

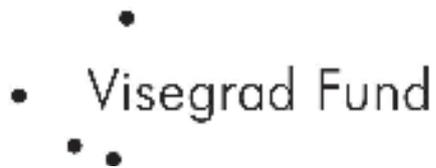
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Rhodes, M.: Obama and the New “New Europe”

After a difficult start, the Obama administration has made a concerted effort to reassure Central Europe of American commitment and advance cooperation across substantive issues including missile defense, NATO operations, energy and economics, and democracy promotion. Yet occasional new missteps and mixed reception in the region have left some lingering doubts. As both sides' evolving interests in Europe and beyond still stand to gain from mutual support, a second-term Obama will need to actively build on recent progress rather than revert to complacency.

Ondrejcsák, R.: The United State's Strategic Shift Towards the Pacific – Continuity and Change

The goal of this paper is to analyze the global-scale trend of American strategic shift towards the Pacific and East Asia. This development will be one of crucial trends of international relations in the foreseeable future which will have a determining effect on the global security environment. While immediately following the release of new U.S. Strategic Guidance in January 2012 it was referred to in the media and discussions as “something new,” in fact it is quite the opposite. The most important driving forces and reason of this change started to emerge at least 2-3 decades ago. The realization in the old continent came late due to “Eurocentric worldview” that was temporarily overwhelmed by events in her neighborhood and by the US engagement in Europe's conflicts (wars in South-Eastern Europe as a most prominent example), but the rest of the globe realized it a long time ago. Moreover, Obama administration's steps toward Pacific and East Asia are to a large extent based on changes initiated or realized by previous administrations, particularly that of G.W. Bush. From that point of view Obama's “Pacific shift” is a combination of both continuity and new elements based on long-term historical/strategic trends. On the whole, we are witnessing more of an evolution than revolution in US strategic positioning.

Ditrych, O.: The Future U.S. Foreign Policy: No Revolutions

This article analyzes the possible course of the U.S. foreign and security policy (USFP) under the next presidency. In a nutshell, I argue that whichever of the two major candidates were to be elected, there would be no substantial revision of the current U.S. grand strategy. The argument is structured as follows: First, grand strategy as an organizing concept for the following inquiries is introduced. Second, competing visions of Barack

Obama and Mitt Romney are presented. Third, the analysis of these visions against the background of the key current global and domestic drivers is put forth. Finally, in the conclusion, implications for Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are suggested.

Fischer, D.: US Presidential Elections 2012 and Foreign Policy Perspectives

Presidential primaries in 2012 were more focused on domestic issues than on foreign and security policy of the United States. Democratic party had only one presidential candidate – the incumbent president Barack Obama and therefore it lacked any primary debates. Republican candidates were not educated on the US foreign affairs and were more focused on debating internal issues of the country. However, the United States faces a handfull of international security challenges; whether it is Iranian nuclear program, current situation in Afghanistan or partnership with Russia or China. Although the United States still remains the only superpower, its role as a leader in the global environment is recently questioned. The following article compares and examines future foreign and security policy of the United States as well as topics which should have been covered during the presidential debates.

Kočnerová, M. and Marenčáková, T.: Arctic as a US-Canada “Battlefield”

Because of consequences of climate change, the Arctic became a geostrategic and geopolitical region. Area rich in natural energy resources opens with the melting ice a possibility to shorten the sea routes. The main international forum for cooperation in the high north is the Arctic Council. The relationship of US and Canada seems to be quite steady. Even though both countries are struggling to preserve national interests in international politics, Arctic seems to be the playground where neither of them can actually prevail.

Nad, J. and Bátor, P.: The NATO Summit in Chicago – Tasks, Results And Challenges

The NATO Summit in Chicago took place in a very interesting period of time: just after the presidential elections in Russia and France and in the presidential election year in U.S.A. This Summit was underestimated by a large group of experts from the beginning – at least on the level of expectations of what it can realistically deliver. The NATO members had set three main tasks for the Summit: First, to determine the way forward for the ISAF operation in Afghanistan; second, to prepare the Alliance to be able to cope effectively and with appropriate capabilities with the future

security challenges; and third, to strengthen the Alliance as a global actor by developing existing and establishing new partnerships with states outside the Alliance.

From the Slovak national perspective, we can consider outcomes of the Summit to be fully in line with our expectations and foreign- and defence policy priorities. Generally, we can assess the Chicago Summit as a success. NATO countries have taken concrete decisions, even exceeding the expectations of experts. Of course, a critical phase will begin with their implementation.

Tokár, L.: NATO After Libya And U.S. Strategic Guidance – What Future For NATO?

The paper provides a sketch of NATO that is currently at the crossroads. After providing an outline of the present situation infused by geopolitics, the second part of the paper deals in more detail with the effects of austerity on U.S. strategic posture and offers preliminary reactions to it in the region to which U.S. strategy has “pivoted”. The last section discusses Slovakia and its place and opportunities in this context.

Bodnarova, B.: Budgeting Short Notice Military Deployment in Central and Eastern European

Countries: the Case of NATO Response Force
The aim of the contribution is to propose an answer to two questions: how do the governments bargain on the domestic level about foreign policy issues and how do the governments create budgets for short notice military deployments. To accomplish this goal, the article looks at the case of the NATO Response Force and how the eight former socialist countries from the Central and Eastern Europe, namely Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia, allocate resources for their national contributions. It uses theoretical propositions of two-level games and the bureaucratic politics model to help to understand the influence of the domestic politics on foreign policy issues in general and budgeting procedures in particular.

Magyarics, T.: NATO: from great Expectations through Hard Times to Bleak House?

Though the title might suggest another commemorative piece on the 200th anniversary of the birth of Charles Dickens, the essay endeavors to chart the potential scenarios of the future of the Atlantic Community. The winding down of the major NATO-operation in Afghanistan, no matter how controversial it has been, poses a number of serious, even existential questions regarding NATO. Long gone is the idea of creating a “global NATO”; the strategic challenges for the U.S. are fast shifting

away from the Atlantic region; the capabilities gap between the Americans and the European allies is widening (note the drastic defense cuts and diminishing expeditionary capabilities even in the U.K.). The list goes on from the diverging threat perceptions on the two sides of the Atlantic to a growing dissatisfaction in the U.S. that Washington should foot an ever increasing portion of the costs of common defense at a time of grave financial problems and – most probably – automatic defense related cuts at home. There is no question about the need to breathe new life into the Alliance. The question is where the new ideas and impulses will come from. An important challenge for the European members will be to “keep the Americans in”, that is, to keep them engaged in Europe. Enhancing capabilities by pooling the relatively scarce resources seems to be demonstrating the seriousness of European commitment to keep the Alliance alive and relevant. Not running from hard security operations (à la Lybia) might also demonstrate to Washington the European commitment to “burden sharing” in this area as well. The development of the civilian component may also enhance the efficiency of NATO in dealing with emerging political, social, and economic tensions and crises in territories whose security in the broadest sense has an impact on the members of the Alliance.

Marónková, B.: NATO's Partnerships Before and After the Chicago Summit

This article looks at NATO Partnerships before and after the Chicago Summit and at their evolution since the end of the Cold War. The regional scope as well as the reasons for establishment of a variety of partnership frameworks over the past two decades has changed significantly. NATO now works with 41 partners from all continents and tackles, through this partnership networks, a wide range of security issues from fight against terrorism, anti-piracy, cyber terrorism. In addition, large number of partners contribute to NATO operations: from Bosnia Herzegovina in the 90-ties to the Operation Unified Protector in Libya in 2011. During a Foreign Ministers meeting in Berlin in April 2011, NATO Allies have decided to reflect on the state of partnerships in a revision of the partnership policy. “More Efficient and Flexible Partnership Policy” was to substantially deepen and broaden NATO's partnerships and increase their effectiveness and flexibility so they can better contribute to Euro-Atlantic and international security in the 21st century. NATO Summit in Chicago in May 2012 was the right opportunity to test the new policy and several meetings in flexible formats were held. The chapter concludes by stating that for NATO to be relevant in the 21st century, it needs to become

more linked with individual countries and other international organizations. Security threats are more and more global, and as stated by NATO's Secretary General, "that is why cooperative security, as a third pillar of NATO's strategic concept from 2010, is fundamental to Alliance's way of doing business.

Novotný, A.: Smart Defence - A New Way Of Looking at The Capabilities of the Alliance

Over the past years, defence spending by some NATO's member nations has shrunk. While the world is changing, NATO's essential mission will remain the same: to ensure that the Alliance remains an unparalleled community of freedom, peace, security and shared values. How to survive austerity, minimise impact of cuts and ensure effectiveness of the Alliance? By Smart Defence. Crisis makes cooperation between nations no longer a choice, it is a necessity. It is also a way how NATO can help nations to build greater security with their resources but with more coordination and coherence, so that together they can avoid the financial crisis from becoming a security crisis. Because security is also about military capabilities that allows governments to defend their populations against new threats and possibly to engage in crisis management. NATO's role is to set the strategic direction, to identify possible areas of cooperation. There are three ways this can be achieved: to pool and share capabilities, to set the right priorities, and to better coordinate efforts. Smart Defence, one of the main topics at NATO's Chicago summit in May, 2012 represents a new culture of cooperation. It is the chance how to invest enough and together under NATO projects (Connected Forces Initiative, NATO Forces 2020), to better prepare for the future.

Péczeli, A.: Phased Adaptive Approach – Prospects for US-Russian Cooperation in the Framework of the Ballistic Missile Defense System in Europe

The idea of building a missile defense system in Europe was first proposed by the Bush administration in early 2002. President Bush planned to build a strategic missile defense system with land-based interceptors in Poland and a radar unit in the Czech Republic. The announcement immediately stirred intense debates in Russia and stimulated some very serious threats. In 2009 the Obama administration scaled back these plans and proposed a shorter-range system which did not threaten Russian ICBMs in its initial phases. This new Phased Adaptive Approach (PAA) was approved at the 2010 Lisbon Summit of NATO. The PAA will set up a system in four phases between 2011 and 2020 and it will involve both sea- and land-based units. The first phase has already reached interim capability by 2012 and the United

States is committed to move on with the deployment of the PAA regardless of the Russian threats. The prospect of cooperation, however, is still on the table. Both sides are willing to work with the other, but there are certain lines which none of them is willing to cross. The aim of this paper is to highlight the roots of the deadlock between Washington and Moscow and to prove that mutual benefits can be assured by even a limited cooperation. An agreement on ballistic missile defense can be a game changer in the long run, positively affecting many other strategic and political fields, as well.

Tichý, L.: Controversial Issues in the EU-Russia Energy Relations

Energy has become one of the most debated topics in the current relations between the European Union and the Russian Federation. The aim of this paper is to explain why controversial issues in the energy relations between the European Union and the Russian Federation occur and what their character is. This paper is based on the assumption that the main aspects that negatively influence the mutual energy relations and limit the energy cooperation can be defined as (1) the differences in the degree of interdependence in the energy relations between the EU and Russia, (2) the different interests and goals of the EU and the Russian energy policy, and (3) the divergent approaches of the EU and Russia towards their mutual energy relationship.

Fejérdy, G.: The Major Questions of French Foreign Policy after the Presidential Elections of 2012

The day after the elections of 2012 in France, numerous opinions – and not only French ones – were published concerning the new president's future steps in foreign policy. This is not by coincidence, as the international decisions of François Hollande can have serious consequences not only for his own country but also for Europe, and in several important areas, for the world as well. The election of François Hollande on the 6th May 2012 clearly brought a change of style in foreign policy. The hyperactive, spectacular diplomacy of Nicolas Sarkozy, which was characterised by reacting rapidly to all international challenges and taking advantage of his special rights as president, was replaced by a more balanced and probably more prudent direction, which clearly keeps the 'gaullo-mitterrandist' tradition. If we compare the diplomatic objectives of Sarkozy and of his successor, we cannot really talk of an unsormoutable contradiction concerning their essential points. Moreover, the international context, and especially the serious financial and economic crisis, limits the scope of Paris. Nevertheless, this does not mean that we should not notice the differences in

style and in working methods as well as the changes in tone, following the election of François Hollande.

Ostermann, F.: In the Aftermath of French NATO Re-integration: The Normalization of French EU Policies in Security and Defense

With the 60th anniversary summit of NATO in 2009, the French ended their decades-old special position within the Atlantic Alliance by formally reintegrating the military command structures. Some people simply considered it to be a non-event due to the growing pragmatic participation of the French in NATO missions in the last two decades; others interpreted it as long overdue commitment that the French pushing for European defense could not be realized without NATO, while a third group was afraid of the French playing even more the enfant terrible from within the structures and impeding both effective decision-making and reform. It seems today that neither of these interpretations has come true. I argue that for French politics and policies, NATO re-integration was all but a non-event, showing that fundamental ideational constructions which constitute French policies have changed. Secondly, the French no longer seem to foster a strongly institutionalized European defense, but now opt for more pragmatic cooperations, which changes the scope of NATO re-integration. The Libyan intervention is a case in point. Furthermore, for the moment, the new French president Hollande does not seem to change this new approach

Knezović, S. and Orzechowska, I.: Turkish Foreign and Security Policy in a Contemporary Environment – Southeast Europe and Beyond

In a highly complex geostrategic regional environment, it is essential for Turkey to maintain an adaptive and decisive foreign and security policy. It remains a state with a relatively stable multi-party political system, a growing economy and its influence seems to be steadily increasing, even becoming relevant on a much wider scale. Turkish 'Shuttle Diplomacy' has been pretty effective in solving incidents and disputes in the region of Southeast Europe. The country maintained a 'zero conflict with neighbors' policy, even in the most difficult circumstances. Being active on issues related to the Arab Spring, especially in the 'Friends of Syria' process, provides an additional dimension to the aforementioned. Furthermore, Turkey is obviously attempting to act on a wider scale and, as a part of that strategy, it tries to increase its influence throughout the neighboring Southeast Europe by improving relations with numerous countries to which it has historical ties. Between Europe and Asia, Turkey is also in the process of

EU accession negotiations that have so far run into numerous difficulties and setbacks, with direct implications for the internal policy. It affects the balance of power within the existing political system and accordingly the way the country perceives and positions itself on the international arena. This article takes into account all of the above-mentioned elements to analyze the country's foreign and security policy and to predict its future trends.

Šulík, R.: Turkish Foreign and Security Policy: Challenge for EU and NATO?

Since the outset of accession negotiations with EU and beginning of first term of Ahmet Davutoğlu as a Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, much has changed in conduct of Turkish foreign and security policy. Zero problems policy with neighbours developed into active multi-vector approach, partially as an answer to stalemate in accession negotiation with the EU. In similar cases, Turkey shifts its foreign policy traditionally more to east and improves her relations with Muslim states. However, this time situation is different. Turkey reaches a point where progress in accession negotiations with the EU is impossible without moving forward with some to date frozen chapters. It is becoming clear that on different grounds several states of the EU are determined to prevent Turkish accession to the EU. Turkey is through its independent conduct of policy currently proving its value not only to EU and NATO, but also has created the very new concept of foreign and security policy, which is more active than ever. Turkey prepares ground for improvement of its position, influence and prestige in its broader region, mainly through diplomatic means and soft power, without giving up key issues of national interest (Cyprus, disputes with Greece, Kurdish question...). Turkey does not completely distance itself from policies of EU and NATO, but acts more independently. What can and should NATO, and especially the EU, do in order to keep Turkey as close as possible at a moment, when EU membership seems to be no more than an illusion? And what can we expect from Turkey, which is involved in several pressing conflicts and issues (situation in Syria, Iranian nuclear programme, developments in Afghanistan...). These are the basic questions to be answered in this article.

Augustínová, P.: Turkey's Foreign & Security Policy: The Crossroads Between Israel, Arab Neighbours and European Union in Turkey's Foreign Policy

As the Turkish ruling, mild Islamist Justice and Development Party's popularity increased and Ankara was tightening its relations with Arab neighbours, the West started to speculate about

Turkey's changing direction from the West to the East. A model story can be observed by the escalating tension between Turkey and Israel, for a long time seen as close partners. The cooling down of their relations serves as a litmus test of Turkey's foreign policy transformation, where Ankara's redefinition of strategy and role took place. It portrays the changed strategy and discourse of Turkey's foreign policy and tries to make connection between the recent developments both in the Middle East region and European Union. The work aims to answer these questions: What kind of foreign policy transformation can we observe in Turkey? Does Turkey pursue any hidden agenda, or is it only following a well-balanced approach? Is there any connection between Turkish disappointment with European Union membership prospects and turning its attention to its Arab neighbours?

Kujawa, K.: The Future of Turkey-EU Relations

For over half a century Turkey has been striving to become an EU member. Nonetheless, the problem of serious democratic reforms which would bring Turkey closer to the Community was first taken up by a moderate Islamic Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Democratic reforms in Turkey were carried out under the EU pressure, for example private Kurdish courses as well as TV and radio programmes were allowed and Turkey has begun opening up to its neighbours. The question of the genocide of Armenians was becoming the subject of public debate. Yet in recent years, the process of the implementation of democratic reforms by Prime Minister Erdoğan has considerably slowed down. Freedom of speech, Kurdish rights, threatening to freeze the relations with the EU if the Republic of Cyprus takes over the leadership in the EU Council – these are some manifestations. Despite the fears over Turkey's giving up its EU aspirations, the priority of Prime Minister Erdoğan's government should be a full EU membership. The evidence for this is not only the willingness to solve the Cypriot problem quickly but also the work on the new constitution introducing more democratic freedoms in accordance with EU criteria. Nevertheless, one should not expect the acceleration of the reforms. Having the perspective of a distant EU membership, the Prime Minister will carry out the policy of small steps and may even sacrifice his good relations with the EU for the sake of internal policies. The key role in the process of Turkey's integration with the EU will be also played by the European states (mainly France and Germany). Without their political will, the chances for Turkey's membership are non-existent.

Celder, R.: Elections Year and Putin's Return to Presidency: Implications for

Foreign Policy of Russian Federation

This article seeks to identify the main aspects of the changing political thinking of Russian society and moments, which had an impact on Vladimir Putin and the tone of his elections strategy. The article points to the most important areas of interests and common intersections in cooperation between Russia and the main global and regional actors.

Pavličková, M.: Leadership Change in Russia: Shift Towards a More Assertive Foreign Policy?

The economic crisis and mass uprising in the Arab world in 2011 have been crucial factors of the changing patterns of the international policy, and political and economic developments at almost every level of the global policy scene. The year 2012 – “the year of elections” is even a better occasion for further shifts in the international politics as the leadership changes will have substantial impacts on the developments of the European, North American and Asian-Pacific regions. Four out of five UN Security Council members could see the changes at the top – Russia, China, France and the United States (US), affecting a large proportion of the world's population and comprising almost 50 per cent of the world's GDP. As such, there is a serious need to analyse the key challenges and worldwide impacts of the foreign policies and strategies of the world's most powerful countries. Russia's elections were the most predictable as it was already known that Prime Minister Vladimir Putin was going to become the president again. However, even this leadership change is not that clear-cut. For the first time since 1990's, Moscow witnessed one of the biggest protests against the ruling party, United Russia and its leader Vladimir Putin. The ambition of this article is to examine the impact of the recent open criticism of the Kremlin on the formulation and future direction of Russian foreign policy. Russia is part of the greater picture, with a unique role on the world political map and intentions to continue promoting its security and protecting its national interests by active engagement in global politics in solving global and regional problems.

Horemuž, M.: The Russian Component in the Foreign Policy of the Ukraine

The geopolitical situation of Ukraine predestines, as well as, limits its foreign policy and economic direction, as related to the all-European political and security view of this important international state. More than 20 years after gaining independence, the Russian federation must be considered a very important neighbour, whose presence based on economic bonds, political experience and historic

reminiscences cannot be totally eliminated in the process of creating the foreign policy strategy. For this reason, Russian power politics and agricultural force noticeably influence Ukrainian policy internally, as well as externally. Mostly since the departure of orange forces and the entrance of Yanukovich to the presidential Office (February 2010), Moscow concentrated on the fulfillment of a more “balanced” foreign policy of Kiev. It should be noted that the Russian vector affects mostly the realms of Ukrainian security and economic policies. These notions have been recast into concrete results that were advantageous for Russia, as in the extending the stay of Black Sea Fleet (BSF) and in the factual taking back of the Ukrainian intention of entering NATO. Another aspect was the complication of relations between the Ukraine and the EU, as well as the delay of accepting the Association Agreement because of Timoshenko’s imprisonment.

Stojar, R.: The Eurasian Union: A New Regional Dimension of Russian Foreign and Security Policy

The Eurasia project was presented last year (2011) by Vladimir Putin as the next step in the Common Economic Space of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. The vision of regional cooperation of the Eurasian union (EAU) is inspired by the European integration and introduces both real and potential copying of EU institutions, including cooperation in the field of security. The author analyses the Russian economic and strategic interests in the region as well as the motivation of Belarus and Kazakhstan in deepening cooperation with Russia and the limits of the economical-security integration. It also assesses Russia’s ambitions in Central Asia which it looks toward to stave off the potential threats to Russian interests in this region, as well as presents this important actor’s ambitions in the context of EAU.

Padrtová, B.: Russian Approach Towards the Arctic Region

The Arctic is clearly vital to Russia’s relevance in world affairs. Natural resources are one of the major forces driving Russian policy as they are viewed as a basis for the economic development and determine its geopolitical influence. Moreover, the Arctic has always played a significant role from the perspective of Russian Navy. Russia is the only country in the world with a nuclear icebreaker fleet. On the geopolitical level, the most important for Moscow is maintaining nuclear deterrence by securing the open access of submarines to world’s seas. As the forecast promises an ice-free Arctic by 2040, Russia has a well-developed commercial and transport

infrastructure to take advantage of the opportunities it offers. The importance of the Arctic to Russia on the one hand, and the growing international interest on the other, has fueled Russia’s determination to make its role as a central Arctic nation eminently clear by political, economic, and military means. As part of its effort to create a comprehensive presence in the Arctic, Russia has been steadily expanding its military component there since 2007. Any foreign interest in the area, government, commercial or environmental, is seen as hostile intent. Naturally, Russian national interests will be challenged by other Arctic states – all NATO members – who can theoretically speak with one voice against Russia. Thus the Arctic region is likely to become a region of geopolitical competition.

Novikova, G.: The South Caucasus and the European Security Architecture

This chapter focuses upon two sets of questions. The first addresses the transformations of the unresolved conflicts and analyzes the prospects (if any) for diminishing military and political tensions in the South Caucasus. The second is related to the passive involvement or non-involvement by European institutions in the conflict resolution process.

Todorov, I.: Foreign and Security Policy of Ukraine: Towards Self-Isolation

The paper describes the key characteristics of Ukraine’s foreign policy over the past two years. It proves the controversial nature of bilateral relations with the European Union, shows the cooperation with NATO under the policy of “non-alignment,” and analyzes the meaning of the foreign policy dimension in the new edition of the National Security Strategy of Ukraine.

Bebler, A.: Regional Security in South Eastern Europe

At the turn of the XXI. Century outward tranquillity was imposed on the Western Balkans, the most volatile and troublesome part of South Eastern Europe and of the continent. The termination of large scale violence however did not add up, so far, to long-term stability in the region. The management of security problems in South Eastern Europe would be best assured within the process of European integration. Well coordinated activities by key international organizations could help South Eastern Europe to become a region of democracy, prosperity and stability.

Żornaczuk, T.: Pulling the Rope: The Question of the North of Kosovo

Almost five years after declaration of independence of the Republic of Kosovo, the authorities in Pristina do not control the northern part of the country, inhabited by the Serbs. Serbia did not recognise the new country as a sovereign state and the attitudes of the Kosovo Albanians and the Serbs to the north of Kosovo differ greatly. Hence, the question of this territory remains unresolved. Although the issue was not by now on the agenda of the Pristina-Belgrade dialog, the potential solutions were discussed elsewhere, and both the partition and the exchange of the territories were raised among other things. However, the Western international community seems to be united in not questioning the territorial integrity of Kosovo. An agreement between Belgrade and Pristina is needed in order to accelerate the European integration process of both Serbia and Kosovo. However, it is of essential importance to take into account the approach of the inhabitants of the north of Kosovo when discussing a solution for this issue.

Scarabelli, D.: Cleaning the Balkan Route: Elements of Police Cooperation in Serbia

The Serbian territory is one of the parts of the infamous 'Balkan Route,' which is the main itinerary for the smuggling of heroin, dominating land and sea consignments of this drug. In that sense, fostering police cooperation in the Western Balkans is an important component in tackling transnational organised crime, but also for establishing good neighbourly relations. This paper examines the police cooperation of the Republic of Serbia with high-income active partners, the Nordic states, and states in Southeast Europe. The article concludes by stating that Serbia has lately been very proactive in police cooperation, but still lacks a strategic goal and needs to pursue more multilateral cooperation.

Rada, P.: Rethinking the "democratic peace theory": turbulent democratization in North Africa and the Middle East and the external dimension

Democracies do not go to war with each other. Is it true for countries in transition? When can we state that a country is democratic? The fate of the Transatlantic community's democracy promotion strategy stems from these question regarding North Africa and the Middle East. One year after the beginning of the "Arab spring" it is still not clear what will be the future of the region. One thing is clear: the Transatlantic community has important stakes in supporting smooth democratization of the region and avoiding a failed process. The worst case scenario is full scale civil war as it happened in Libya and happens in Syria. However, the less violent cases pose enormous challenge, too.

The article reviews the arguments of the democratic peace theory, and analyzes the options for a country undergoing democratic transitions. Furthermore, the article will draw conclusions regarding the role of the Transatlantic community in supporting the change in North Africa and the Middle East.

Ragab, E.: Iran's Role Dilemma in the Arab Region after the Arab Revolutions

This paper is concerned with Iran's role in the region after the Arab spring. It argues that Iran since the occupation of Iraq, is suffering from a role dilemma created by a gap between its role practices and the level of regional acceptance of those practices, in particular by U.S and Arab countries. Iran is seeking regional and international recognition of its role in the region, sometimes as a "super regional power," a "regional pioneering" role, a "revolutionary strong state," a "security guardian of the Gulf," or most recently as a "core state in the New Free Islamic Middle East." Arab countries and the U.S don't recognize this role due to the consequences of that step for their own interests. This paper argues that the Arab spring put more pressure on this conventional role dilemma as it poses more constrains that may widen the gap between Iran's practices and the level of legitimacy it can gain. It also creates another dilemma regarding the role type to be played by Iran in the region. In other words, after the Arab revolutions, Iran's problem lies in the practices of the role itself and not only in the role's legitimacy.

Hudec, J.: Summer Situation in the MENA Region

By 2030 more than 26 % of global population will be Muslim. Sunni Muslims are expected to continue to make up a majority of about 87 %, the remaining approximately 13 % are Shias. More than a third of the Shia Muslims live in Iran. The contribution focuses on the relations of Sunni and Shia Muslims and their impact on the regional geopolitical dynamics in the wider MENA (non-Arab powers – Iran, Israel Turkey; and Arab powers – Saudi Arabia/GCC, Egypt/Maghreb, Iraq/Levant; external powers – U.S.A., Russian Federation). It aims to briefly summarise internal development in Arab countries, political changes in North Africa (Tunisia, Egypt and Libya), followed by protracted struggles on the Arab Peninsula and Levant (Bahrain, Yemen and Syria), as well as tendencies in other Arab League members. GCC monarchies are afraid of which will be the first victim of a revolution with some correlation to Iran. The Shia Muslims would not become a leading power of the Islamic world. Despite that, there are several possibilities of escalations between Shia and Sunni Muslims. Also the Islamic democracy might have same negative

tendencies. Therefore the EU should strengthen the economic co-operation and investment only in the MENA countries without hesitation to bring about the necessary reforms in economy and education. For Slovakia it would be important to consider the differences between the societies in the MENA and the Central Europe when it comes to possible transfer of transformation know-how.

Samson, I.: Impact of the “Arab Spring” on the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process

The paper’s intention is to deal with the preliminary outcome of the so-called Arab Spring in 2012 and its impact on the resolution of the conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews. The thesis scrutinizes the question whether the famous UNGA initiative by the president of the Palestinian Autonomy in 2012 was a result of the disturbing events in the Arab Middle East and in the Palestinian Autonomy. Having a look at the argumentation of both parties to the conflict based mainly on sources in the region and outside (i. e. not only Palestinian-Arab and Jewish-Israeli materials but also reflecting the opinion in other countries), the study elucidates the facts on the ground and examines the potential for a positive influence of the Arab Spring on either the Palestinians, the Israelis, or on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process as a whole. The question is, what if the main benefactors from inside are extremists in both camps? The study also elaborates on the influence of external factors (namely of the USA) due to the “Arab Spring” including a changed position of the key internal players like Egypt and the role of the US to guarantee the Camp David Treaty and the security of its “protectorate”, i. e. Israel. In the analysis of the events, the study identifies the crucial friction points in the Arab world with regards to the Arab-Israeli conflict (or “Peace Process”) vis a vis the new reality. Finally, the prospects of the West to cope with the new developments are discussed.

Balogh, I.: The Middle Eastern Balance of Power in 2012 And Its Implications for the Future

The paper aims to highlight the consequences of the shifting balance of power in the Middle East. The author argues that this process is mainly due to two strategic trends: the proliferation of weak states in the Middle East and North Africa and the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. These trends led to the development of a new strategic competition in the region between Turkey and Iran. The implications of these two trends are mixed for key actors of the region, thus, the study elaborates on what lies ahead for the region’s powers as a result of these processes.

Schuurmans, L.: The Future of the Sino-Iran Entente

After the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, the Sino-Iran entente merely began as a business partnership without any strategic implications. During the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, China became Iran’s main arms supplier, in the 1990s they sold nuclear and military technology, and in 2004 they cemented their friendship when China and Iran signed their largest ever energy deal worth over US\$ 70 billion. In 2006 and 2010, however, under American pressure, China supported the UN Resolutions on Iran. With Israel’s increasing threat of a military strike against Iran’s nuclear program, Iran once again made the world’s headlines. With the backdrop of the United States and Israel as Iran’s prime enemies, how will the Sino-Iran entente evolve? Will China support any future sanctions? From previous experience, China has always been the biggest hurdle to supporting sanctions against Iran. Samuel Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations” implied that Confucian countries are prone to turn into an alliance with countries like Iran. In the mid-term, will China and Iran expand their business partnership into a strategic alliance? “The future of the Sino-Iran Entente” will outline some of the basic principles of China’s foreign policies and it will give a brief introduction to the establishment of Sino-Iran relations. It will, also attempt to provide answers as to a possible ‘Sino-Iran Alliance’ in the field of security and defense, including the security of the energy supplies shipped through the Strait of Hormuz. This research will be concluded with China’s alignment to Iran aimed to re-affirm its increasing international power status while countering US regional influence.

Kotorová, J.: Afghanistan – a Vicious Circle?

After ten years in Afghanistan, the United States is still not able to find an answer to the question of how to succeed over the insurgents in the country. The initial military success of the US military forces has not lead to a decisive victory, rather the struggle has changed to protracted guerrilla warfare – a kind of war the United States does not like to fight. Two decades ago, another superpower of that time – the Soviet Union faced a similar experience. Unable to ‘win the hearts and minds’ of the Afghan people, the USSR had to leave Afghanistan – “the bleeding wound” – unconquered. The Soviet campaign was characterised by a number of military shortfalls such as a lack of a sufficient number of forces to hold the territory cleared of the insurgents, a lack of a viable counterinsurgency strategy, a lack of cultural awareness, technological dependence and improper training for the counterinsurgent environment. All these pitfalls prevented the Soviets from

defeating the guerrillas. Although the outcome of the current campaign is not clear yet, it is obvious that the United States has made many of the Soviet's mistakes that could have been avoided. However, military culture prevents the US forces from quickly and sufficiently adapting to counterinsurgency. This represents the main obstacle that also prevented the Soviet Union from succeeding.

Das, D.: Indian Nuclear Policy: A Case of Deliberate Strategic Ambiguity

Nuclear energy has been at the heart of the post colonial Indian project of modernity and nation building. India's nuclear policy though has been full of contradictions, given the wide nature of its scope, ranging from strategic ambiguity to overt nuclearisation. A nuclear weapons state in a neighbourhood with two other nuclear states, Pakistan and China, it is important to understand the development of Indian nuclear policy over the years. While India has traditionally adopted a moral position and principally opposed multilateral non-proliferation treaties like the NPT and the CTBT on the grounds of their discriminatory and exclusivist nature, it has also sought to develop nuclear weapons. Indian nuclear policy has in effect been a microcosm of the reconciliation between its purported civilisational heritage of moralpolitik and aspiration to acquire greater standing in the world order. Given the fact that India is on the verge of operationalising its 'nuclear triad' in 2013 and has already successfully tested its first ICBM, it is interesting to see how the current Indian nuclear doctrine deals with issues of disarmament and non-proliferation. This paper seeks to trace the development of Indian nuclear policy and understanding the internal debates that have produced Indian nuclear policy as it is today. The effects of the Indo-US nuclear deal and its implications are also considered.

Gil Pérez, J.: Instability Factors in Indonesia

This paper shows and analyses the current instability factors in Indonesia, the largest economy in Southeast Asia, the third largest democracy in the world and at the same time, the largest Muslim country in the world with 200 million of Muslims. This paper will explain the old and new threats that can be found in the country. Islamic terrorism and the secessionist movement in Papua are the most dangerous and challenging old threats in the country. But there is also the presence of threats labeled as non-traditional ones that can be defined as "Challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources" (RSIS 2012). These threats, that have always been present in Indonesia during the past decades, are attracting

major attention nationally and internationally and include climate change, resource scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling and drugs trafficking. Both types of threats are transnational and require comprehensive responses in the political, economic and social arena. Hence, Indonesia needs the support of the international community to combat and destroy them and reinforce the political stability and economic success of the country.

Hageraats, B. and Alonso Villaseñor, C.: Changing Places: Sino-American Rivalry and Cooperation in Central Asia

When most United States' combat troops leave Afghanistan in 2014, it will symbolize the end of a war that has dramatically changed the geopolitical landscape in Central Asia. In the wake of the war in Iraq, both the psychological effects of the U.S. inability to reach its strategic objectives, as well as the regional power-vacuum that this has left for its rivals, have shifted the power balance firmly towards actors like China and India and, to a lesser extent, Iran and Russia. This paper examines the strategic consequences of the Afghan war from a regional perspective. Western influence has diminished, as well as the position of local players like Pakistan and Afghanistan. Those actors who have mostly stayed out, and especially the government in Beijing, will now rewrite the rule book for politics in Central Asia. Their success might depend on the extent to which they harness the possibilities of potential new alliances, both local as well as for example with Moscow. The United States and European countries will need to redefine their presence in the region, especially as their relationship with Pakistan and Middle Eastern nations is likely to decline over time. Western focus will be on natural resources and limiting Chinese involvement, and as such will become more limited and reactive. What is clear is that the war in Afghanistan has altered the spheres of influence in Central Asia in favour of Asian powers.

Husenecová, L.: The China Threat Theory Revisited: Chinese Changing Society and Future Development

Brzezinsky said that the 21st Century will be a Century of Asia and so the latest discussion on the future of international relations and international community are focusing on the rise of several Asian countries, where China is one of them. When analysing Chinese behaviour in foreign policy and security, a theory has been created by representative of offensive realism J. Maersheimer, the so-called China threat theory that envisages the future competition, even war, over hegemony

between China and the US. This theory however offers one-sided view of the more complicated and colourful development of China as a rising eastern power. Contrary to the China threat theory, Chinese scholars and representatives work with the peaceful rise theory that stresses the need to secure the status quo in international relations. The proposed paper aims to analyse not only the two above-mentioned theoretical approaches to the issue of the rise of China but also focuses on the reality of Chinese population and society. As China is currently heading to yet another power transfer and new leadership is expected to be elected in the autumn's 2012 during the 18th National Congress, the paper will also reflect on the challenges the Chinese communist party will have to deal with in the near future.

Tökölyová, T.: Evaluation of RAMSI Mission's Impacts on The Region's Security(As Expressed by Australia's Middle Power Policy)

The main goal of the paper is to analyze RAMSI mission to Solomon Islands concerning the region's security as a result of Australia's middle power engagement. RAMSI represents a multilateral state-building regional intervention based on cooperation of a regional organization (The Pacific Island Forum) and Australia as resulting from its middle power engagements. Australia's position as a middle power is confirmed also by its peace activities and realization of the self-determination of the island nations in the region also under the UN. Australia is very active in the South Pacific area as is evidenced by its active role in finding a solution to the political crisis not only on Solomon Islands but also in Fiji. This is taking place in compliance with Howard's doctrine focused also on security issues in the South Pacific region. The paper raises a question of a real fulfillment of the middle power country's engagements as well as with regard to success of the mission itself from the region's security point of view.

Kováč, I.: Drug Cartel War as the Major Security Challenge in the Us-Mexican Relations

US and Mexico have very close bilateral relations. Economic and demographic interconnection and the density of cross-border interaction have shaped mutual relations for a long time. In previous years, security has become the leading topic of mutual interaction. Due to increasing drug-cartel violence, the security situation in Mexico has significantly deteriorated which now poses the major security threat for both countries. The contribution focuses on analyzing the security implications of the drug cartel war for US-Mexican relations. The goal is to examine the recent development and focus on bilateral US-Mexican security cooperation in this

regard. I look at the cooperation under Mérida Initiative and aim to identify major areas but also limits of interaction. Finally, the analysis aspires to provide a comprehensive outline of future prospects arising from the recent development and the results of presidential elections held in both countries in 2012.

Mochťak, M.: Mexican Drug War: Six Years of Violent Clashes

Conflicts and their inevitable lethal potential affect the state of security and everyday life of ordinary people, institutions and whole states. Mexico is not an exception. The Drug War or La guerra contra el narcotráfico generally refers to an intrastate armed conflict initiated as a counter drug policy against the activities of organized crime groups by the Mexican government in the late 1990s. Since then, the formal mode of dynamics has been continuously changing with several challenges for the society and its future development. Based on Calderón's 6-years presidential term (2006-2012), the goal of this chapter is to evaluate the patterns of conflict interaction and to identify the impacts on everyday life of Mexican communities. The period of the last six years has been critical in terms of open brutality and wide spreading violence that the federal government has responded to by the engagement of military troops which were sent to the northern parts of country. According to many scholars, it has impaired the fragile balance between the drug cartels and created the environment of never-ending clashes. The seriousness and numbers of violent incidents have been steadily increasing ever since without any positive outlook.

Mareš, M.: Trans-National Cooperation of Right-Wing Extremists in East-Central Europe

This article describes and analyses trans-national cooperation of right-wing extremist parties and movements in East-Central Europe. It deals with contacts and organizations of various extreme right actors within a range of fields (e.g. education, subcultures etc.). It comes to conclusion that impact of Western (German, American, British) extreme right as well as Eastern extreme right on East Central European scene is strong and drives further transnational contacts. Regional and bilateral cooperation plays an important role as well.

Metěňko, J. and Hejda, J.: New and Old Drugs - Threats for Europe

This study provides basic analyses in a specific area of personal and social security from the aspect of drug abuse. The study provides orientation on aspects of regional, global and specific

European threats to personal health and security. It analyses the development of new drugs and their use in Europe. Information for the study is taken from the signalling drug system and new information from cooperation with local experts. Authors point out that these new substances are abnormally dangerous for their unknown effects on human health. This study is the result of the project implementation: Centre of Excellence in Security Research: code ITMS: 26240120034 supported by the Research & Development Operational Programme funded by the ERDF.

Dojčanová, L.: Greening Security Strategies: Weaknesses and Contradictions

Since the 1970s, threats like climate change have gradually become a part of the security agenda and cannot be anymore excluded from a security mainstream. The 1990s failure to produce a crucial military event and, yet paradoxically, diminishing great power debate after the Cold War, underlined the significance of non-traditional security sectors such as the environmental one. However, some security authors claim that the environmental threats are characterized by a lower urgency and belong into the sphere of risk management. This paper analyzes such contradictions through the Copenhagen School theory and the case study of the European Union (EU). Despite the European environmental global proactiveness, the EU decided not to originally securitize environment in her Security Strategy in 2003. In light of scientific underpinnings, the EU has continuously taken an active role in environmental negotiations like in Montreal or Kyoto Protocol. Eventually, climate change and environmental degradation has been included as a key threat endangering the European security in the 2008 Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy. The EU's securitizing move is a prime example highlighting the controversy around the environmental security. It characterizes climate change as a threat multiplier, which, however, employs only preventive measures and diplomatic means.

Kemenyík, Š.: Technology in Colonial Conflicts

Colonization (an ancient and medieval phenomenon) and colonialism (from modern times to present) represent efforts for direct or indirect expansion of territory and increase of the military-political and economic influence of an aggressor. The aim is to gain access to natural resources, communications and labor markets. Part of this is violent promotion and legitimization of such behavior by force. History and the present show the inseparability of colonization and colonial aspirations (and their success) from

technical and non-technical technology in the whole breadth of this concept. The paper analyzes the role of technology in key events from early history of mankind to the present. It also notes the consequences of failure to appreciate the importance of technology in the past, and analyzes the potential of major players in world politics and current trends in the context of future colonial conflicts.

Šimek, J.: Hactivists and Whistleblowers – an Emerging Hybrid Threat?

In the past two years, Wikileaks published a high profile series of redacted classified materials connected to wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as Guantanamo prison and US diplomatic cables. In 2012, Wikileaks for the first time launched a direct cooperation with the hactivist network Anonymous, and exposed an entire and non-redacted email communication of the private intelligence firm Stratfor. A similar attack by Anonymous against another private security contractor, HB Garry, occurred in early 2011. This paper examines an increasing impact of hactivists and whistleblower organisations on international relations from the soft security perspective and attempts to analyze these loose collectives and set them in a broader context of Open Data movement. Anonymous played a role in providing technical support for the dissent in the events of Arab Awakening in 2011, and for example tried to challenge the Los Zetas cartel in Mexico without success. It has proven its ability to obtain classified materials from governments and corporations and launch specific media campaigns, but doesn't have the capacity and tools to effectively analyze these large sets of Big Data. Therefore the narrative against hactivists should be carefully crafted, and a more sensitive and focused soft security approach is needed as a reactive measure in the post-leak communication. Instead of labelling them criminals or terrorists, the security community should study their motifs and direct their attention to the fight against organized crime, terrorists and autocrats.

Nečej, E. and Tarasovič, V.: Extremism vs. Armed Forces

In this article the authors try to show a latent presence of extremism in the Slovak armed forces and on examples from different foreign armies to show that similar problems, leading often to tragedies can happen also in Slovakia. Connection between extreme concentration of veterans in one region with bad economic situation, declined social status after the retirement from active duty, as well as concentration of maladjusted people can lead to either radical solutions from

the side of the individuals or groups of veterans
or serve to support of extremists movements.