of German citizens, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Germany and its allies, the assumption of international responsibilities. Armed forces are and will remain a key instrument of Germany's foreign and security policy. The Bundeswehr organisation is undergoing a process of restructuring and efficiency enhancement. The number of staff and agencies will be reduced and responsibilities and expertise merged. Rather than focusing on the armed forces alone, it will take a comprehensive approach encompassing all areas of the Bundeswehr – military as well as civilian.

BARGERBOS, B.W.: The Consequences of the Budget Cuts for the Dutch Armed Forces

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 35-41

In 2010, the new coalition government in the Netherlands faced the unenviable task of cutting the government budget. The priority was to find as much savings as possible in staff, overhead and supporting structures, in order to minimise the impact on the operational capabilities. It was nevertheless unavoidable that the armed forces would lose some of their combat power and that deployability would be reduced. The reduction measures affecting the armed forces will be taken at the Royal Netherlands Navy, at the

Royal Netherlands Army and at the Royal Netherlands Air Force. The minister of Defence decided that in order to stay prepared for the future, it was important to create room for investment and innovation. Due to budgetary restraints, this room will only become available gradually in the course of the next few years. The Netherlands armed forces intends to remain among the most innovative armed forces in Europe.

INGEBRIGSTEN, R.: Norwegian Experiences with Integrated Strategic Management

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 43-55

Norway implemented integrated strategic management of the Defence organisation in 2003, yet there are still discussions about the expedience and effectiveness of this organisational model. An essential aim of the new integrated strategic management model was to reinforce the overall, coordinated strategic management of the Armed Forces. The reform was part of the larger modernisation process and restructuring of the Armed Forces. The integrated strategic management model and the day-to-day running of the Ministry are highly dependent on current military perspectives and competences of the officers coming from regular service. While the Ministry has the strategic responsibility and the Defence Staff has the executing responsibility, their co-location and corresponding organisational units serve to underline the integrated aspects of the model. The fact that the CHOD is an integral part of the Ministry apparatus has had the important consequence that military and political views are brought together at an earlier stage in the decision-making processes. The integrated model provides an opportunity to combine the best of both political and military considerations in the leadership of the Armed Forces.

FINDSEN, L.: Danish Defence Planning in Light of Future Security Challenges

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 57-65

Today, Danish security policy is actively engaged in global hotspots. The Danish armed forces have been undergoing an extensive transformation from a traditional mobilization defence to a modern deployable defence force. Current Danish Defence Agreement supports the continued transformation of the armed forces and adjusts resource allocation to better suit our goal of being able to deploy globally. One of the challenges to carrying out their ambitions is the international debt crisis. The Danish government has therefore announced budget reductions of 2 billion Danish kroner from the year 2015, roughly 10 percent of the current budget. The use of military instruments must be combined with reforms and capacity-building in security and rule of law sectors as well as economic and social development programs.

VERSHBOW, A.: The United States Quadrennial Defense Review Process

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 67-71

The QDR (Quadrennial Defense Review) establishes the Department of Defense's key priority objectives and provides context and recommendations regarding capability development and investment portfolios. It communicates the Secretary of Defense's intentions for the next several years of the Department of Defense's work. The 2010 QDR recognized that the global security environment is complex and rife with uncertainty. The 2010 QDR envisioned America's role in the world as one that requires armed forces with unmatched capabilities and a willingness to employ those forces in defense of U.S. interests and in defense of the common good. The 2010 QDR also recognized that the Department of Defense could not work in isolation, but that the United States will need to integrate a wide range of capabilities from across the government. The QDR Report is a capstone document that describes how the United States Department of Defense will support the United States armed forces, evaluates the strategic context of the international security environment, and attempts to predict how that environment might change.

SAMSON, I.: Unrest in the Arab World: Spring or Winter in 2011?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 73-85

The paper deals with the phenomenon of the Arab Spring, i.e. with the wave of the so-called Arab revolutions of 2011 in the Middle East and North Africa. The contents of the article has been shaped according to the events in the Middle East that have been moving so quickly that one almost needs a daily scorecard to keep up. After the introduction the paper tries to give an overview of events in the region and in individual Arab countries and to get a basic picture of what has, and hasn't, changed since the start of the events in January 2011. It was seen as necessary to give a theoretical minimum as to the terminological explanation of the events: should one speak about „rebellion“, „unrest“, „revolt“, „uprising“, „upheaval“, „revolution“? It has been also seen as appropriate to find a common denominator of the general regional unrest measured against the usually accepted principles (deficits in justice, lack of „democracy“, unemployment and an uneven and vertical distribution of power and wealth. Another question, namely who is going to benefit from the unrest, can be only a rhetorical one, because the whole region is still in movement and one cannot yet specify losers and winners. The unrest in the Arab world can also have far-reaching consequences for the Arab-Israeli peace process and it is Egypt first, which will play the key role in this respect. A conclusion follows as the last part of the article.

ONDERČO, M.: Of Libya, NATO and R2P: the future of international system

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 87-101

The NATO intervention in Libya has sparked numerous questions among the scholars of international relations related to the future of international system. One of the

most pertinent ones is regarding NATO and when the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect is finally going to be accepted. Conceived originally in late 1990s and brought into life during the UN Millennium Summit, the doctrine acknowledges the need to intervene in cases of massive human rights atrocities. Although celebrated at its adoption, the doctrine remained largely a dead letter until recently. However, the NATO intervention in Libya (where NATO lacked any serious threat) and the R2P language used by officials provides us with a reasonable belief that in fact the doctrine is coming to life. In my contribution, I argue that such shift would indeed mean a significant leap in our understanding of state sovereignty as well as the use of force. At the same time, I propose that it would be too soon to argue for the victory of the doctrine and instead we should only see the intervention in Libya as another shift in the understanding of the right to use force in international relations.

PÉCZELI, A.: The Wave of Revolutions in the Arab World - A New Turning Point in the American-Saudi Relations?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 103-115

After the end of the Cold War, American-Saudi relationship witnessed some small highs of geopolitical cooperation and some extreme lows in the post-9/11 period. The paradox of the situation, however, is that the terrorist attacks of 2001 not only froze this relationship for a while, but also set up a completely new framework of cooperation, where both sides needed to take serious steps in order to restore this relationship. The recent Arab wave of revolutions also means a new challenge for these two countries. But from the American perspective the key to controlling the events of the Arab Spring is still in the Gulf region - and especially in Saudi Arabia. In this area American-Saudi interests still have common grounds. In the larger Middle East, the Gulf region is vital to the American interests - not only because of the huge oil resources but for the future of the American military bases, as well. Although Riyadh has been reluctant to perform any reforms at home, after the "Day of Rage" the House of Saud is even at this time the most stable Arab ally of Washington. Therefore, Saudi Arabia still has the potential to advance stability in the Gulf region and to control the Iranian power. This paper describes the American-Saudi relations in the light of the events of the Arab Spring, arguing that these events must be separated from each other. For the American geostrategic thinking, the events of North Africa are secondary compared to the Gulf region where despite some disagreements, Riyadh is even now capable of promoting stability and peace. Therefore, in my argument this relationship still has the potential to find areas where cooperation is possible. In this regard, the events of the Arab Spring did not mean a new turning point. The post 9/11 pillars of oil, common fight against terrorism and arms trade still apply and along these lines the two countries can build up an even stronger relationship beneficial to both Washington and Riyadh.

BALOGH, I.: U.S. Reactions to Instability in the Middle East and North Africa

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 117-133

The paper wishes to shed light on the different dilemmas of U.S. foreign and security policy strategy concerning the Middle Eastern and North African situations. It has two central arguments. First, the author contends that there are two strategic dilemmas which are likely to shape Washington's regional position in the future: deciding whom to support: central authorities or opposition forces, and the challenge of budget cuts. Second, the article puts forward a premise that the Arab Spring has not caused a change in U.S. foreign policy goals, but it did change the means by which Washington wishes to attain those objectives. America is pursuing a strategy of stability and this approach is tailored on a case-by-case-basis due to the fact that Washington has different interests in different countries.

RADA, P.: End of realism in the United States democracy promotion strategy?

Lessons from the Middle East and North-Africa

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 135-153

It is beyond doubt that the word democracy was corroded by the Bush administration's policy towards Afghanistan and more importantly Iraq. The new administration's first and foremost strategic challenge on this field was the reparation of America's reputation as the most important guardian of democracy and human rights. In order to do so, the Obama administration pursued a more pragmatic approach, and tried to engage the leaders of the so called "illiberal democracies." Consequently, the United States fell back to a realist agenda, however, it always strived for being seen as the champion of democracy at least on the level of rhetoric. But due to the "Arab Spring" changed the course of American foreign policy. First of all, the opposition groups were/are fed up with the corrupt leaders, and they demand more participation in the future. This is in line with American values, but contradicts the strategy of engagement. Second of all, it is common sense that countries in transition are the least stable political entities, which also means that the United States has to be ready to react everywhere, where stability is at stake. The question is what is going to be the new strategy of democracy promotion and how the United States will be able to match the new goals with the available means within the new reality. The paper gives an explanation on the necessary change of strategic thinking due to the unforeseen events in the Middle East and North Africa. One thing is certain: the recent double standards in democracy promotion is a dead end in the long term.

HUDEEC, J.: New Border in Africa – Southern Sudan's Case

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 155-167

Based on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005) the referendum on unity or secession of the Sudan was conducted in January 2011. The referendum commission

delivered results in February 2011. More than 98 per cent of South Sudanese people voted for secession. The new state declared its sovereignty on 9 July, 2011. The referendum's result has been introduced in the prologue of the contribution, followed by reactions and positions of regional and international organisations, key powers and the South Sudan's neighbours toward the independence and future co-operation. In the next two chapters the political situation has been considered in both North and South Sudan and possible development has been assessed. Further growth of Islamism is being expected in the Sudan as well as an increase in ethnic and tribal confrontations in the South. Several problematic post-secession political and security issues have been discussed in the last chapter, such as matters of citizenship, division of Nile water and oil revenues, ethnic tensions and violence, further economic and social development of the new country as well as the disputed border of Abyei, and escalations in South Kordofan, Blue Nile and Darfur Provinces. In the conclusion an effect of the South Sudan's independence on the Slovak regional activities has been mentioned, especially in respect of the Slovak official development aid.

KARAPETYAN, A.; HALL, S.: The conflict in Ethiopia and Eritrea and the UNMEE mission: What are the Conditions of Failure and Success of UN-Peacekeeping Operations?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 169-183

The purpose of the analysis is to investigate the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea and how the United Nations has dealt with the crisis and situation to attempt to bring peace to the border region between these two states. The study will look at the composition and funding of the United Nations Mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) to ascertain how the UN was able to use these forces to bring about a peacekeeping operation in the Horn of Africa, an area that the UN has had a mixed relationship with. The investigation will highlight that yes, UNMEE was able to hold the peace, but did not ultimately bring a lasting peace due to its poor relationship with both states and whilst both states do not revert back to open conflict Eritrea and Ethiopia are involved in their own cold war and view each other as the devil incarnate.

OLEXA, M.: Security Sector Reform Theoretical background and case study of the Democratic Republic of Congo

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 185-195

The Security Sector Reform (SSR) represents relatively a new term in the crisis management environment, and it is a reason why there is still quite extensive room for improvement of this concept. One of areas, where a progress is highly recommended is the theoretical background (mainly a definition, methods and lessons identified/learned process). Similarly, there is a need to improve a basic coordination among major international actors (e.g. states, international organizations and non-

governmental organizations), who are active in this field. Without a tendency to discriminate other areas, where SSR is implemented, Africa provides us with the most complex variety of very fresh examples of different SSR engagement. Basic aim of this essay will be to present main theoretical elements linked with the concept, to elaborate more about current examples of SSR activities of the EU in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The DRC represents an ideal example, where international community implements this type of the project for a long time. An international assistance is represented here by various possible international actors active in the field. Last but not least, some basic conclusions will be drawn from a comparison between a theory and practical implementation of basic rules presented in the theoretical part.

ŠNIDL, V.: Czech White Paper – How to Avoid Collapse

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 197-207

Only few conceptual documents in the Czech Republic have been accompanied with such public attention as the new White Paper on Defence, introduced by the Czech Ministry of Defence in spring 2011. This document for the first time openly evaluates the real condition of the Czech army and brings the most significant changes since 2004 when the compulsory military service came to the end. The contents of the 168-page document show that due to non-conceptual cuts and poor economic decisions the Armed Forces suffer from a long-term instability. Therefore it proposes a number of measures to be realised, including limitation of some capabilities, just for the purpose of keeping the military viable also in the future. The document identifies principles that should become the basis for the functioning of the whole defence department.

SOLA, N.F.: The Spanish Security Strategy 2011. Everyone's Responsibility

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 209-221

For the first time, Spain has published a National Security Strategy. The publishing of the document, the first Security Strategy after the NATO New Strategic Concept 2011, is a milestone in Spanish thinking and strategic planning history. Till now, the strategic documents of reference were just elaborated by the Ministries dealing with security issues, mainly the Ministry of Defence, as opposed to being approved at the top political level. The 2008 National Defence Directive¹ recognised the need to be included in a National Security Strategy. So there was a clear realization on the need for a general strategy that would be capable of coordinating all of the state's security and defence activities and capabilities, to which the defence policy should contribute –in terms of elaboration as well as implementation.

TERLIKOWSKI, M.: THE NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT AND EU-NATO COOPERATION: ANY PROGRESS ON THE HORIZON?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 223-235

The debate on the New Strategic Concept of NATO, which took place in 2010, was a prime opportunity to address – among other decisive issues for the future of the Alliance – the EU-NATO stalemate problem at the highest political level. In the adopted version of the NSC the Allies gave NATO a strong mandate to enhance its relations with the EU and made it one of the Alliance's strategic goals. Consequently, NATO structures, both military and political with the Secretary General at the forefront, engaged heavily in finding options for implementation of this aim. The article discusses reasons of EU-NATO deadlock and show how lack of political backing undermines effectiveness of both organizations' operations. It analyzes the evolution of political dialogue on this issue in 2010, showing how the inability of the Allies to break the Turkish-Cypriot deadlock has lowered their ambitions of reforms. The paper tries to answer the question how the strategic goal of enhancing EU-NATO cooperation, put forward in the NSC, may be implemented in existing political conditions. As it is however sure that there won't be a quick and easy advance, the paper attempts to assess possible results of the rift between strategic ambition of the NSC to establish strong relations with the EU, and the reality with much constrained cooperation possibilities.

DURKALEC, J.: NATO's Nuclear Policy and Posture - Prospects for Change

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 237-249

The renewed debate on nuclear policy and posture that accompanied work on the new Strategic Concept demonstrated the divergent priorities of NATO members. While some NATO allies emphasized a need for a clear commitment to the objective of a world free of nuclear weapons, others had a cautious approach to changing the nuclear status quo, especially concerning reductions of U.S. nuclear weapons based in Europe. Very laconic and ambiguous language about nuclear weapons in the Strategic Concept shows that these different approaches were not reconciled. Rather than clearly defining NATO's nuclear policy and posture, the Strategic Concept highlights the questions that remain to be answered. The questions about the greatest challenges to NATO include: what is the future of U.S. non-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe and how are they related to Russia's non-strategic nuclear arsenal; what is the general purpose of nuclear weapons in NATO's strategy; to what extent does relying on non-nuclear means decrease their role; and how should NATO create conditions for a nuclear weapons-free world. The prospect that the NATO Deterrence and Posture Review would provide clear answers to these questions is murky. However, whether such an outlook is correct will be fully reflected by the results of NATO's Deterrence and Defence Posture Review, which should be

¹ Directiva de Defensa Nacional (DDN) 1/2008.

delivered at the next NATO summit scheduled for 2012 in the United States.

BUREŠ, O.: EU Counterterrorism Policy: Security versus Justice?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 251-269

This paper offers an analysis of the key instruments of the European Union's (EU) counterterrorism policy with a special focus on their wider "security versus justice" implications. Based on official EU documents, internal reports, and secondary sources, it surveys the human rights, transparency, (lack of) oversight, and legitimacy critiques of the key EU counterterrorism measures. A brief overview of the larger normative debate concerning the trade-offs between justice and security is also provided.

CHAPPELL, G.; STEINICKE, S.: The UK & Germany: Prospects for Closer Defence Cooperation

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 271-283

The UK and Germany are longstanding allies. Yet bilateral defence relations appear limited, largely due to different strategic cultures. This article examines the recent developments in UK and German security and defence policy and assesses the prospects for closer bilateral defence cooperation in the future. While recent developments are encouraging, obstacles remain. Nonetheless, acute financial pressures in both nations have increased the necessity for closer defence cooperation with allies and partners. Although a fundamental transformation in the defence relationship is unlikely in the short-term, this paper concludes that closer bilateral cooperation may arise in more modest areas of security and defence and possibly, defence procurement, though more out of necessity rather than choice.

SKLENÁR, M.: The Future of EU's Military Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 285-293

EU took over the operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina from NATO in 2004. Since then, operation EUFOR Althea has been gradually downsizing in response to the security situation in country. Currently, the operation is conducted in a unique environment that interconnects more than ever before the political and military aspects at a time BiH suffers from a political stalemate. Regionally, the country is under close monitoring in connection with the on-going dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina on the Kosovo issue. In terms of the mission, a new equilibrium has to be found between the roles of the High Representative and the EU Special Representative. On the military side, many European countries are not willing to deploy forces to BiH due to financial restrictions and other engagements overseas. However, a consensus still does not exist on winding up the operation.

KOČNEROVÁ, M.; MARENČÁKOVÁ, T.: Barack Obama's Foreign Policy in the Middle East

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 295-309

Middle East is a vital part of American foreign policy and presidents pay an immense attention to this region, because it is rich in natural resources and the access to them is a priority of U.S. national interest. This article focuses on Obama's policy in the Middle East. In the center of our interest is the so-called "Arab Spring", an expression used to denote a chain of recent demonstrations and protests in the Arab countries. The authors focused mainly on Egypt, Libya and Syria because these countries hold a special importance to US foreign policy.

FISCHER, D.: American Patron: Introduction to Transatlantic Relations Between the United States and Lithuania with the Factor of Russia

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 311-323

This article treats transatlantic relations – namely the United States of America and the state of Lithuania. The government of Lithuania did a great deal of work helping to improve the United States Army's public relations in Afghanistan, even before Lithuania joined NATO. Lithuanian government helped the US army ship non-lethal cargo through Lithuanian harbor in Klaipėda. The article describes the process of transportation briefly in the context of history of this relationship given by two remarkable persons – Gražvydas Jasutis, Lithuanian Deputy Defense Advisor and Jurgis Stanaitis, Chief Officer at Lithuanian Ministry of National Defence. Mr. Stanaitis led the negotiations with the US government. The following contribution deals with the conflict region of Kaliningrad. At the end the article, it is explained how important the American factor is in relations between Lithuania and the Russian Federation and vice-versa. As we will be able to discover, the US-Lithuanian relationship is by its significance unique in the Baltic region.

HOREMUŽ, M.: Post-Soviet space in Russian foreign policy and security perception 20 years after the collapse of the USSR

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 325-343

In the post-Soviet space, the Russian Federation (RF) recorded in 2010 within its foreign and security policy several successes that were the result of an active and systematic approach in all directions of operation. The RF further continued with the implementation of a multi-vector foreign policy, resting on the intensification of bilateral relations and new impulses for the regional states' development: CIS, Custom Union, Common Economic Space, Eurasian Economy Community (EEC) and CSTO. An integral part of the foreign policy remains, as in past years, the energy policy supporting the economic and capital expansion in the States of the former USSR.

TODOROV, I.: European and Euro-Atlantic Dimension of the Foreign Policy of Ukraine in the Context of “Non-Bloc” Status

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 345-361

The article provides an overview of the spectrum of Ukraine’s cooperation with Euro-Atlantic institutions. The article follows on the conclusions of a number of meetings and summits (Ukraine-NATO Commission 2008 in Bucharest, 2008 in Brussels, Eastern Partnership 2011 in Warsaw), which determine the nature of mutual relation- building.

Despite the apparently useful partnership with Europe, Ukraine, still maintains a neutral course. Such a policy is partly due to a number of institutional instruments in relations to Russia. Russia remains undoubtedly a close and preferred strategic partner and Ukraine is an area of its interests. Although officially Ukraine remains on course for Euro-Atlantic integration, the Ukrainian policy is using the designation a „non-block“ status, despite the fact that it lacks basic objectives and reasons for this.

ZELINSKA, O.: Ukraine at 20 – Where do We Go From Here? Security Foresight

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 363-375

This paper aims to present an analysis of various views about Ukraine’s future developments culled from a set of recent domestic and international foresight studies. It does not claim to be a universal predictive tool or a factsheet of future developments. It is intended mostly for analysts and decision-makers, in order to generate a wider debate on Ukraine’s present state of affairs and, to a greater extent, the future. Based on ‘Metaphore’ methodology, the resulting analysis suggests that European integration, supported by strong economic cooperation ties with the EU will become a key framing force for internal developments. At the same time Ukraine will most likely remain non-bloc and stay out of military and political alliances – both North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). These developments are very much in line with the general global economic and demographic changes. However political elites and various external influences will continue to play the decisive role in shaping the country’s future.

HRIBENIK, M.: Regional or Global? The National Security Strategy and Public Opinion in Slovenia

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 377-389

Slovenian foreign and security policy envisions a military presence in crisis flashpoints around the world, including in countries such as Afghanistan. This is made difficult by low public support as well as by Slovenia’s limited resources and capabilities. A large minority of the population favours maintaining a presence in former Yugoslavia (a ‘regional approach’) rather than in other parts of the world (a ‘global approach’). However the majority remains passive on the issue of military engagement abroad. This article attempts to shed

some light on the relationship between the normative expectations of policy makers (which amount to a desire to maintain a presence both in former Yugoslavia as well as further afield), the reality of low public support for a ‘global approach’ and role of internal politics on where Slovenian soldiers end up being sent.

GEORGIEVA, L.: Macedonia and NATO: Overcoming the Bucharest Summit Legacy

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 391-411

Republic of Macedonia and NATO were engaged into mutual relationship only after the country has entered the process of independence and democracy building in early 90’s. It was not “love at first sight” but part of Macedonian politicians, then overburdened by collapsing former Yugoslavia and the possible spread of ethnic violence have come to a conclusion that Macedonia’s membership in NATO will facilitate the process of independence and keep it from nationalistic euphoria and ethnic violence. The Central European initiatives that facilitated relations among newly emerged democracies and NATO and have contributed to peaceful transition served as a guiding example. The proponents of NATO membership in Macedonia were using these arguments while justifying the goal of membership. In their opinion, institutionalization of the relations and full membership will speed up political transition and ease economic transformation. Moreover, NATO membership was considered one of uncontested internal political issues until the 2008 NATO Bucharest summit. Then the resolution of the name dispute with Republic of Greece was set as precondition for issuing Macedonia’s invitation to NATO and relations between Republic of Macedonia and NATO become definitely trapped within this ontological security debate. This paper argues that even “small” states and “nations” while trapped in regional in/security dynamics are important security actors for prevention and resolution of acute conflicts. The case of Republic of Macedonia has been perceived as atypical from the point of ontological security theory as well. This paper argues that in Macedonian case the claims for ontological security have been intensified whenever the country name or national identity were questioned: as a consequence of external risks or as a consequence of internal political and inter-ethnic competition. I will argue that lack of sustainable ontological security declines the linkage between citizens and ontological security of the state. NATO as a security community should not overestimate the impact of ontological security issues both as far as a member or non- member states are concerned, including their impact on the security policy and reforms.

NEČEJ, E.: New Face of the Russian Federation’s Armed Forces – Success or Failure?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 413-425

The contribution analyses the Russian military budget in light of the impact of the global economic crisis. Based on assessment of the official planning documents of the

Russian Federation (e.g. Basic directions of budgetary policy in 2012 and the planned period 2013 and 2014) and concludes that the defense budget will allow to carry out the aims of the armed forces reform – namely the long term goal of increasing the share of modern technologies and weaponry to 70 % by 2020. The Russian Federation by such an increase of defense budget (annual growth of 11 to 20% by 2013 should achieve its share of 3.39% GDP, at the same time achieving the qualitative level on par of advanced armies of the world.

KALLABA, P.: European Presence in Kosovo's Post-independence: Between Contestation and Recognition

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 427-439

Kosovo's case presents a mixture of two main paradigms: an ethnically divided society struggling to solve the ethnic conflict while dealing with state-building and democratization processes. Within this context, a new political and constitutional order has certainly been established by Kosovo's unilateral independence in February 2008, but its state-building phase conundrum is highly challenged by hybrid international missions in the field. The existence of a consecutive dual governing authority – local and international – has created a unique political and social context of supervised independence by exerting a soft-protectorate based on executive competences. Firstly, this case study seeks to deepen the understanding of the EU's extensive representation in Kosovo. In this context, this paper also attempts to explicate the existence and presence of these missions and their legal bases before and after the implementation of the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement (hereinafter- the Ahtisaari Plan). Secondly, this article aims to elaborate the impact of the EU disunity and its neutral stance towards Kosovo through analyzing the foreign policy approaches by five EU member states – Slovakia, Spain, Romania, Greece and Cyprus – reluctant towards the recognition process. I claim that for the EU, the relationship with Kosovo will be among the tests for effectiveness in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). While, since 2008 its ambiguous asymmetric policy based on status-neutrality has resulted in the erosion of Kosovo's European Perspective.

SCHUURMANS, L.: China's relations with India and Pakistan in the Global Strategic Context

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 441-455

When China surpassed Japan as the world's second largest economic power in 2010 once again China became the focus of worldwide attention. Since China first opened its doors in 1978 to the outside world, it has enjoyed a continuous annual economic growth of an average 10 percent. The country has received billions of dollars in foreign investments and China has gradually been in a stronger position to change the stage of international politics. China's neighbor India is another emerging economic world power. Despite the fact that India and China share

common grounds, some significant disputes have been dividing them. The root cause of their distrust is rooted in the border disputes over Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai Chin. These border issues have led to great suspicion among the two parties. China and its neighbor Pakistan, on the other hand, have entered into an all weather friendship in the political, military and economic spheres since they established diplomatic relations in 1951. The main question to be answered in this contribution is how China will succeed in balancing its relations with neighboring India and Pakistan in today's world where India and China are competing for regional and global power. How will these dynamics shape future relations? While China's fast economic growth is an undeniable factor, it simultaneously needs to address a volatile equilibrium in the region where three nuclear powers have claims over the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir; a potential nuclear flashpoint.

YOUNG GEOL, L.: National security strategy and defense policy of the Republic of Korea

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 457-467

North Korea's continued acts of lawless armed provocation incessantly threaten the peace of the Korean Peninsula, and the dual nature of cooperation and confrontation between regional powers still remains. Potential sources of conflict including the North Korean nuclear issue, historical disputes, the China-Taiwan conflict, and maritime border disputes remain in Northeast Asia, resulting in a concentration of military power. National Security Strategy (NSS) is designed to utilize available resources and means in a comprehensive and systematic manner in order to assure national security. The Korean Government has specified the three tenets of the National Security Strategy (NSS): creating a new peace structure; carrying out pragmatic diplomacy and openness; seeking advanced security that reaches out to the world. There are three national defense objectives: defending the nation from external military threats and invasion; upholding the principle of peaceful unification; and contributing to regional stability and world peace. The ROK military will prepare to take immediate action and conduct complete operations against any incidents. In conclusion, some tasks of MND are defined.

HUSENICOVA, L.: North Korean Policy of Aggression in 2010

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 469-489

The year 2010 was one of the most turbulent in Northeast Asia within the last decade. The outset of the year was promising with an agreement to reconvene the Six Party Talks. However, the sinking of military corvette Cheonan has brought an end to the ambition to re-start nuclear negotiations. Two other events are significant for the end of the year, the confirmation of North Korean successor and the shelling of South Korean Yongpyong Island and the visit of American nuclear scientist in the Yonbyon nuclear facility confirming the existence of uranium enrichment

program – modern centrifuge facility. The article will analyze the reasons of this behavior, using three different sets of explanations: Firstly, it can be explained as part of sinusoidal North Korean foreign policy behavior where two extreme positions can be identified: the first is the participation at negotiations and willingness to cooperate; the second pattern is aggressive behavior presented via attacks and clashes in Northern Limit Line and strong, adversarial rhetoric threatening the world with yet another nuclear or missile test. Secondly, the events could be understood as a part of internally oriented actions with the aim to strengthen the position of the leader-to-be Kim Jong Un who was confirmed to the position of successor last September when nominated to the Military Party Committee as a four star general. Thirdly, the North Korean action could mean the regime's effort to signal to the world community and its partners that even though the changes are expected with the power transfer processes in North Korean politics, the regime remains stable and devoted to the *chuche* and *songun* policy in its internal but also external policy. The article will mainly focus on the system analysis of North Korea and attempt to predict a possible behavior models for upcoming months.

VRÁBEL, R.: The World Bank and Afghanistan: The Initiatives of the World Bank in Afghanistan and the Security threat

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 505-521

This article examines the development efforts by the World Bank in the current post-war Afghanistan. The chosen research method was that of secondary sources comprising of scholarly articles and World Bank publications. After critical examination of the World Bank's previous development efforts, this article regards rural development, agricultural and education projects as the key elements necessary for success in the World Bank's efforts to rebuild and economically develop Afghanistan. Despite that, the World Bank finds it difficult to operate in some regions of Afghanistan, especially in the South that is controlled by drug dealers, Taliban or tribal leaders. The embedded poppy economy poses significant security threats in the country, which leads to a security-development dilemma. In order for the World Bank to be successful, there is a need for further and deeper cooperation between development organizations and security forces present in Afghanistan. The country's comparative advantage that could boost its economy can be perhaps found in the unexploited mining sector.

MASARIKOVÁ, M.: Afghanistan – Ready for the Transition?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 491-503

In June 2011, the American President Barack Obama announced the plan for the withdrawal of one third of American troops from Afghanistan by the summer 2012. His decision has been mirrored by other international political leaders announcing their own withdrawal plans. By the end of 2014 the combat mission should terminate.

Because of that, this article is asking what the conditions are on the ground and whether they are such that would enable a successful transition of the lead to the Afghan government in the area of security and governance. Firstly, the contribution evaluates the development of the Afghan National Army in the wake of the start of the transition of the security lead in seven provinces. Secondly, it describes setbacks of the fragile Afghan governance.

GODA, S.; KISOVÁ, A.: Will Santos Continue in Uribe's Steps Towards FARC?

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 523-539

The article deals with the security environment in the Andean- Guayanian region of South America, with its major actor trespassing the borders of this region. FARC has been a very interesting and unique phenomenon in the scene of the organized crime. That is one of the reasons it receives so much attention not only from the Colombian and regional authorities, but from the international society as well. The main aim of this article is to describe and compare the political steps taken by Alvaro Uribe and Jose Manuel Santos towards FARC, as well as the positions of other players involved in this continuing issue such as the USA, European Union or UNASUR. In the end the article also proposes a general prediction of the future Santos' actions in this area.

LIAROPOULOS, A.: Power and Security in Cyberspace: Implications for the Westphalian state system

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 541-549

Over the last years there is a growing body of literature over the role of states in cyberspace, over the need for the Westphalian state system to adjust in a globalised and borderless world. The purpose of this article is to examine the ways in which a transition from the Westphalian state system to a cyber-Westphalian one, can take place. The Westphalian state system is based on state sovereignty and borders, so the question that inevitably arises is whether states can define virtual borders and eventually construct an international legal framework that determines state sovereignty in cyberspace. A closer look at recent developments like the Chinese attempt to build their own internal internet, the role of internet filters in authoritarian regimes, the creation of the US Cyber Command and the debate for a global cyber-treaty, mark that the transition is already underway.

SKALA, M.: Cyberwarfare: Identifying the Opportunities and Limits of Fighting in the "Fifth Domain"

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 551-565

Considering the new set of vulnerabilities produced by the proliferation of information technology and its employment by modern societies, it is the ambition of this essay to determine whether cyberwarfare employed autonomously can have a war-winning effect, as it is suggested by

the strategic information warfare theory. Defining the cyberspace and cyberwarfare in the first section, and analyzing the main assumptions made about the strategic information warfare in the following section, the third section of this paper will argue that the theory of strategic information warfare closely resembles the eventually flawed theory of strategic airpower. Consequently, it will be claimed that - same as the strategic airpower - the strategic information warfare will most likely fail to serve as an independent strategic instrument since there are ever-present factors that eventually distinguish every real war from the war on paper, because the strategic information warfare most likely lacks a significant coercive potential and, finally, because the employment of the strategic information warfare will always be limited by political considerations. It will be therefore concluded in the end that cyberwarfare is unlikely to become an independent strategic weapon, "merely" providing cyberwarriors with another weapon in their military arsenals.

LUKÁŠ, L.: Critical Infrastructure Protection for Energy Security

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 567-579

Modern democratic society provides its citizens with optimal conditions for their life and development. Based on political developments in the ,90s the concept of critical infrastructure was formulated as one of the foundational security pillars. Infrastructure sectors are elements that support the state by their inherent essential functions. The states recognizing their dependence on the infrastructure sectors began to actively protect this critical area. The energy is one of the key areas of critical infrastructure, including the production and distribution of electricity, heat, oil and their derivatives. The protection and resilience of energy sources and distribution is one of the areas that significantly improves the energy security. Given that all other areas of critical infrastructure fundamentally depend on electricity, any reduction of its delivery has a negative impact in terms of reducing the level of services. Thus protection of critical infrastructure is one of the key measures to ensuring energy security.

MICHALKOVÁ, A.: Energy (In)Security: Emerging Global Threats to Energy Environment
In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 581-599

State actors who own oil or gas supplies, and use them as geopolitical strategic tools are an important subject of energy security analysis. Securing energy supply, however, also implies a need to protect energy storage and infrastructure. Nearly 40% of EU oil imports and over 30% of gas imports come from volatile or potentially volatile countries including Libya, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Nigeria and Algeria, where energy infrastructure is far from secured. To the contrary, energy infrastructure has become a target of violent non-state actors, who attack oil and gas pipelines, reservoirs and fuel tankers in order to bring attention to their wide-ranging objectives. The attacks on energy infrastructure decrease government revenues and

foreign direct investment in these volatile countries. At the same time, due to the tight oil supply and the increased interdependence of the countries around the world, attacks on energy infrastructure also increase the probability of supply disruptions, and affect the stock market. Therefore, even a single attack in a seemingly remote place such as Nigeria may lead to an immediate increase in global oil prices, sending shivers down the spines of oil and gas dependent actors in Europe. Additionally, the anticipation of future attacks incurs a risk premium, which further increases oil prices. Given such global interdependencies and cascading effects, Slovak policymakers have to embrace a new thinking about energy security, which takes into account emerging global threats. This article examines this new energy security environment, taking into account the current developments in Africa and the Middle East, and it discusses the implications of attacks on energy infrastructure. It concludes with outlining the possible solutions.

GÁL, Z.: The Financial Crisis, Its Roots and Consequences

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 601-623

Economic development is one of the most important factors determining the relative power of nations. Financial crises usually shift the balance of power as they have different impact on various countries. The aim of the paper is to examine this impact on the advanced economies in the case of the latest crisis, the different sources of the fiscal problems various countries face and the main reasons that led to the crisis. The paper provides a short historic overview of the problem of sovereign debt defaults which occurred quite frequently throughout the financial history (being rather the rule not the exception). After it we present a typology of the countries hardest hit by the current crisis. Then we separate the main factors that contributed to the eruption of the crisis to two major groups: (1) general ones (present in most developed countries) and (2) unique features of the United States, where the crisis started. In the first group we found the expansion of the financial sector, its rising vulnerability (because of increasing leverage), rising indebtedness, lax fiscal and monetary policies as the most important ones. In the second, we found that America was specific mainly because its non-recourse mortgages, widespread securitization of loans and massive government involvement in housing finance.

SVRČEK, M.: Legal Means of Fighting Against Organized Crime in the International Perspective
In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 625-639

The author focuses his attention on the analysis of the legislation and the basic measures to combat organized crime. One of the major problems confronted by all the countries is a significant increase of criminal activity in its organized form. In recent years, there were a series of relevant legal instruments accepted, most of which are legally binding in the Slovak Republic. The existing system of international treaties, which was accepted at the

universal and regional levels, is now the most important point in the fight against organized crime in legal terms. The article treats the problems of organized crime in an international context, includes its most dangerous forms. The emphasis is mainly on the characteristics of legal instruments to combat terrorism in the Slovak Republic or at the global level as represented mainly by the United Nations, Council of Europe and the European Union. The author also aims to analyze the issue of combating of organized crime, new security threats, including the historical genesis of organized crime. The phenomenon of organized crime is currently a serious global problem because of its objectives, methods, forms and means of action that threatens almost the entire international community. This article is also an effort to present the current legislation, including the basic concepts, individual provisions as well as the method and principles of their applications. I hope the article will contribute to a basic understanding of the problems of organized crime and realization that the fight can be won only by prevention and with the active approach of all relevant subjects to solving the problem.

PADRTOVÁ, B.: Emerging Importance of the Arctic Region

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 641-659

In recent years, changed climactic conditions in the Arctic region have opened the door for new strategic and security policy opportunities and challenges. Therefore it has rapidly increased international attention to this region and the Arctic is seen as possible major energy province. The consequences of the ice melting underline the possibility of the opening up of new transport routes from Europe to Asia and America, and considerable economic potential with mainly oil and gas exploration. The Arctic is a territory of low, but potentially increasing political tension. Individual Arctic states declared their particular interests in the region and adopted number of strategies, declarations and agreements. These documents mostly cover civilian fields of international relations, such as economy, development, transportation, governance and protection of the environment and human life, and international cooperation. These interests are manifested not only by Arctic states, but also a range of actors including "non-arctic" powers.

DOJČANOVÁ, L.: Nuclear Safety - the Connection to Environmental Security and the Issue of Securitization

In PANORAMA 2011, pp.661-675

Broadening of the concept of security as outlined by the Copenhagen school becomes an inevitable contemplation in current global conditions putting emphasis on new security threats. Even despite being a controversial topic for many professionals in the field of security studies, this approach attempts to incorporate the traditional agenda, which equates security with military topics. An important inter-linkage of newly emerged security

concepts such as environmental security with traditional security division has to be considered. This work intends to emphasize the effective interconnection and blurring borders between nuclear safety and environmental security while clarifying the conception of securitization. In this respect, since 1990s there has been an eminent shift of the environmental concerns being part of the national security agenda and international security forums. This paper demonstrates such a tendency on the case study of a contemporary decision of European Union to proceed with stress tests of the nuclear plants in member countries focusing on the possible threats imposed mainly by natural disasters. This securitizing move was done as an aftermath of the Fukushima nuclear catastrophe in Japan, with consequences including human exposure to radiation, effects of radiation on air, drinking water and food. Therefore, European Union has decided to increase nuclear safety in its region and securitize this issue. In the last part of this paper, problems of the actual stress tests are outlined and discussed such as time challenge, question of reliability, threat of the current European trend of functionalism or role of public pressure vis-à-vis the political elites.

PATAKY, L.: Energy Security and EU

In PANORAMA 2011, pp. 677-691

The nuclear phase out was an unexpected decision which has influenced the energy security on various levels. The decision became a political precedent, giving the green forces more strength at almost all elections campaigns. The effects on the price of energy are just one part of the economic impacts. The missing revenues from the cheap nuclear power to the European energy giants in combination with the European debt crisis are leaving less room for own investments into the new technologies and subsequently are opening the door to new players in the European energy sector. The question of whether Central Europe will play a bigger role in this process will depend not solely on the money, but also on the agility of the state, as well as the transmission system operators and energy companies.