PANORAMA OF GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT 2013

Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA) is an independent think-tank, focusing mainly on activities in the field of foreign and security policy. CENAA runs a wide range of projects and research activities, organizes expert events and publishes works together with its partners from Slovakia and abroad.

CENAA`s aim is to play an active role in the strategic discussions in Slovakia and in the Euro-Atlantic area, to participate in the education of future foreign and security policy professionals, and to contribute to the stability and sustainable development in partner countries through our educational and training programs.

Marian MAJER, Róbert ONDREJCSÁK (eds.)

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Editors' address

Dear readers,

This year Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs is celebrating the tenth anniversary of its existence and we are proud to present you also the tenth edition of PANORAMA of Global Security Environment. When we first launched this project in 2003, we frankly did not expect such interest it has met not only in Slovakia, but also abroad. Over its ten years of existence Panorama has brought many talented authors together. Approaching 450 contributions in total, our focus continues to be to map key security developments around the world.

As Panorama became more recognized, we have defined more ambitious goals: to be a leading research platform for Central European, and later European and transatlantic community in the field of security policy and international relations. As previous years the latest edition proved our ambitions: we are able to cover the most important issues and topics on a global scale with very high-level contributions and with authors from all over the world.

This year´s Panorama of Global Security Environment brings contributions from 53 authors that are divided into five chapters: Euro-Atlantic Area; East and South Europe; Middle East and Africa; Central, South and Southeast Asia; Sectoral Framework.

First part of the book is dedicated to the Euro-Atlantic area. Among the main topics here are the importance of defense cooperation as well as the newest developments regarding the economic crisis and its impact on defense budgets of NATO members and other European countries. This year Panorama is also embracing a new topic of cyber security through several articles. We recognize this as important development as well as contribution to our effort to spread knowledge about this topic not only through Panorama but also through our new long-term project called Global Netizenship in Cyberworld. CENAA strives to ensure that cyber security will get into focal point of political, corporate and expert elites through this project which is based on in-depth analysis of multispectral and cross-cutting issues of national and international cyber security.

The chapter on post-soviet space touches upon developments in several crucial regions of this area. Articles here look at economy related developments in Russian security and foreign policy, several issues in Western Balkans relating mainly to Kosovo and current problems of the South Caucasus region, which is a place of one of our transition projects and place where our 1st South Caucasus Security Forum took place this year. Three years after Arab Spring the region of Middle East and Africa still beckons for attention and Panorama brings an interesting collage of opinions regarding the evolution of situation in countries like Syria or Mali. Once again China remains in focus of Panorama but the chapter on Central, South and South East Asia pays attention also to the future of Afghanistan after the year 2014 and several issues related to nuclear weapons.

Same as in the previous years, this year´s Panorama concludes with the Sector Framework chapter. Here the articles look at very relevant question of extremism and radicalization and security related issues of the economic crisis.

We sincerely hope that Panorama 2013 will bring you plethora of information and insightful views with regard to global security environment of the past year and that you will find it helpful in your professional life.

Editors

ABSTRACTS

CSIKI, TAMÁS and NÉMETH, BENCE: Perspectives of Central European Multinational Defence Cooperation: A New Model?

The financial crisis triggered the impression among European states that the negative effects of the further decreasing defence budgets could be tackled by tighter defence cooperation especially on capability development. New initiatives have emerged both within NATO and the European Union in this regard, but interestingly, new parallel defence co-operations have also been created and old ones have been revitalized on the sub-regional level. In Central Europe, two frameworks have recently evolved in this field: on the one hand, the Visegrad Countries (V4) – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia – have been cooperating on various issues since the 1990s, though the first element of their defence cooperation was born only in 2011 by initiating a V4 EU Battlegroup. On the other hand, Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia have begun collaborating within the framework of the Central European Defence Initiative (CEDI) in the fields of training, operations and capability development since 2011. By 2013 we can already observe the first projects to yield positive results in practice, underpinning the viability of this cooperation framework. The article maps these frameworks of defence cooperation and compares how they function and how successful they are in delivering viable defence cooperation programs, also comparing them to the best practices of existing successful models of cooperation, namely the Nordic Defence Cooperation. The authors argue that such flexible, de-institutionalized forms of defence cooperation as CEDI would serve better for fledgling new projects and give timely answers to current capability shortfalls than the more institutionalized, less flexible frameworks, such as the V4 Defence Cooperation.

BALOGH, ISTVÁN: The Short-Term Future and the Methodology of Visegrád Defense Cooperation

The study consists of two parts. First, the work provides an assessment of where V4 defense cooperation is headed. Hence, the study argues that marginal projects will dominate V4 defense cooperation in the short run. Second, the work wishes to offer a methodology on how to at least get started with deeper V4 defense cooperation. Thus, the study aims to remedy the lack of focus by the related literature on methodological issues concerning the actual implementation of V4 defense cooperation.

KROKOSOVÁ, KATARÍNA: Questions of the Feasibility of Smart Defense Approach

The goal of this article is to analyze the near future of NATO as a function of economic austerity spreading all over the world. One major solution which has been offered at the 2012 Chicago Summit by Secretary General Rasmussen is the smart defense approach. Smart defense is pursued as the idea of deeper cooperation, prioritization and specialization of the member states of NATO in the defense area. Alliance is invoking all of the member states, and mainly European countries, to participate and help to make their investment in security "smarter," i.e. through adoption of common approaches to developing capabilities. However, the economic austerity is not the main reason. It is clear that Washington is not willing to secure European defense sector to the extent of post-Cold war era. It is now the task for European states to deal with their security challenges. As long as economic austerity is preventing European states to provide full range of defense capabilities at a required level on their own, the necessity of a broader cooperation is really emerging. The solution seems simple, but the harder part is the implementation of the main pillars of smart defense. It is clear that it would affect the fundamental attributes of states' sovereignty, because it considerably influences how we perceive the national state. Furthermore, besides the Alliance, there is also another platform for cooperation in the European region – the EU that offers compatible opportunities via its "Pooling and sharing" approach. The aim of this article is to explore whether the approach of smart defense is really smart enough, so as to be able to overcome all the political and economic traps on the way to the full implementation of the concept.

SMITH, SEÁN: What Does the Future Hold for the EU Battlegroups?

The French-led intervention in Mali in January 2012 was universally welcomed by EU member states. Yet, with much of the news reports and debates focusing on the nature and the scale of the Islamist threat along with the wider insecurity in north Africa, the failure to activate – or even discuss activating – the EU Battlegroup mechanism has been generally overlooked. The battlegroups reached full operational capacity on 1st January 2007, but have still yet to see any military action despite being about to enter their eighth year of service. The Mali case appeared ideally suited to the EU's long-standing desire to be able to deploy a rapid reaction force to deal with international security crises. This paper seeks to analyse the dwindling relevance of the battlegroup concept and questions whether its objectives are illusory aspirations or essential to fulfilling the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) aims. With France effectively being left to act alone, save for minimal assistance from a few other EU member states, what does this say about the current state of the EU's CSDP? Finally, the paper examines the various strategies

with which the EU could improve the situation and concludes that it is high time to re-evaluate the goals and merits of a policy mechanism that is at best dormant, or at worst, dead in the water.

RIDOŠ, MARTIN: European Phased Adaptive Approach
The following article presents the European Phased Adaptive Approach that should serve as Europe's ballistic missile shield. The shield was a sore point in the relations between NATO member states and Russia, until US decided to drop the last, fourth stage of this ballistic missile defence system which was designed to provide protection against intercontinental ballistic missiles. This article presents European Phased Adaptive Approach and its features and sets out to answer the following questions, "Can the three-stage European Phased Adaptive Approach provide enough protection for Europe?", and "Why was it important to scrap the fourth stage and what benefits might it bring?"

BOWEN, BLEDDYN E.: EU Astrostrategy: Spaceship Europe at Sanctuary's End
Grand strategic thought within Europe about outer space is lacking. This essay outlines a basic astrostrategy for the EU and hopes to provoke discussion about the future of Europe in outer space. This astrostrategy crosses the boundaries of the civilian and the military, of peace and war, of competition and cooperation. The question asked here is: how does exploiting space help achieve the EU's broad overall objectives? This can only begin to be answered once an understanding of the wider astropolitical context is illustrated; an understanding that space is not a sanctuary from conflict and will be characterised by dual-use technology.

BODNAROVA, BARBORA: Consolidation of the European Defence Market
Main aim of this paper is a discussion of the process of transformation and consolidation of the European defence industry and market, first in the relation to the consolidation of the defence industry in the US and then among the member states of the EU. Mixture of the political and economic pressure that occurred in the European defence industry and towards European defence market seem too complex to be fully disentangled and understood. Therefore this paper utilizes a concept of economic patriotism developed by Clift and Woll (2013) to look at the interplay of economic and political pressures in the transformation and consolidation of the European defence industry and market and hopes to answer the question of which cases in the process of the transformation and consolidation of the European defence industry and market can be seen as cases of economic patriotism.

MIŠÍK, MATÚŠ: Energy Security Challenges of Small EU Member States: The Case of Slovakia
Energy security, presently one of the main energy issues at the EU level, is especially puzzling for small member states. These lack resources and political influence of their bigger counterparts and thus have to develop strategies for dealing with different challenges in this area. This paper identifies three energy security challenges of the Slovak Republic. The first is external dependency challenge since Slovakia imports almost all energy sources from abroad and relationships with its main suppliers are not always equal. The second challenge concerns the capacity of the EU to find common ground in energy security issues and ability of Slovakia as a small member state to exercise pressure over other members in order to push through its preferences in this area. The last challenge deals with the ability of the Slovak government to successfully negotiate on a daily basis with the main energy companies operating on its territory in order to foster energy security. The contribution argues that since Slovakia is having a hard time dealing with these challenges it tries to "shift" energy security to the EU level so that the Community would deal with these questions. The paper uses data from semi-structured interviews conducted in 2012 with officials at ministries responsible for energy issues as well as energy experts.

RADA, PETER: Pivot to Asia and the Role of the Visegrád Countries in the Transatlantic Future after 2014
Several emerging economic powers in Asia questioned the relevance of Atlantic-centered international relations. The European NATO allies are reluctant to play a significant role in the Asia-Pacific and despite the changing American foreign policy focus, Europe still needs the United States. The article assesses the consequences of this change with a focus on the Visegrád countries. The article argues that the pivot is not necessarily away from Europe but it is clear that the Europeans need to invest significantly more in their own security in order to remain reliable partners and keep NATO an important forum of Transatlantic strategic and security decisions. The Visegrád countries may substitute United States in the immediate neighborhood by fostering regional cooperation on the Western Balkans and assist in the democratic transition and Euro-Atlantic integration of the region. This can be achieved through sharing of transitional experiences they gained during the last two decades. The involvement of the Visegrád countries in the region is already significant and the political leverage is a real added value to the goals of the United States.

PÉCZELI, ANNA: Deeper Reductions in US-Russian Strategic Nuclear Arsenals
Nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament have been a key concern of the first Obama administration and will remain imperative in the second term, as well. One of the most important results of the first four years has been the 2010 New START Treaty which obliged Washington and Moscow to reduce the number of their deployed strategic nuclear weapons to 1550 by 2018. The White House, however, is considering deeper reductions than the New START ceilings. In the framework of the overall review of nuclear guidance, the US has been investigating the minimum number of nuclear weapons which is necessary to maintain the credibility of its deterrence policy. In his 2013 Berlin Address, President Obama reaffirmed his commitment to further reciprocal reductions with Russia, proposing a cut to 1,000-1,100 deployed strategic nuclear weapons. The current paper explores the prospects of implementing President Obama's Berlin announcement. First, the review process of US nuclear guidance is presented in order to explain the underlying (strategic and political) factors of nuclear disarmament and then four different "reduction options" are analyzed in light of the possible reactions from the US Congress and Moscow. The main goal of the paper is to show the potential benefits and pitfalls of the announced reductions and to present the most feasible scenario(s) for the realization of this agenda.

LIAROPOULOS, ANDREW: Great Power Politics In Cyberspace: U.S.A And China Are Drawing the Lines Between Confrontation And Cooperation
The U.S.-China bilateral agenda is dominated by issues like trade, intellectual property rights, monetary policy, human rights and security issues. However, given the fact that critical national infrastructures and the private sector are increasingly dependent on digital assets, cyberspace has become an important aspect of their bilateral relationship. The purpose of this paper is to define the nature of U.S.-China relationship in cyberspace and identify issues that cause conflict between Washington and Beijing. For both sides, cyberspace is a realm where they exercise power politics in order to pursue their national interests. The two global competitors have different positions on most of the issues that relate to cyberspace. Fear and uncertainty are present in cyberspace for both Washington and Beijing. Nevertheless, they also have common goals. The level of interdependence between them is high and avoiding misperception and escalation is a mutual priority. Therefore, both sides are trying to avoid mistrust and conflict in cyberspace and establish some cooperative mechanisms. Based on previous practice from nuclear diplomacy, both sides are in the process of identifying diplomatic tools (e.g. confidence building measures, Track II diplomacy and simulations) in order to avoid unnecessary tension in cyberspace.

FEJÉRDY, GERGELY: Intervention in Mali in French Point of View
On the 11th of January 2013, President François Hollande launched Operation "Serval" in Mali. This enterprise is principally a French one even if other countries were also involved in the operation. This is a major financial and military burden, but Paris is motivated by the security policy importance of this region and the operation is also linked to other reasons rooted in colonial imperial past. François Hollande also hopes to be able to increase international prestige and he also sees the operation as a response to certain domestic political challenges. However, the complexity of the Sahel region means that rapid success is unlikely.

KELLER, LÁSZLÓ: Turkey: Another Attempt to Solve the Kurdish Question
Until the capture of Abdullah Ocalan in 1999, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) had killed thousands of soldiers, policemen and civilians besides destroying 2,000 civilian buildings, 250 schools, as well as 50 hospitals and clinics. After the arrest of the number one leader of the PKK, the separatist organisation has changed its name several times, declared unilateral ceasefires, and then attacked again governmental and civilian targets. Guerilla attacks are still carried out time and again in the southeastern region of Turkey, with sporadic operations in the big cities and popular tourist sites as well. The targets are chiefly members of the police, the army and the gendarmerie. In 2002 the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) attempted to solve the Kurdsish issue peacefully by making political concessions. The programme of 'Democratic Opening' allowed school instruction in the Kurdish tongue, launched a Kurdish language channel on state television, yet the drive has failed to achieve its goal. In late 2012, around ten years after the first concessions had been made in a bid to solve the problem, the AKP again embarked upon a move to settle the Kurdish issue. The talks are underway and it is not known as yet how they will be influenced by the aspirations and expectations of the Kurds in North Iraq and Syria regarding their political future. It is also unclear whether Ocalan can become a terrorist turned political leader (as was the case with Yasir Arafat), and what would be the price to be paid. The reaction of the ethnic majority of Turkey's citizens to a possible agreement is also unpredictable at the moment. These are the questions which the essay will try to answers.

KOVÁČ, IVAN: Venezuela and Chávism in the Post-Chávez Era

The death of the President of Venezuela Hugo Chávez marked a turning point in the country's domestic and foreign policy. Despite Chávez being a controversial political leader, he undoubtedly was a charismatic and skilled political strategist with great impact on national, regional and even the global level. His economic and foreign policy – both cornerstones of the concept of chávism – thus require a deeper analytical look. Yet, the main objective of this paper is to outline the future prospects of chávism under the new president, Maduro both for Venezuela and Latin America. The new President now has to face many challenges and crises which this paper aims to identify and analyze. The major question the paper seeks to answer is what will change in Venezuela's domestic and foreign policy and, mainly, whether the idea of chávism without Chávez is actually viable.

PENKSA SUSAN E. and DOJCANOVA, LENKA: The Roles and Impact of EU and NATO Assistance in Post-Conflict Georgia

This article focuses on international intervention in Georgia after the 2008 Russian-Georgian war. It analyzes the main peace and security activities of the EU and NATO and evaluates the impact of their assistance. After the 2008 war, because of member states' political disagreements, the OSCE and the UN ceased their operations in Georgia. Since then, the European Union (EU) has become the primary international organization involved in post-conflict stabilization, democratization, and economic assistance. Alongside the EU, NATO has a significant presence in Georgia through its support of Georgian security and defense reforms. This analysis demonstrates that the EU and NATO are important drivers for change. Georgia's foreign policy is inspired by its objective for integration into the Euro-Atlantic community. As a result, Georgia has made important advancements in establishing a market economy and enhancing democracy and the rule of law, including in the security and defense sector. Nevertheless, Georgia's post-war recovery is delayed by poverty, political instability, and a frozen conflict with Russia over the occupied territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The transatlantic community has a crucial part to play in encouraging future reform.

HOREMUŽ, MARTIN: Contemporary Russian Foreign Policy and the Post-Soviet Area: The Economic Dimension

The succession of Putin to the presidential chair in May 2012 meant a long awaited formal ending of the process of the "change" in the highest political and constitutional post within the Russian state. The following years will focus on economic reforms designed to strengthen Russian economic power within the global economy. The aim is the incorporation of Russia into the ranks of the five largest economies of the world by the year 2015. In summer 2012 at the meeting of members of diplomatic corps Putin pointed to the "soft power" factor that assumes the support of interests by means of persuasion and the gaining of sympathy of another country. The updated conception of the Russian Federation's foreign policy presented in the middle of February 2013 by Putin officially shapes these "duties" into doctrinal form. This renewed concept of foreign policy in fact reflects the reality that Russia will be for the Post-Soviet states the natural gravitational centre only when it becomes economically "developed", commercially attractive, and serve as the social and cultural centre. In spite of the increasing importance of "soft power" as an integral component of foreign policy and security repertoire the aggressive advocacy of national (economic) interests persists.

ZDANAVIČIUS, LIUDAS: Deoffshorization of the Russian Economy as the Part of Kremlin's Aims for "Renationalization of Elites"

In 2012-2013 the question of capital flight and very high level of offshorization of Russian economy drew increased attention by the Western public. This attention was stimulated by such events as confrontation between the West and Russia in Magnitskij affair and financial crisis in Cyprus. At the same time Moscow began active campaign for deoffshorization of its economy in the wider attempt of "renationalization of the Russian elites." The article starts with the examination of the extent of the offshorization problem and its impact on the national security of Russia and other countries. Later factors, which stimulate Kremlin's aims to "renationalize elites," and the implementation of such aims are analyzed.

FURMAN, EKATERINA, RÁCZ, ANDRÁS and USHKALOVA, DARIA: Much Ado About Almost Nothing? A Comparative Reality Check of Russia-led Integration Projects

The chapter focuses on the various Russia-initiated integration projects of the post-Soviet region that have come to existence since the breakup of the Soviet Union. The organizations to be studied are the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Russia-Belarus Union State, the EurAsEc, the Customs Union and the Eurasian Union. The research question to be explored is to what extent the actual objectives, competences and the functioning of these organizations have changed compared to the aims laid down in their founding documents.

ALESHKA, ALIAKSANDR: The Republic of Belarus in the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation: Major Political and Economic Interests of Russia in Belarus

During the recent two decades, the ultimate political interest of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Belarus has been keeping this country in the Russian sphere of influence, attracting Belarus to advance political, economic and military cooperation with Russia. The Russian authorities have been extremely sensitive towards the possibility of significant growth of influence of the European Union in Belarus – that is why they will continue to support any pro-Russian government in the country. In the upcoming years, the Russian authorities will extend their economic pressure on the Belarusian leadership in order to achieve its active participation in the Customs Union and the Eurasian Union. The Russian Federation is strongly interested in further expanding its influence in Belarus through a broad privatization of strategic Belarusian infrastructure enterprises. Further strengthening of political and economic influence in Belarus will give the Russian authorities more effective tools to control any future government of the Republic of Belarus.

JUHÁSZOVÁ, ANNA and KOLLÁR, ALEŠ: The Role of the OSCE Minsk Group in the Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Process

The unresolved conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh continues to be a long-lasting obstacle in the progress of the whole South Caucasus region. Since the signing of the ceasefire in 1994, there has been an uneasy situation between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, leading to a situation of "no war and no peace" and definitely, no solution. The official mechanism for leading the negotiations is the Minks Process of OSCE, whose three co-chairs – Russia, France and the USA – have been trying to come up with ideas for conflict resolution. These were at one time rejected by the Armenians, another time by the Azerbaijanis. Searching for compromises is never easy in international politics and that has been particularly true for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The authors of this article will, therefore, seek to find an answer to the question whether the Minsk Group is helpful to the negotiation process or represents an obstacle in finding a proper and lasting solution. As a consequence of that, we shall examine the attitudes of the respective co-chairs of the Minsk Group in order to analyze their own aims in the region, which could supposedly slow the mediation process. Besides that, we shall look at the approaches of the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan vis-á-vis the Minsk Group – this because lack of confidence on part of the mediators themselves could provide yet another obstacle to finding a proper solution.

TESSARI, PAOLA: Kosovo's Independence: Secession Through Self-determination: A Theoretical Analysis

When Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia on 17 February 2008, opposing opinions on the legitimacy of this action arose, opening the debate on its possible justifications. While in the Constitution the Kosovar people make explicit reference to the right to self-determination, applications of this principle outside the context of colonialism are rare. Starting from the meaning of self-determination and its value within international law, this study considers possible interpretations of Kosovo's independence recalling the main theories of secession, namely national self-determination theories of secession, choice theories of secession and just-cause theories of secession. More precisely, the purpose is to assess whether and to what extent such theories may apply to the case of Kosovo, in order to provide a possible interpretation of its independence and consequently potential justification. In order to give a complete framework on the issue, the article also reports on the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the compliance of the declaration of independence with international law. Finally, this study considers the possible scenarios on the evolution of Kosovo's status in the international community, suggesting that the acceptance of the independence might be derived from Kosovo sui generis character based on a) the dissolution of Yugoslavia b) the use of violence by Milosevic regime against Kosovo Albanians. In addition to these aspects two other elements which contribute to characterizing Kosovo's situation will be considered: the presence of UNMIK (United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo) and the "ad interim" administration under SC Resolution 1244/1999; and the major violation of self-determination and fundamental rights to which Kosovo Albanians were subjected over the years.

ŠOLAJA, MILOŠ: Dilemmas of the Western Balkans NATO Accession: Between MAP Conditionality and National Reality

The Western Balkans represents the few last puzzles in a process of completion of united Europe. All WB countries declared Euro-Atlantic Security and European integrations as the ultimate goal in order to develop themselves through reaching European values and standards. Their level of transition and transformation is varied. Why are the Balkan countries so different and which processes weigh down their intentions to build stable and secure internal environment as well as regional security and stability? Political elites have not been investing enough to build European values and raise the standards of liberal democracy high enough. It can be said that the countries of the region are in

very different stages of EU accession, even more so compared to the NATO process and security arrangements. Regional countries are celebrating a 10th anniversary of the Thessaloniki summit and the EU Agenda. Until today only Croatia reached EU membership, together with Albania joining NATO in 2008. Countries of the WB sub-region still suffer from transitional diseases. B&H is at the end of the tail of integrations even slowing down in the last ten years. WB countries need more international understanding and cooperation as well as more coherent internal policies to foster their political development.

SILVELLO, LAURA: Humanitarian Intervention: How Kosovo Case Blurred the Line Between Legitimacy and Legality
The doctrine of humanitarian intervention is controversial both in the field of international law and politics. Several treaties, above all the United Nations Charter, forbid interventions in sovereign states and the use of force. In order to understand the debate related to this kind of intervention and its specific features, it is useful to analyse how it developed throughout history, the state practice, political theories pertaining to it, and the international law. The relevant case study examined here is the intervention by NATO coalition in Yugoslavia that began on 24th March 1999. After a year of fighting within the province of Kosovo and after the failure of diplomatic efforts, NATO carried out air strikes on Serb military forces located in Kosovo and Serbia in order to make Milosevic accept NATO conditions to his withdrawal. The doctrine of humanitarian intervention was strongly influenced by the intervention in Kosovo, because of its lack of authorization by the UN Security Council, an unavoidable condition to use force against a sovereign state and because the breach of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter has been justified by the same actors through the claim of protecting endangered people from violation of their human rights and via a reference to previous UN Resolution. According to the supporters of the intervention, the humanitarian concerns for the situation in Kosovo gave the legitimacy to the attack but the legality remained unsatisfied. The lack of legality particularity lies in the missing authorization by the Security Council that made it illegal, which spurred the search for political legitimacy by NATO leaders with the claim of human rights supremacy. They never tried to make the intervention fit into international law constraints, but rather focused on the moral duty to protect human rights - to grant themselves legitimacy rather than legality. Kosovo drew a dividing line with previous humanitarian interventions and made many ask whether or not it can constitute a precedent in the creation of a new norm.

HUDEC, JOZEF: What Could Be Lost Via Syria?
This contribution, after a historical introduction, briefly deals with the ideological background of the actors involved in the Syrian conflict. Several possible scenarios of future development are mentioned, with reflections on inter-Arab relations, situation of minorities, regional balance (Turkey, Iran, and Israel as non-Arab regional power pillars), and the Middle Eastern peace process. In conclusion it attempts to outline the influence of the Syrian developments on changes in the Arab world and to summarize the consequences of the conflict in Syria for general geopolitical and security situation.

AUGUSTÍNOVÁ, PETRA: Syrian Conflict Complexity on the Changing Stage: Lessons Learned at Home and Abroad
The Syrian conflict has uncovered a voluminous and vivid clash. Its dynamics, in various aspects, have been continually changing. In May 2013, more than two years after the start of the Syrian rebellion against the regime, the same administration succeeded in winning the majority of the public support inside Syria. One of the reasons for this happening can be the current characteristics of the Syrian opposition that has become less actionable and more violent. While the Syrian people fear that there might be no better alternative to Assad, the international community in the Western hemisphere - including the EU and the U.S. who have been in favor of Assad's resignation - has also become concerned about the different terrorist components of the anti-Assad fighters. Another reason for the rising popularity of the regime can be Syria's rather late joining in the chain of the Arab revolutions influencing the current standpoints of both Syrian citizens and international actors. This positioning brings with itself valuable "lessons learned." Russia has also learned a lesson, when it gave way to U.N. Resolution on Libya. So instead of standing on the sidelines it chose to take an active role. The aim of this article is to analyze the changed dynamics and perspectives of the Syrian conflict, which are moving in the direction of the Ba'ath party. To achieve this goal, it illustrates this with the lessons learned, which have had a significant impact on this developments. Russia as the main backer of the regime is put in the foreground, including its foreign policy vis-á-vis the Syrian conflict. Russia's position is analyzed based on the lessons learned and the realities on the ground.

KUBÍKOVÁ, NATAŠA: Post-Arab Spring Transition in North Africa
The article analyses the transition paths in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia following the Arab Spring revolts. The focus lies on the development of state structures, political processes and social transformation

emphasizing some of the major challenges the ruling elites are facing. The ongoing political turmoil in Egypt with clear failure of the executive to empower state institutions has led to the contentious nature of transition. Tunisia's transformation experience is perceived as a success story, yet is challenged by various Salafi groups' struggles in the public sphere with implications for the politics. Libya is dealing with more profound issues related to the formation of a new polity impeded by major security dilemmas. The paper argues that the existing transitology theories promoting linear transition paradigms lack in explanatory power when addressing the current developments in the region as they overlook the significance of differences among these countries.

KAPUSŇAK, JÁN: Covert Operations Attributed to Israel's Intelligence Services Against Iran's Nuclear Program.

Iran's nuclear program is currently one of the most discussed issues in world politics. According to many actors (scholars, politicians etc.) the potentially nuclear Iran would pose a huge threat to international and regional security and peace. Probably the biggest concern about Iran's nuclear program is perceived by the state of Israel. Arguing the huge threat from Iran, Israel has issued several veiled and explicit threats to attack the country. But the truth is that in the light of the Menachem Begin doctrine ("On no account shall we permit an enemy to develop weapons of mass destruction against the people of Israel") Israeli war on Iran has already begun. This article describes the cases of covert operations against Iran and its nuclear capabilities that can be attributed to both Israeli intelligence agencies, the Mossad and Aman, during the second Netanyahu government (2009-2013). Those actions against Iran and its proxies are partially responsible for Iran's failure to cross the technological threshold of its nuclear program by mid-2010. It reportedly includes key assassinations, the sabotaging of equipment destined for Iran's nuclear program and cyber attacks. But will it be enough to stop Iran's project to develop a nuclear facility? This question will be discussed in this paper. Israeli actions are part of more than a three-decade long clandestine war between Iran and Israel. The Islamic Republic of Iran is fighting against Israel particularly by its two most powerful proxies – Hamas in the Gaza strip and Hezbollah in Lebanon. This war seems to be escalating, heating up and spreading, and its implications could be colossal.

ISMAIL, ESRAA: Africa: New Mechanisms of External Intervention

This paper is concerned with the role of external powers in Africa, especially the American role. It argues that Africa couldn't get freedom from colonialism because it is still suffering from external intervention but through new forms. The study aims at identifying the impact of external soft and hard power and intervention policies, as the neo-colonialism in Africa is adopting new mechanisms of implementation consistent with the requirements of the time, including: legitimizing the international endeavors to gain the support of world public opinion, and trying to adopt a new strategy combining the tools of both hard and soft power through strengthening the economic projects related to oil, mining and trade development. Last but not least this is done via empowering the foreign military bases in Africa and the Red Sea. The paper focuses on three issues to clarify this argument: The security belt and the Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline project, Trade and Development Act (TDA), and finally The Greater Horn of Africa as it is considered an indicator for the external military existence in the continent.

ATTUQUAYEFIO, PHILIP: Governance and Security In The West African Sub-Region

Beginning from the late 1990s, a number of West African countries began their emergence from the throes of socio-economic and political difficulties which had defined the region in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The optimism surrounding this trend was however short-lived. Unconstitutional power alternations in Guinea and Guinea Bissau, post-election violence in Côte d'Ivoire, destabilising flow of refugees, small arms and light weapons and mercenaries across borders, rise of fundamentalist terrorism in Northern Nigeria, growing incidents of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea and most recently, the coup d'état and post-coup insurrections in Mali – have all redefined the fragility of the sub-region. Consequently, current commentary research on West Africa is centered on the regional security dynamics and its potential to negate the stability and good governance gains. By exploring the linkages between governance and security in West Africa, this chapter presents a panoramic view of the issues at the root of the deteriorating security conditions. It cites the present challenges as merely symptomatic of wider complexities relating to countries in the sub-region. It argues, in this regard, that the confluence of years of mal-governance, history of internal conflicts, a daunting colonial legacy, and to some extent, an acerbic international context, are sustaining latent fault lines that present a recipe for instability in West Africa.

BESENYŐ, JÁNOS: Thoughts on the Crisis in Mali

The international community was surprised last year by the collapse of the seemingly stable country of Mali, the formation of an independent Tuareg state out of nowhere, and the strengthening of Islamist

extremists. Fearing the spillover of the conflict, the UN Security Council authorized a limited military operation to restore the territorial integrity of Mali. Besides the mission of the Economic Community of West African States, the former colonizer France also initiated an independent operation that is already proving controversial. Many think that France's actions prove that it can still act independently in global politics, while others worry about another fiasco similar to the one in Indochina. The answer depends on the success or failure of the operations underway, and the results of the "restoration" period that will follow. In my writing I would like to clarify the causes, dynamics and possible consequences of the events in Mali.

KAMMEL, ARNOLD H.: Interdependences as Key Variables in the Future Relationship Between Sudan and South Sudan

Almost two years after the split of Africa's largest country Sudan into the northern Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan, the two countries find themselves again in the situation of a possible military confrontation. Years of international efforts to bring an end to decades of conflict by helping to negotiate the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 and later efforts to ensure a smooth separation of North and South appear to have come to a deadlock. The fact that the CPA was neither fully comprehensive in determining cross-border issues in the event of separation nor fully implemented within the time-frame before independence – has bequeathed numerous unsettled issues that continue to undermine relations between Sudan and South Sudan. Various existing interdependences between the two states are currently hindering melioration in their relationship. In an attempt to explore the future of relations between the two countries, this paper discusses the interdependences and main issues at stake in the conflict between the two states and analyses the possibilities and the urgent necessities for implementation of the respective agreements. It looks at the challenges facing their different agreements and the impact on the bilateral relations as well as economic and political stability in both countries.

MASARIKOVÁ, MONIKA and MAJER, MARIAN: Afghanistan on the Edge of International Presence

Since 2001 Afghanistan has undergone significant changes. They were visible primarily in the areas of security and governance, which represent two of the three pillars of the development policy of the state. Despite the significant involvement of the international community and the resources invested to the transformation of the country, the situation remains highly unstable. Risky security situation

but also the shortcomings of the political system leading to the strengthening of internal disunity greatly contribute to this. This is particularly relevant in the context of the planned significant reduction of international military presence in late 2014. Difficult negotiations on the continuation of foreign assistance as well as problematic foregoing presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for April 2013 are not very promising in terms of any positive changes to these unfavorable trends. Therefore, the success of the mission in Afghanistan remains in many respects questionable.

HLOUCHOVÁ, IVETA: Afghanistan After 2014 – A Proxy War?

When referring to the conflict in Afghanistan, many analysts and commentators have started talking about the use of local non-state armed actors by states in their own interests. Such a behavior contributes to and actually prolongs the conflict and makes it more difficult to solve. Given the strategic, geopolitical, and to a certain extent even symbolic, value of Afghanistan to some states, there exists a high risk potential for intensification of proxy warfare in Afghanistan in the post-2014 period and for years to come. Such a proxy war would be waged within broader Indo-Pakistani and Sunni-Shia rivalries' framework. Generally, in the future there is a high potential of proxy warfare becoming one of the main instruments of waging conflicts with opponents. Recent radical budget cuts as well as the political sensitivity of direct engagements in conflicts for some due to worries of regular military casualties play a significant role in this regard.

DJUGUMANOV, ILIJA and PANKOVSKI, MARKO: Processes That Can Lead To Spillover of the Violence in Afghanistan Region After 2014

The current security position of Afghanistan is largely determined by the broader region and the relations within it. At the end of 2014, ISAF mission terminates and lots of processes "wait for their chance" to influence the security situation in this region. In such circumstances, security vacuum is a possibility even though the ISAF transformation for withdrawal is carefully planned. The development of events along this path will lead to a situation when Afghanistan could become an even bigger security concern in the region. In this article, the emphasis is put on the security situation in Afghanistan's neighbors and how their security and interests reflect on the overall security of Afghanistan and the region at large. Iran and Pakistan are discussed more broadly in this context but the analysis also includes the other neighbors as well as additional actors. Moreover, the level of influence of these countries on the security of Afghanistan and the region is described,

as well as the high degree of interconnectedness and interdependence of their actions.

KŘÍŽ, ZDENĚK, KULA, MARTIN and POLIŠENSKÝ, JAN: Ideological Sources of China's International Behaviour

If we were to characterize the present times in terms of international relations, the Rise of Asia comes readily to mind. The global power shift is already creating its own references, such as "The Asian Century" or "The Post-American World." Most of the attention is focused on China and therefore it is important to analyse the ideological sources of China's international behaviour. How will the world's second largest economy wielding an arsenal of nuclear weapons behave in an international system it joined in the 1970s remains a crucial issue, not only for its neighbours but for the entire world. The authors assume that in the foreseeable future, China's behaviour in international relations will be primarily influenced by growing nationalism mixed with Confucianism, and secondarily by communist ideology, even if the power of this ideology is being eroded by the realities of everyday life in China. Chinese political elites will therefore increasingly utilize nationalism and Confucianism as instruments of mass mobilization, as well as a mechanism for legitimizing their position in the power pyramid. To stay on the saddled tiger, so to speak, they will be forced to limit openness for the sake of a more radical nationalist alternative. This path might increase the risk of conflict escalation with neighbouring states.

TURCSÁNYI, RICHARD: The Chessboard of South China Sea: Game Modeling of the Dispute Dynamics

South China Sea with its vast geopolitical importance continues to be also one of the world's most problematic regions with a very unpredictable future in terms of security conditions and realities on the ground. The proposed paper will try to shed some light into the current situation by grasping the logic of interaction between the involved parties. It will focus on actions of individual states involved in the dispute, which will be treated as parts of a complex game situation, in which the states' actions are reacting to each other. The two types of actions will be considered - 'events establishing new trends' and 'incidents'; and these will be taking place on the backdrop of 'long term tendencies' which continue to push forward the overall distribution of power sources. The logic of moves by China, Vietnam, Philippines, and the US will be analyzed, including the available options and possible reactions to other states' moves. It will be concluded that if the current dynamics continues to prevail, China will be step-by-step improving its standing due to favorable tendency of power

distribution and established trends, heightened by the lack of capabilities and potentially high risks on the side of the opponent states; and lack of true commitment and potentially too big a burden for the US. The individual steps of the opponent countries may have only the effect of accelerating the process while at the same time creating more tensions.

SCHUURMANS, LAURA: Nuclear Disputes, the NPT, and China's Perspective

Following the nuclear arms race that came into being after the end of WWII, in 1998 Pakistan and India successfully test-fired their nuclear arsenal. In more recent years North Korea has been under scrutiny for its nuclear activities, and it is widely believed that Iran has come one step closer to becoming a nuclear weapons state. To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was opened for signature in 1968. North Korea, however, withdrew in 2003. Iran has continued to claim that its nuclear activities are in line with the NPT. India and Pakistan never acceded to the treaty. Serious disputes are rooted between these countries: the unresolved Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan has become a potential nuclear flashpoint. The North Korea issue has been a source of regional instability, and more than three decades of strain. Also, Israel- US-Iran relations have been under ongoing tensions. Although the NPT is reviewed once every five years, it is widely argued that this treaty has not succeeded in preventing nuclear proliferation. Would this mean that there should be an update to the perhaps outdated NPT? Or does this mean that one should move forward to resolving ongoing disputes outside of the NPT's framework? China has been a close friend of Pakistan, and it has enjoyed friendly relations with Iran since 1979. And it is widely believed that China is the only country that could assert more pressure on North Korea. This research will provide the reader with a brief introduction to the regional conflicts, analyze potential threats, and more importantly, emphasize the role China could play by becoming a balancing regional factor in nuclear nonproliferation.

DAS, DEBAK: Strengthening Strategic Instability in South Asia: The Impact of Tactical Nuclear Weapons and Ballistic Missile Defence Development

Strategic stability in South Asia is on thin ice. With the development of tactical nuclear weapons by Pakistan and the development of the nuclear triad and ballistic missile defence in India, the threat to strategic stability has never been graver. The weapon development programmes in both countries seem to exhibit the typical trappings of a security dilemma. Wherein lies the rationality of developing weapons that ensure quick movement up the escalation

ladder? Do the national nuclear doctrines of the two states facilitate the development of these weapons? The second strike policy of massive retaliation that India's nuclear doctrine advocates means that the development of nuclear capable stealth cruise missiles is simply not necessary. However, given the state of the missile race between India and Pakistan, the spirit of one-upmanship does not allow for anything but the current path being followed. The Sino-Pakistan relationship compounds this scenario. This article seeks to evaluate the compatibility of the strategic weapons development of the two countries vis-à-vis their nuclear doctrines. The impact of recent nuclear weapons delivery systems development on strategic stability shall be analysed and the article shall seek to review the state of the regional security architecture in South Asia.

HUSENICOVA, LUCIA: North Korea After Leadership Transition and Security Crisis of 2013
In mid-February 2013 North Korea conducted its third nuclear test, first one under the current leadership of Kim Jong Eun. The test was condemned by all regional players including China and strongly criticized by the UN. Since it followed a successful launch of a ballistic missile in December 2012, the concerns over North Korean nuclear capability in the form of deliverable warheads are growing. The aim of the article is to analyse the changes that North Korea has undergone since the death of Kim Jong Il, evaluate the announced reforms, especially in economy, but also the recent shifts in top regime positions. Furthermore, the article looks at the last crisis as well as impacts and meaning it had on the overall position of North Korea within the region.

GÁL, ZSOLT: Debt Crisis, Defence Spending and Shifting Balance of Power
The aim of the paper is to evaluate the impact of the debt crisis on the balance of power and military spending. Its most important findings are the following: 1. The relative decline of the West has been a well-established trend for long years, the financial and debt crisis just accelerated this process as it caused more damage to the Western developed countries. 2. Most advanced economies accumulated unprecedented peacetime debt levels, levels that are not only unsustainable but – according to the empirical evidence – might seriously limit their growth. 3. Worse, in some developed countries the possibility of sovereign debt defaults largely increased, some EU Member States even needed a bailout to avoid bankruptcy. 4. Historic experience suggests that highly indebted nations will face a long and painful de-leveraging process. 5. Coping with rising interest payments (on public debt) and trying to proceed with the necessary fiscal consolidation, many Western governments started to slash their

defence budgets. On the contrary, most emerging countries were increasing military expenditures. Considering that these processes are likely to continue, the Western decline will increasingly materialize in terms of hard military power as well.

RIZMAL, IRINA: What Financial Crisis? It's Business as Usual in the Security and Defence Sector
Between 2007 and 2011 the financial crisis saw declining defence spending in Western countries (by 3%) and Central Europe (by 14%), home to some of the world's top five S&D spenders and the world's greatest common market area member states. Bilateral and multilateral mechanisms to reducing costs of security and defence (S&D), with initiatives such as pooling and sharing and the 'Ghent Framework' were erected. NATO launched the Smart Defence Initiative aiming for the same result. However, the largest cuts have been introduced in smaller EU states, with minor roles in global security. Defence budgets of world powers maintain a relatively unaltered investment path. Germany's actual defence cuts have been more modest than suggested in 2010. Britain has rebalanced its S&D expenditure and managed to maintain an "adaptable posture." Obama's $634 billion defence budget proposal in 2009 represented a cut, but still amounted to a 4% increase overall. Thus, contrary to common belief, the S&D sector overall appears relatively immune to the crisis. This seems even more true today, with the German Defence Minister de Maizière renegotiating existing contracts with the defence industry and Prime Minister David Cameron stating that he is 'very open' to the idea of channelling resources from the UK's foreign aid budget into military defence, to avoid further defence cuts. Therefore, restructuring is happening, but adverse cuts are evaded. In effect, despite the crisis, it seems it's - more or less - business as usual in the global security and defence sector.

VICENOVÁ, RADKA: Violent Right-Wing Extremism – The Resulting Phase of the Radicalization
This paper aims to address the issue of interconnections between radicalism, extremism and violence, along with outlining possible scenarios and further development of the situation in the Slovak Republic from the short and medium term perspective. In the first part, the focus is on conceptual issues and terminology, along with brief introduction into theories of radicalization leading to violent extremism or even right-wing terrorism. Subsequently, different kinds of outcomes of radicalization towards the right-wing extremist political violence on one hand and right-wing terrorism on the other hand are presented

within selected European countries. In the final part of the article, current conditions in the Slovak Republic are explored, including features indicating the possibility of development copying other countries, both in terms of the manifestations of political violence as well as terrorist acts. This paper argues that even though the violence in its narrow meaning was recently eliminated from the strategy of extreme right-wing groups, it is still highly relevant and represents a serious internal security threat for European countries.

MILO, DANIEL: Countering Radicalisation and Violent Extremism – a European Perspective
Radicalisation as a process closely linked with terrorism is often seen as a driving force for instigators and perpetrators of terrorist attacks, as well as serious violent extremist crimes. Understanding and countering the process of radicalisation is therefore a prerequisite for effectively combating terrorism and violent extremism. Although in the context of radicalisation, the main focus is usually on Islamic fundamentalism (so-called jihadism), this phenomenon does not affect only Muslims. In the first part, this paper analyses the conceptual framework used in the radicalisation discourse, provides an overview of theoretical models of radicalisation and analyses the role of internet in the process of radicalisation. The second part contains an overview of policy framework in the EU and describes different approaches taken in several European countries and the EU as such aimed at countering and preventing radicalisation.

MITRESKI, ALEKSANDAR: Regional Cyber Security Systems
In the recent years we are witnessing a regionalization of cyber security systems at the global level. Although it is a very new type of cooperation, nations are increasingly joining forces to establish an infrastructure for more effective responses. This paper looks at the regional cyber security systems of Europe, Asia-Pacific and Africa, and analyzes the steps needed to create, integrate, and upgrade an effective cyber defense. The ultimate goal is to highlight the benefits stemming from the regional cyber security systems and explain the global trend. The author acknowledges the lack of will of the international community for a comprehensive treaty on cyber warfare and thus believes that by looking closely at the growing regional cyber defense systems, a basis for a larger international cooperation could be found.