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BOOKLET OF ABSTRACTS



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SECURITY & SOVEREIGNTY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Booklet of Abstracts

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Identity and sovereignty

Migration from a security perspective

International organisations

Legal and psychological aspects of security

Security challenges in Western Asia

Security challenges in the Balkans and Eastern Europe

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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Opening lecture

Gyöngyvér Hervainé Szabó, CSc. Dr. habil.

(Scientific Director of Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences)

Title of lecture: Identity based foreign policies in Eastern European and Central Asian states

Keynote lectures

H.E. Éric Fournier

(Ambassador of the Republic of France to Hungary)

H. E. Liubov Nepop

(Ambassador of Ukraine to Hungary)

Károly Grúber

(Head of the Common Foreign and Security Policy department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade)

Title of lecture: Hungarian contribution to the EU's neighbourhood policy and global security

Welcoming note

András Lörincz

(Founder of the Institute for Cultural Relations Policy Budapest)

IDENTITY AND SOVEREIGNTY

Identity based foreign policies in Eastern European and Central Asian states

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Twenty-five years ago, 16 new states and states like entities formed from former Soviet Union. These new states have to develop their foreign policies sometimes without any diplomatic traditions and practice. The collapse of the Cold War the Western powers treated the new state's foreign policy orientation, as the victory of the West, and acceptance of the neoliberal model of interstate relations. Recently more and more studies are speaking about the "otherness" of these states, and the states themselves underlies their distinctiveness and use history for forming new identity based symbolic concepts of their foreign policy. The main question belong these states to the Western civilisation or to the Asian, or are they forming a new special Eurasian civilisation. The paper is about the Russian foreign policy identity (the so-called Lavrov's theses), the Polish-Ukrainian - Livonian identity around the Polish-Livonian Confederation, confusions concerning Silk Road and Mongolian Heritage, Turkic heritage and memories of Khazarian Empire. Most Western scholars treat symbolic conceptions of foreign policy as internal legitimisation of autocratic governments. This viewpoint is mainly characteristic for neoliberal institutionalist scholars. In the absence of foreign policy and diplomatic traditions in these states, the foreign policy elites were educated as historians and their historical set of tools oriented toward the past instead of future, and their diplomatic concepts reflects the 19th century model and not 21st century conceptions, so it is impact of the shortage of modern experts.

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Reconciling state sovereignty and responsibility to protect (RtoP) in contemporary world

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The concept of human rights protection has been strongly developing since the middle of 20th century, mostly under the supervision of the United Nations. Opposing some previous attitudes, the general idea of contemporary international law is that human rights issues are not an exclusive matter of the state, and that the breach of fundamental rights within the state border should not invoke lifting the "shield" of state sovereignty.

On the other side, state sovereignty is its fundamental right. It is accepted as a crucial standard of international law, often recognized as manifestation of state

identity. Respecting historic evidences of its protection, it should not be taken lightly. Nevertheless, with regard to the human rights protection, state should be responsible for breaching these rights within its borders.

On the other hand, international community has its own responsibility, at the same time trying to reconcile the requests of both - human rights and sovereignty protection.

Consequently, it raises the question of their relationship. How to reconcile the major differences between the protection of state sovereignty and the protection of human rights in situation where the state concerned is unable or unwilling to provide this protection?

When International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty released the report “Responsibility to protect” at the beginning of the 21st century (in 2001), the embracement of the “new idea” of state sovereignty has started to develop. It is now accepted that two-dimensional understanding of the responsibility to protect (RtoP) concept lies in its core. The first one emphasizes the primary role of the state itself; its responsibility to protect its citizens from atrocities. The core crimes, genocide, ethnic cleansing etc., could not be justified and defended as necessary.

However, state loses this status of primacy in cases where it is unable or unwilling to ensure that protection; that it becomes the responsibility of the international community to act in its place, which is the core of the second understanding. International community has the responsibility to act in situations of massive human rights violations, when the state concerned (as a principle guardian) is unwilling or unable to perform its mission. The second one may refer to a foreign intervention, always complicated and controversial in practice, even when is invoked by humanitarian reasons.

Some authors emphasized that the concept of the RtoP tries to cut the Gordian knot of the tension between state sovereignty and human rights issue by embedding the notion of human rights in the idea of state sovereignty. Under this premise, intervention within a state that fails to protect its citizens from massive human rights violations does not constitute an intrusion into that state’s sovereignty, but rather appears as the realization of a responsibility which is shared by the state and by the international community.

On the other hand, some authors emphasize that such approach should be taken very carefully. There are also some practical challenges when the RtoP is concerned - institutional, conceptual and political.

Looking for the answers, the attitudes of states and international community, as well as the activities of the United Nations, should be closely examined.

Keywords: responsibility to protect, state sovereignty, international community

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The structuring of the modern Croatian identity and sovereign nation

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Croatia was confronted with difficult challenges during the 20th century concerning the major processes of social and political change, among which nation- and state-building and the establishment of national identity was given the highest priority. During this time Croatia passed through a period of reinterpretation of its history and strong nationalist reawakening. This nationalist project became a major guide in the creation of state procedure. Moreover, new internal and external conflicts appeared and they had potentially important consequences for definitions and formations of Croatian identity. The most significant factor shaping modern Croatian nationalist ideology has been the concept of historical rights and claims to self-rule. Based on this historical statehood narrative the creating independent Croatian state was the necessary outcome of a “millennial struggle” of the Croats, the “one of the oldest European nations” (Tuđman). On 22 December 1991 Croatian Parliament ratified a new constitution which asserted Croatia’s rights as a sovereign state and declared the official language of the republic to be Croatian. One of the most important aims of newly born state was to reconcile and synthesize Croats’ divided and competing memories which was represented and reinterpreted by symbols and rhetoric in the 1990s and manifested through the renaming of academies, institutes, streets. The revival of memory occurred in the context of Croatia’s war of independence from 1991 to 1995 as the remarkable unity within national ranks against the threat of Great Serbian expansionism. The Croatian identity was based not only on the nationalism, but also on its Central European dichotomy which led the country’s Europeanization mainly in post-Tuđman area.

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Kosovo: a case study on security and sovereignty in the Balkans in the 21st century

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The 21st century, in its short life so far, has already seen numerous shifts in the European geopolitical scene: from the creation of newly independent states to the most recent Brexit, the last 16 years have shown to the (academic and non) world the importance of developing a new understanding and approaches to themes such as security and sovereignty.

These two examples alone show the ever present truth: the will of the people (even minority groups) can change the world, but how do those changes truly effect the surrounding old system? In this paper I will analyse the challenges and changes in the Balkans which have arose after Kosovo’s 2006 independence declaration.

Is the concept of sovereignty different in the Balkans compared to other regions? The Kosovar case shows how a minority region, through internal struggle and

foreign intervention, can become an independent sovereign state. However there are still numerous countries in the world which do not recognise Kosovo as an independent country; even though the ICJ has ruled that Kosovo does not represent a precedent for other independence cases. The Serbian minority in the new-born country, as well as the “non-existing” foreign relations with Serbia, make Kosovo one of the most interesting case studies of this century, as its unique connotations cannot be compared to any other case. Its history combined with the present political scene show how the process of democratization is never easy or fast, even though the fact that Kosovo has had a parallel structure system which gave the foundation for the independent government, the present is still relatively unstable and full of questions. The political and legal legacy of Yugoslavia is probably considered dead in the eyes of many academics, however it seems to be very much alive in the minds of numerous Serbian citizens, which is also contributes to further domestic and international instability.

As history has shown, the two million country had a strong impact in the region’s history as well as present and future influence in the geopolitical stability and security of the Balkans peninsula. This paper aims to explore such themes as well as an eventual impact of Kosovo’s EU annexation on the rest of the region.

Keywords: minority issues, independence movements, sovereignty

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Failed states: safe haven for terrorist groups. The case of Libya

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The end of the Cold War not only marked the birth of a new world order, but also the appearance of some unprecedented security threats. In the post-Cold War era a number of so-called “new type of security challenges” have emerged, testing the stabilisation of some newly independent states and fracturing international security.

Due to recent years’ and current international events the paper mainly engages in two of the aforementioned “new types of security challenges”, which are the phenomena of failed states and terrorism. The purpose of the paper therefore is to highlight the relation between failed states and terrorism by identifying and exploring the factors which allow a state becoming either fragile or failed. Moreover, the author will underline some other significant security challenges which non-functioning states have to face, such as cross-border crime and illegal migration. To simplify the analysis, the author will be examining an empirical example. Instead of using some of the most well-known cases of failed states, the author focuses on the case of Libya.

Keywords: post-Cold War era, security, security threat, failed states, terrorism, Libya

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The mentality of “Us” and “Others”: The perception of identity in Aceh before and after the Peace Agreement

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Conflict and identity have an interesting relationship. One may argue that conflict is the result of clash between identities, or identity creation is propagated by conflict of interest. However, in explaining identity, primordialists and constructivists have argued whether identity is naturally embedded in individuals through history of kinship or identity is constructed by individuals themselves through time, environment, and experience. Either way, both ideas acknowledge the existence of the dichotomy of “Us” and “Others” in relations to identity creation. In a simple way, similarities connect “Us” while differences make “Others”. The conflict between the Indonesian government and the rebel group of Aceh over the independence of Aceh province is a result of the combination of political grievances, economic grievances, and human rights violations the Acehnese society has endured. This paper, however, seeks to highlight the role of identity as the main struggle in the conflict, as the conflict revolved around the conception of nation-building and identity. The perception of “Us” and “Others” in the Aceh conflict could be the cause of the tension between parties involved. However, even after the conflict was resolved and peace agreement was reached, the perception of “Us” and “Others” still persist, if not even getting stronger. This paper, therefore, will also highlight how the perception of “Us” and “Others” changed after the conflict and argue that the implementation of Shari’a law strengthens the dichotomy between “Us” and “Others”.

Keywords: Aceh, Indonesia, identity, conflict, Shari’a law, rebel group

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National sovereignty in the Unites States

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The year of 2016 has brought many changes into the world, which were not only influenced by one country or a continent, but through the others as well. Under this statement, we can talk about political actions, for instance the presidential election in the United States, or about the economic fluctuations, like when the British pound has decreased after the United Kingdom decided upon exiting the European Union. Moreover, we could mention the most urgent topic, the international relation problems, for example the terrorist attacks which in most instance were executed by the ISIS. Due to these factors, the concept of sovereignty and national sovereignty were questioned several times in the past year. Since these topics cannot be considered as every-day and popular ones, most of the people barely aware of the real meanings. Hundreds of pages could be found on the internet, which are concerned with attempting to collect and

elucidate them, both in a common or scholarly way. Although, much of these founding are understandable and appropriate, unfortunately, a few other examples, on the other hand, can be proved as inaccurate ones. Therefore, one of the purposes of this research is to aggregate the appropriate compositions and try to give a comprehensive and articulate picture of their meanings and their historical background as well, for example the Peace of Westphalia or the Treaty of Augsburg. On the other hand, this research will examine these concepts through the Americans' eyes as well, including the analyzation of speeches and statements of American presidents. In the United States this serious matter has always been a recurring element, from the presidency of John Adams until up to this day. Throughout the decades of the history of the American foreign policy, national sovereignty was concerned and argued in connection with the territorial exchanges, criminal cases and international affairs. For instance, the Farwell Address from George Washington, the Stinson Doctrine or Monroe Doctrine which stated that the United States will not interfere into domestic affairs in cases of the European countries. Furthermore, this study utilized sources from great authors like Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes and Martin Luther.

Keywords: national sovereignty, sovereignty in the US

MIGRATION FROM A SECURITY PERSPECTIVE

Transformation of social requirements and relations of migrant workers to other people in the course of business interaction with representatives of the dominant ethnic group

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The research purpose is to study the dynamics of intensity of social requirements and relations to other people of the Russian migrant workers residing in Azerbaijan, depending on the experience of business interaction with representatives of the dominant ethnic group (i.e. Azerbaijanis).

Research procedures: Interpersonal relations questionnaire by W. Schutz (FIRO), adapted by A.A. Rukavishnikov (1992); the package of the techniques which diagnose intensity and modalities of relation to other people, adapted by Ju.A. Mendzheritskaya (2001): Manipulative Relation Scale by Bunt, Acceptance of Others Scale by Fey, Rosenberg's Trust Scale, Campbell's goodwill scale and Cook-Medley Hostility Scale.

Methods of the data analysis: Mann-Whitney and Kruskal-Wallis Tests.

The empirical object includes 90 middle managers of two largest Azerbaijan distributor companies (men aged from 20 till 40). The sample has been divided into two subgroups: 1) ethnic Russians, the citizens of Russia, working in Azerbaijan (Baku) in accordance with labour contracts from 1 month till 1 year (50 persons) and from 3 till 5 years (20 persons); 2) Russian-speaking citizens of

Azerbaijan, resident of Baku, who were born in Azerbaijan in mixed marriages (20 persons).

The results of the research:

1. We have revealed a significant difference in intensity of social requirements and relations to other people at Azerbaijanis and Russians residing in Baku: Russians have got a more intense requirement for inclusion themselves in social groups; significantly lower indicators of a manipulative and hostile relation to others and acceptance of others; and much more higher indicators of cynicism, than at Azerbaijanis. The most of significant differences in modalities of relations to other people are discovered between Azerbaijanis and Russians who been staying in Azerbaijan from 1 month till 1 year. There are much less differences between Azerbaijanis and Russians residing in Azerbaijan from 3 till 5 years: the Russian sample has got lower levels of a manipulative and aggressive relation to others.

2. The intensity of social requirements and relations to other people at Russians residing in Baku changes depending on the experience of business interaction with representatives of the dominant ethnic group. The requirement for inclusion decreases, positive modalities of relation to others (acceptance, goodwill) become more intensive, and the intensity of negative modalities of relation to other (cynicism and aggression) decreases except for hostility to other people which intensity increases.

The received results allow us to draw a conclusion that the system of relations to other people at Russians who have resided in Azerbaijan more than 3 years become similar to the system of relations to other people at representatives of the dominant ethnic group.

Keywords: migrant workers, a dominant ethnic group, transformation, social requirements and relations, business interaction, acculturation

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Characteristic features of personality's transformations of forced migrants from the territories of local armed conflicts

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Nowadays the socio-political conflict in Ukraine has grown into an armed conflict and caused destruction of industry, agriculture and property in the south of Ukraine. A number of people have been killed and injured. As a result thousands people have had to leave their homes and become forced migrants.

The purpose of our research is to study characteristic features of transformations of personality of forced migrants who have had to leave their native place of residence because of the armed conflicts.

We examine a reflection of one's own psychological well-being, i.e. specificity of the relation to the vital values, to oneself, and to the surrounding reality as a core phenomenon showing transformation of the personality which determines experiencing by the person his/her successfulness or unsuccessfulness and causes a certain behaviour in one or another life's situation.

The empirical object includes young men and women who are forced migrants from the south-eastern regions of Ukraine.

Empirical research includes a pack of valid procedures: Purpose-in-Life Test (modified by D.A. Leontiev), Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-being (modified by T.D. Shevelenkova, P.P. Fesenko), Maddi Hardiness Scale (modified by D.A. Leontiev and E.I. Rasskazova), Dembo-Rubinstein Self-esteem Scale (modified by P.V. Yan'shin). The data analysis consists of methods of qualitative analysis, descriptive statistics and Mann-Whitney Test.

According to the finding two strategies of reflection have been distinguished: a strategy of a positive reflection (a belief that problems are temporary and have been caused by coincidence of circumstances, but in a certain period of time they can be overcome thanks to one's own efforts) and a strategy of a negative reflection (fatal belief that everything is very bad, and no personal efforts will give any possibilities to overcome it).

About 95% of participants of the study state the decrease of their psychological well-being and their real prospects, vitality's deterioration, absence of clear understanding of the ways of managing their lives and influencing the course of events.

Approximately 60% of the forced migrants show negative attitudes in relation to the vital values, to themselves, and to the surrounding reality, while their contemporaries, who have stayed in the zone of the conflict, have a little more optimistic estimation (about 50%). The control group (youth from the south of Russia) has a positive picture (30%).

As a result of influence of the experienced extreme situation the forced migrants have difficulties in establishing confidential contacts: unwillingness to be open, to compromise for supporting interpersonal attitudes. They are usually isolated and frustrated by events of their past and stick to negative memories. They have a strong desire to show themselves another way, but not who they are.

The research clearly demonstrates the necessity of providing a psychological and social support for these people.

Keywords: transformations of personality, forced migrants, a territory of local armed conflicts, psychological well-being, reflection

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Gender aspects in migration flows regulation in frontier areas

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Migration is not a new thing - it is known historically, that people have always had migratory lifestyles, but in the modern world there are too many problems caused by migration that encourage scholars to investigate migration different aspects in order to find solutions to some of the problems. This paper analyzes the inevitable linguistic, cultural, social and psychological problems caused by migration flows. There are several kinds of migration, temporal or permanent, voluntary or forced (involuntary), permanent and involuntary migration being the worst as it causes the most trouble. The main focus of the article is to outline problems, to single out their social, psychological and gender aspects as the ones to be investigated, and to offer possible solutions to migration flows regulation problems.

Back in time many people left native countries to escape poverty and periodic crop failures, political or religious persecution. The situation is very similar today. In fact, people find it easier to migrate because of the availability of efficient transport, improved communication means, mass media and information, even though new policies, laws and controls in entry points are much more rigorous than ever before. Yet migration is not an easy process and imposes a lot of stress on migrants because of job and legal status loss, social or civil pressure, culture and language shock.

The various kinds of migration depend on the flow vector and the number of people involved, the reasons for their movement, the time they spend in migration, and the nature of that migration. People who relocate to another country due to any possible reason (political, economic, religious, educational or personal) undergo serious psychological changes, experience culture shock and social isolation, and suffer from lack of communication because of a foreign language.

Especially, these problems are vital in frontier areas as the migrant density is high there, their goals are different, and they do not have a sense of belonging because of their temporary stay in the area (even though their migration intentions are permanent). Psychological support to migrants is a vital ingredient of cultural adaptation to a new country of residence and social inclusion. It helps reduce the conflicts that might appear, prevent stresses and other (sometimes more serious) psychological disorders or even mental illnesses. Culture identity of migrants is at risk, well-being of their family life is on a razor-edge, and their legal and social status is unclear. The purpose of the present study is not to come to a solution of all social or psychological problems that usually appear in the process of relocation to a different country, but to attract attention to significance of the research in this field and to predict consequences and complications that might occur in case problems are ignored. The methods used for the study are analysis of the situation in general, questionnaires and surveys to single out migrants' social, psychological and linguistic needs, compare and contrast method is used to complete analytical database for frontier area in order to determine forms of support for different kinds of migrants.

The most unobserved in migration studies is gender factor, although male migration for work is being thoroughly researched. The impact of migration problems on social and psychological adaptation both of male and female migrants in their new country and cultural environment is being observed, researched, described and analysed.

Keywords: migration flows, frontier areas, legal and social status, culture shock, social, psychological support, linguistic problems, gender aspect

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Securitization as a campaigning tool: Refugee crisis and immigration in the Slovak Prime Minister's online communication

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Refugee crisis has recently become an inseparable part of everyday politics in the EU and its Member States. In line with the concept of securitization, several scholars focused on how the issue of immigration has shifted from “normal politics” to “emergency politics” and thus became securitized. However, the concept of securitization has been criticized by academics, mainly for its narrowness in meaning. The purpose of this article is thus to contribute to the academic debate in the concept of securitization by employing qualitative discourse analysis and analyzing securitization of immigration in the communication of the Slovak Prime Minister while stemming from the aforementioned criticism. Firstly, opposing the idea of classic “speech acts” as an essential way of constructing security, this study focuses on more interactive way of communicating which is represented by social media communication. By doing so, it then goes beyond the “speech act” itself and takes into account the immediate response created by the public in form of Facebook comments. Last but not least, it compares the communication before and after elections to see how the context affects securitization moves. The results of the study show how the immigration issue was portrayed by the Slovak Prime Minister in his communication but, more importantly, they indicate how “securitizing moves” can be used as an effective tool of electoral campaigning.

Keywords: securitization, immigration, refugee crisis, social media, campaigning, Slovakia

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Denied political security of refugees is a denial of their human security: Syrian refugees in the neighboring countries as a case study

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According to the UNDP Development Report 1994; there are seven types of human security threats; these are political security, food security, economic security, personal security, community security, health security, and personal security. This paper suggests that although the different elements are interrelated, the most important element is the political security, which forms the nucleus of human security system. Hence, denial of political security will lead to fragmentation of the human security structure. Literature illustrates the major dimensions of human security including peace, human rights, and development. hence the article shows that this denial will aggravate peace, human rights and development. This illustrated by an in-depth analysis of the influx of Syrian refugees to the neighboring countries; namely Jordan Lebanon and Turkey.

Since the civil war started in Syria, neighboring countries have been receiving hundreds of thousands of refugees that are in need of support and humanitarian assistance. The huge influx led to a high per capita concentration of refugees in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey with more than 3.5 million refugees. The article provides a description of the political security of the Syrian refugees in the above mentioned countries, illustrating how this is leading to human insecurity of the refugees. The article shows that despite the humanitarian interventions and the inter-agency response, the socioeconomic vulnerability is still lagging behind. Displacement is increasing and influx of refugees as well and so is their socioeconomic vulnerability. It shows that the lack of political security of the refugees in the neighboring countries is a core reason behind their lack of human security.

Keywords: human security, political security, refugees, Syrian refugees

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How the migration crisis determines the relation between Turkey and EU?

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This paper highlights the consequences of migration influx in Europe and Turkey. I attempt to look into how the migration is impacting Turkey and Europe as well, and how the relationship has changed between Turkey and EU. The migration crisis indicated new partnership between Turkey and the EU. In November 2015, EU in its annual report reviewing Turkey's EU membership bid had raised concerns regarding the worsening freedom of press in the country. EPP

rapporteur on Turkey, Dr. Renate Sommer MEP shared that the country is not in sync and is instead diverging from the Copenhagen Criteria. The report expressed concerns regarding new laws like the security law which gives additional powers to the police in terms of arrests, search warrants and use of weapons. Migrant crisis has been triggered by the Syrian civil war which has been going on for nearly five years. More than 4 million people have been forced to flee the war torn country and have sought asylum in Turkey and recently in EU. This situation has changed the cooperation between Turkey and the EU.

Keywords: Turkey, security policy, migrant crisis, EU

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Governance in Europe - The organisation of business interests on the European level

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In the last few years the question of policy making in the European Union is getting more and more relevant for both scholars interested in European politics and those concerned with the legitimacy of decision-making on European level. The field of work and influence of interest groups is especially the target of scientific interest. The chambers of commerce as economic associations are representing a very special type of interest groups in Europe. The recent study is giving an insight into the difficulties of defining a European standard for the organisations of business interests and the author is trying to show the actors of lobbying on the European level. A number of national chambers, large city chambers of commerce and also associations of chambers have their own representations in Brussels, which are trying to influence the decision-making processes of the European Union directly. The study is dealing with the role of these interest groups and it is analysing the role of EUROCHAMBRES, the Association of European Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which is one of the largest business representative organisation in Brussels.

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The EU Global strategy and its implications for the EU role as security provider

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The new Global Strategy aims to strengthen the EU's role in the world not only as an economic power, but also as an active security provider using ever more of its hard power instruments. The discourse of security and security threats set in the Strategy raises several questions about the EU's crisis management, its tools and mechanisms. Why have been the proposed steps considered necessary for the EU and its role in international society? How does the Global Strategy shape the EU's role as a security provider? And whose security should be taken care of by the EU? This paper argues that the Global Strategy represents a significant change in the EU's interests and its desire to be attracted by others. It is a result of changed security environment and the external threats the EU is facing for the first time in such a scope. The shift from external security provider in countries affected by conflict and/or humanitarian crisis to defense of its own borders and internal security shapes the EU's role conception from the "balancer of the USA" to more "USA alike" actor.

Keywords: European Union, security, Responsibility to Protect, human rights, Global Strategy

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The efforts of European Union in the Western Balkans as a human security providing actor: The cases of the FYROM and Kosovo

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Since the adoption of Barcelona Report at 2002, the EU has identified herself as a human security providing actor in international relations. In this respect, the European Security Strategy lists five key threats to Europe: terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failing states, and organised crime. The report puts particular emphasis on the bottom-up approach; on communication, consultation, dialogue, and partnership with the local population in order to improve early warning, intelligence gathering, and mobilization of local support, implementation, and sustainability. Due to the turmoil in Balkans at the 1990s, the effects of insecurity and disorder in the Balkans are more strongly felt in Europe in terms of crime, refugee flows and human trafficking than effects of conflicts further away. Therefore, the EU tried to develop some instruments in order to overcome such threats. The efforts for stabilising the region were started by the OBNOVA and PHARE programmes to assist the reconstruction of Western Balkans countries such as the FYROM, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 1990s. In this study we aim to

examine those instruments which were produced by the EU for the Western Balkan region particularly for the FYROM and Kosovo.

The FYROM's official relations with the EU started in 1995 with EU recognition. The contractual relations of the FYROM with the EU started in 1996 when it signed an agreement to be eligible for assistance from the PHARE programme. Moreover, in the respect of CARDS programme, projects were funded in order to bring stability and reduce the ethnic tensions in the country. To add, the EU launched the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) in 1999 in order to provide a long-term integration strategy for the five countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the FYROM, and [ex] Serbia and Montenegro) of the conflict-ridden Western Balkan region. In April 2001, the FYROM became the first country which signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA), putting its relation with the EU in a new base before the escalation of the conflict. European integration became officially the goal of both the FYROM and the EU. With the end of the conflicts between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians, in October 2001 the Commission adopted a decision to finance a Confidence Building Programme in the FYROM under the Rapid Reaction Mechanism (RRM). And also the EU earmarked financial aid for the action was conditional on full ratification of all amendments to the Macedonian Constitution stipulated by Ohrid Agreement, as well as of a new law on local government. The Concordia military mission and its updated version EUPOL Proxima on 15 December 2003 were organized by EU in order to ensure the stability and security. Those efforts of the EU have contributed to the creation of a peaceful climate in the FYROM.

Moreover, the EU has had a presence in Kosovo for the reconstruction of the state since the adoption of 1244 UN Security Council decision. In the period before the independence of Kosovo, EU included Kosovo to the SAP in 2006 as part of the EU strategy for the region. The SAA between Kosovo and EU has been signed on October 27 2015. The transfer of the powers of the UNMIK to the EULEX was also an EU contribution for the human security in Kosovo. All these efforts of the EU can be considered as the examples of the EU's contribution as a human security provider for Kosovo. As a result of all these efforts of the EU, both countries' human development levels have gradually increased in the 2000s.

Keywords: the EU, human security, the FYROM, Kosovo, Western Balkans

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EU's trial with 21st century security challenges: Has EU lost its normative power?

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21st century has brought along many security challenges for EU member states. European debt crisis, terrorist attacks at the heart of Europe and most recently Brexit presented the latest trauma for European integration. One of the most important democratization movements for MENA region, Arab Spring has revealed the unscrupulous foreign policy choices of EU within years. Supporting nepotist

governments in MENA for the sake of stability, EU started to import instability let alone promoting democracy to the region. Toppling down of the many authoritarian leaders during such conflicts led up to a power vacuum which still could not be filled. The fuse of “Post Modern Cold War” was ignited as global and local actors strived to expand their zones of influence through proxy wars in the Middle East.

Refugee crisis breaking out as a result of on-going conflicts in the region posed unprecedented security challenges that Europe has ever faced with. Terrorist attacks in Charlie Hebdo, Belgium and Turkey steered EU to prioritize security concerns of the continent over its core values like democracy building, protection of human rights and etc. Securitization of refugee problems via political discourse led to the rise of the right-wing political parties which has the potential of dragging European integration to the verge of cliff. Being unable to develop a consistent foreign policy during aforementioned crises, EU’s global actorness was discredited and its sincerity with regards to its core values was questioned after its stance towards the refugee problem.

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the impacts of security challenges on the foreign policy and integration of European Union. I argue with this paper that EU, playing the role of stability promoter for many years, was unable to contain the instability disseminating to its soil from the Middle East. Loss of EU’s normative power was crystal clear through its horse trading with Turkey regarding to the refugee problem. Being unable to develop a consistent and coherent foreign policy, EU’s self-existence today might be in jeopardy let alone its further integration.

Keywords: EU, security, normative power

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A critical assessment of the European Union’s regionalization efforts towards its near abroad: Black Sea Synergy re-considered

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The peace and stability of the European Union (EU) cannot be provided with the measures taken inside of the borders of the EU. It is obvious that the security of the EU is strongly related with its near neighborhood. Sustaining good relations and searching for effective cooperation among the states, strengthening the democracy and market mechanism; promoting good governance, accountability, human rights and minority rights are the main priorities of the EU towards the neighboring regions to combat with the multi-dimensional challenges arising from the international environment.

To provide prosperity, peace and security for its members, the EU has adopted various instruments and initiations since the Cold War era. These efforts are reformed and reconsidered with additional programs and projects after the establishment of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CSFP) as a pillar through

the needs of the new international and regional developments. One of these efforts can be noticed as “regionalization”. In the EU foreign affairs bilateral relations have a great significance. But in addition to bilateral relations, the EU attempts to “regionalize” its neighboring environment by cluster of number of states in a sense of a “region” to promote its own success.

We intend to examine that, this study argues regionalization efforts of the EU could have three important results. Firstly, regional identities could contribute to the problem solving capabilities of the neighboring states of the EU peacefully and multilaterally. Secondly, instead of bilateralism, a regional perspective could provide more coherent and effective policy formulations for the EU. Thirdly, successful regionalism efforts of the EU could increase the EU’s influence to whole neighboring regions. In this context, this study attempts to evaluate the relationship between the security of the EU and regionalization of its near environment in the framework of CFSP. Finally we try to analyze the results of the Black Sea Synergy Initiation to figure out the possibility of a regional perspective towards the Wider Black Sea Region.

Keywords: regionalization, wider Black Sea, Common Foreign and Security Policy

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Matrixing Security and Strategy Agenda Settings in the NATO summits: Chicago (2012), Wales (2014), Warsaw (2016) (MASES Agenda)

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The present study indexes and scrutinizes the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (hereinafter NATO) official texts, Summits’ declarations and press conferences. Specifically, we methodologically analyzed the latest three summits communiqués issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the NATO meetings and the press conferences issued by the NATO Secretary General as follows: 1. NATO Summit Warsaw (8-9 July 2016) (hereinafter S1_W); 2. NATO Wales Summit (4-5 September 2014) (S2_W) and 3. NATO Chicago Summit (20-21 May 2012) (S3_C). In so researching, we embodied S1_W, S2_W and S3_C official texts such as: declarations, joint statements and press conferences on a conceptual matrix on the security and strategy agenda (entitled MASES Agenda) linking four topics aimed at revealing the transatlantic nexus as follows: a) peace and security (Topic 1: PeS); b) security consultation among NATO members and Allies (Topic 2: SeC); c) resources and capabilities (Topic 3: ReC); d) sovereignty and territorial integrity (Topic 4: SOTI) to suggest why the NATO Summits final declarations are vital moments for the Euro-Atlantic security frames. In the MASES analysis, the PeS, SeC, ReC and SOTI indicators are surveyed to explore trends issued to safeguard the shared security of the Alliance in accordance with the international law. MASES findings demonstrate that the security frameworks were invariably challenged by the sources of stability and the responsibility of

the decision-making processes. These results challenge the need for security assurance of the Allies and the coherence claimed by the Alliance as inner tasks of its Strategic Concept. We confer how these basic demands for security policies and close partnership are committed to respond to the multi-dimensional threats.

Keywords: security, strategy, NATO, summit, consultation

LEGAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SECURITY

Influence of mass communication media on psychological safety of a person

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In the modern world the problem of security of a person is of vital importance. And psychological safety is its main component and can be considered at different levels: a society as a whole, the closest community and personality.

At the level of personality the psychological safety of a person is determined by his/her resilience, i.e. an ability to adaptation and resistance to various external and internal threats which is defined by sense-value attitudes of the person, the level of his/her mental health and spirituality.

The tremendous upgrowth of technologies shifts television and the Internet to the level of mass communication media: at any moment televiewers or Internet users can become participators of the events or co-authors of the programs by means of a feedback transmitting on-line.

There are different risk factors influencing the psychological safety and mass communication media are one of them according to the breadth of coverage and the depth of penetration into various layers of the population.

The purpose of our research is to study characteristic features of influence of mass communication media on psychological safety of a person taking into consideration age, gender, social and professional aspects of the audience, and also the structure and the form of transmitting of different kinds of information.

In order to empirically study the influence we analyze time-tables of telecasting of the central TV channels, the contents of theses telecasts, the contents of the sites and amount of time spent on the media, etc. We also use a pack of valid procedures: Rokeach Value Survey, Purpose-in-Life Test (modified by D.A. Leontiev), Diagnostics of tendency to 13 types of dependences (by G.V. Lozovaya), and a standardised interview (in the form of a questionnaire) and a technique "Social distance of telecontents of an ideological orientation" (by I.V. Abakumova, Zh.Ju. Kara, L.Ju. Kruteleva - in the course of development).

To research the features of information perception all respondents have been divided into four age groups: “youth” (17-25 years old), “adult” (26-30), “mature” (31-45), “aged” (45 and older).

Results and conclusions:

The empirical research has shown significant differences between the groups in trust to the source of the information (the first two age groups consider the Internet as the main information source while older generation believes in telecasts), in sense-value attitudes and in watching (surfing) contents, and also has confirmed gender differences in choosing modalities of telecasts.

The television audience mostly includes people of middle and older age involved and detailed watching the economic and political situation in the country.

The Internet is basically focused on youth whose sense-value attitudes are still instable, and whose life’s trajectories can be transformed towards behaviour models either approved, or asocial, unacceptable by the society.

Keywords: psychological safety of a person, mass communication media, sense-value attitudes, television, the Internet

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Effects of posttraumatic stress disorder on unaccompanied underage refugees

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The current global social mobility raises several issues and problems, which generates significant antipathy around the host society making the handling of this challenge much harder. The cause of this attitude is the strain made by the difference of other cultural features which makes harder the process of integration. Underage unaccompanied refugees are separated from their family during long and dangerous journeys, others are sent alone with traffickers and smugglers by parents to deliver their children to safe places, others still are orphans. Before leaving their home country, many of these children have endured trauma made by the war, death of parents, poverty. Based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child each child deserves special provisions and appropriate legal protection. Underage refugees must be considered as children not a security challenge, integrating them into the society is an essential way of the solution of this huge global issue.

Keywords: migration, refugees, children’s rights

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Crime prevention in Germany

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The topic of my essay will focus on the different methods of crime prevention in the building architecture. After a short introduction about crime prevention and its advantages I will show the specific building architecture related preventive methods by using several examples from Germany.

The first researches about the relationship between crime and housing were done in the early 1970s, since then the results of these researches have been firmly established and used within the building architecture.

The effects of these preventive measures will be shown and documented with statistics as well.

Keywords: crime prevention, building architecture, Germany

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Biometrics, e-identity, and the balance between security and privacy: Case study of the passenger name record (PNR) system

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The implementation of biometrics entails either the establishment of an identity or tracing a person's identity. Biometric passport data (e.g., irises, fingers, faces) can be used in order to verify a passenger's identity. The proposed Passenger Name Record (PNR) system contains all the information necessary to enable reservations to be processed and controlled by the booking and participating air carriers for each journey booked by or on behalf of any person. PNR data are related to travel movements, usually flights, and include passport data, name, address, telephone numbers, travel agent, credit card number, history of changes in the flight schedule, seat preferences, and other information. In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, a new emergency political-law status of society was established: the continuous state of "war" against the so-called unlawful combatants of the "enemy". Officially, the enemy is the terrorists, but the victims of the privacy invasions caused by the above new form of data processing are the civilians. The data processing based on biometrics is covered both by Directive 95/46 EC and Article 8 of the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (now the European Convention on Human Rights, "ECHR"). According to Article 2, Paragraph a of the above Directive, personal data shall mean any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person; an identifiable person is one who can be identified, directly or indirectly, in particular by reference to an identification number or to

one or more factors specific to his/her physical, physiological, mental, economic, cultural, or social identity.

Keywords: biometrics, proportionality, personal data, balance

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Security and responsibility: The need for holding states accountable for human rights violations while protecting the homeland

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In the 21st century states face unique security challenges unlike at any time before. Wars and conflicts are no longer fought between two states that waged over mutual interests, power, or influence. These wars and conflicts are no longer on battle fields between two warring states; they are now waged by non-state actors who use ideologies, religion, and beliefs as weapons. While this presents a major challenge for states to protect their home lands, states have responsibilities to ensure human and civil rights under domestically and internationally when carrying out security measures. The purpose of this paper is to explore these responsibilities, why states should be held accountable, and the overall benefits for respecting human rights when dealing security challenges.

Keywords: human rights, accountability, security, justice

SECURITY CHALLENGES IN WESTERN ASIA

The role of nuclear weapons in international security and peace from neo-realist perspective within Iran-US deal

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Technological development occurred since the beginning of 20th century has created an upheaval on the issues of military defense industry and armament. Advent of high-technological defense-offense industry based on chemical, biological and nuclear materials increased the power of demolishment of the weapons. The high level of the devastation and gruesome caused by atomic bomb in Nagasaki and Hiroshima jeopardized international security and stability and forced the states to take precautions concerning reduction of their security weaknesses and recruitment of their military power. The concerns of national security and competition between contradicting parts to hold the global power entailed the growth in polarization by agitating retaliations further and could not protect the world from a possibility of a nuclear war. Due to the bipolar structure of Cold War, Cuban Missile Crisis in 1964 between SU and US broke out; which is known as most dangerous nuclear crisis in the world history on account

of the fact that two super powers were on the brink of a nuclear war that would affect whole world profoundly. With the collapse of the SU in 1990 and the end of the Cold War, the era of bipolar world also ended and international political arena became more stabilized with regards to the nuclear proliferation for US and European Countries. However; instability occurred by the existence of nuclear weapons has not disappeared completely in unipolar international system dominated by the US after the Cold War. At the present time, there are 9 countries which have nuclear weapons and 5 countries which try to develop a more affective nuclear technology in the world. The group of the countries; which Russia and US pioneer; comprises of both western and eastern states such as UK, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea that possess approximately more than 2000 nuclear warheads in total. Correspondingly, in last decade one of the most vital crises occurred about nuclear armament in international political arena is the crisis that broke out between Iran and US, Russia, China, UK, France and Germany (P5+1counties) on the issue of Iran's Nuclear Development Program. At this point, this study focuses on the role of nuclear weapons in international security and peace within the case of the dispute between Iran and US from the Neo-Realist perspective. It aims at answering the questions of "What will happen if the negotiation process is interrupted and the deal is broken? Would nuclear weapons both Iran and Israel held as regional hostiles create a serious crisis which could trigger a war if Iran became a nuclear state? Would it be enough to impose stricter economic sanctions to weaken Iran's power?" To answer these questions, the role of nuclear weapons in international politics has to be considered and comprehended deeply by applying to the Neo-Realist argument concerning the structure of nuclear world which is developed by Kenneth Waltz.

Keywords: neo-realism, nuclear world, military power, security weakness, polarization

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"The new reality" of the Middle East: The interpretation of the violent non-state actors

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The increasing role and salience of violent non-state actors (VNSAs) in the Middle East has become apparent during the last decades. Hezbollah (Lebanon), Hamas (Palestine), Syrian Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD), Shia Militias in Iraq and Muslim Brotherhood affiliated groups in Syria and Libya are just some of the prominent VNSAs which need to be explored within historical and social contexts. When considering that each action/discourse is based certain ground it becomes fairly important to discuss why the non-state organizations emerged generally in the Middle East. This situation leads us to look at the different social-historical developments in the Middle East. In this sense, this paper tries to explain the very existence and increasing power of these politico-military organizations in terms of the structural-social conditions prevalent in the Middle East region.

Accordingly, this study aims to define the prominent ontological realities/tendencies of this region paving way the existence of these non-state organizations which are also serious alternatives for the “sovereign” states in the region. Recognizing that the ontological situation should firstly be analyzed before looking deeply into the discourses/actions of these semi-autonomous organizations, this study tries to focus primarily on the ground or deeper mechanisms which are also stratified. Although these mechanisms are stratified as international, regional and national level, regional level or the structural tendencies in the Middle East will be explored in this paper since they closely and mainly shape the very conditions under which VNSAs emerge, grow and carry out their activities. Overall, the aggressive and assertive role of the current VNSAs over the Middle East which mainly shape the regional security and sovereignty relations in this area can hardly be understood without delving into the structural tendencies prevalent in this region.

Keywords: Middle East, violent non-state actors, security

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An evaluation of Turkey’s security conception in the context of Kurdish problem

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The official definition of Turkish security is largely related to the concept of self-preservation with its three-dimensioned appearance: “Ensuring the survival of the population; the protection of territorial integrity; and the preservation of the basic identity of the nation.” In the framework of official national security definition of Turkey, military security has a priority when compared the other sectors of the security. Indeed, under the prevailing effect of the “traditional” discourse on security during the Republican era, Turkish decision-makers have evaluated the security in terms of self-help principle. Therefore, in order to deter the violent threats to the state, it is aimed to increase or at least maintain the military capabilities in the framework of traditional security conception’s arguments. While Turkey pursued a defensive security strategy until the end of the World War II, in the post-war era, Turkey faced Soviet claims on her northern borders and Turkish straits. So, in order to deter the Soviet aggression, Turkey became a NATO member in 1952. Thus realist assumptions and balance of power logic dominated Turkey’s national security conception in this period.

Theoretically, traditional security conception focuses on material power, changes in its distribution and external threats. Shifts in national security doctrine stem from shifts in the international distribution of power that alter the state’s relative position. In this context, Turkey’s security perceptions have drastically changed with the disappearing of Soviet threat. Changing international environment in the post-Cold War era and its new actors and threats led to re-evaluation of Turkey’s security perceptions. However, under the effects of instability and uncertainty of the new era in international politics, security conception of Turkey is largely conceptualized in the context of traditional

conception's arguments with reference to the "hard security" problems. However, the traditional security conception seems to be insufficient to meet the post-Cold War requirements. For example, ethnic and identity problems have become very important security issues for nation-states. These new security threats require the societal security to be at the centre of the national security policies. Because, today's conflicts and threats to the security of identity-based groups can no longer be confined only to the state security and to military aspects.

Indeed, while territorial threats to Turkey's national security have declined in the post-Cold War era, the most critical threat to her territorial integrity and sovereignty has arisen from the Kurdish secessionism. That is why, Turkey faced an ever intensifying questioning of its national identity and unity. The Kurdish issue has gradually become the focus of all Turkey's internal and external security concerns in this era. It has challenged the roots of Turkish identity and security, the role of the state in society, the nature of its democracy, the economic development of Turkey and, its relations with the west from a human rights angle. In this respect, Turkey's traditional security conception faces difficulties for adopting the new security realities of the post-Cold War era. Accordingly, this paper argues that Turkey's national security conception and policies should be reconsidered to meet new security challenges in the context of societal security conceptualization.

Keywords: security, national security, Turkey, Kurdish problem

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Russia as a global player

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This analysis comprises of brief review of the major aspects of Russia's role in the new world order. Particularly it lays emphasis on the Russian foreign policy in the period of President Vladimir Putin. The rebirth of Russia as a global player is a necessary step to re-establish an overall balance of power in the world. After Vladimir Putin was elected as a president of Russian Federation, Russia began to pursue very effective foreign policy. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the replacing Russian Federation has enhanced its political and economic efficiency on the new world order for the first time. Since the end of the Cold War, Russian Federation was not be able to speak knowledgeably or authoritatively about foreign policy that much in the recent times. Although Russia is the heir state of the Soviet Union, its status in the global hierarchy cannot be compared with the one of the U.S.S.R. Especially this analysis dwells on Russia's effective foreign policy.

Keywords: Russia's foreign policy, Vladimir Putin, new world order, Middle East

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“Kashmir” in India and Pakistan: Proposed paradigms from conflict to peace

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Kashmir is one of the longest running disputes in contemporary times. Dispute over the state of Jammu and Kashmir arose almost instantaneously as India and Pakistan obtained independence from British rule in 1947. This paper has been discussed and identified from the perception of India and Pakistan conflict on the issue of Kashmir. This is very tough to identify the resolution of Kashmir conflict however this paper has acknowledged and tried to get best option for solution of this bloodshed conflict; Firstly: This paper has been discussed and based on the theoretical and conceptual part of the Kashmir conflict from the factors of this conflict, reasons and resolutions, Secondly: it has been explained the background of the historical perception of this conflict, Thirdly: it includes the discussion on factors and reasons of this conflict from historical background to current situations, Fourthly: it has been clarified and identified from the perception of India, Pakistan and Kashmiris on their continuous bloodshed conflict, Fifthly and Finally: it has been ornamented from the different successful methods for the resolving of Kashmir conflict.

Keywords: Kashmir, India-Pakistan conflicts, United Nations, conflict resolutions

SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE BALKANS AND EASTERN EUROPE

Resilient entrepreneurship in times of crisis? The case of Ukraine

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Given that many of the EU's border regions suffer from the varying degrees of political and economic stability, and in the case of Ukraine, political and economic crisis, followed by military conflict, investigating the degree to which the EU's policy performance in promoting innovation is conditional upon having stable regional political and economic spaces, in which entrepreneurs and innovators can operate, is essential.

The paper builds upon key research findings in a major study of stable (Sweden) and unstable (Ukraine) regions provided at Karlstad University within a two-phase international research project focused on resilient innovation policies and crisis entrepreneurship, and taking account of the differing operational “logics” and choices of regions in the EU and its surrounding neighborhood in implementation of “smart growth” targets.

The paper reveals new perspectives relating to how innovation and entrepreneurship are seen in a complex international business environment, and addresses two major aspects. First, the author presents how prevailing policy

“logics” set up by EU, affect the implementation choices towards fostering innovation at the regional level, taking account of the influence of integration and crisis. Second, the paper reveals results of empirical study conducted in eastern parts of Ukraine, regarded by the author as a unique space for distinctive and highly contemporary research on innovative entrepreneurship’ patterns for unstable regional systems. Presented by the data from surveys and interviews, this part of work is pointing out how entrepreneurship is actually undertaken at the micro level, when crisis is ongoing and instability is a core feature of business and innovation environment.

Keywords: resilience, region, crisis, entrepreneurship, Ukraine

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Generating defence and security within national frameworks: A retrospective analysis of the Romanian strategic concepts

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The paper analyses the placing of the new Romanian security conceptual map following the Euro-Atlantic integration, by comparing and connecting a series of strategic documents. Placing the discussion at the level of national frameworks for defence and security, the paper enlists on a quest on the following directions: (1) retrospectively targetting the dynamics of national security policies, (2) depicting the strategic concept in national defense and security strategies, (3) identifying risk management techniques and (4) problem structuring the military spending and acquisitions issues. The analysis evolves around the reflections and discussions facilitated by the selection of Romanian national security strategy documents during the period 2007-2015. Centering the argumentation on “institutional fit” as a prerequisite for the national strategic concept’s harmonization to the European Security Strategy (ESS) and NATO Strategic Concept, methodologically, the content analysis is drawn on the following lines (a) hammering out the strategic vision, (b) building the strategic concept by (1) resonating and connecting national aims, values and interests, (2) shaping strategic vision and objectives, (3) organizing for security, and (c) resource allocation. The paper provides insights into the planning of national defense and security strategies with implications and justifications for future policy-making in the field.

Keywords: defence, security, Romania, Europe, policies

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Undermining peace: The impact of counter-terrorism measures in post-9/11 Hungary

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Since 9/11 and the advent of the “War on Terror” (WoT), Hungary has formulated and implemented numerous measures to prevent and respond to potential terrorist acts in Hungary like those witnessed in other parts of the world, and specifically in Europe. While the adoption of new laws cannot be characterized as sweeping and comprehensive reform, the government has implemented a handful that mirror those of states like the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). This practice of adopting counterterrorism laws can be observed in numerous other countries as well raising concern over the applicability of such laws in countries with divergent historical, and socio-political contexts. Although there is a great deal of distance between the tragic events of September 11, 2001 and the adoption of CT laws in Hungary, their adoption has taken place within the context of the evolving WoT security paradigm. Despite the adoption, formulation, and implementation of these measures, Hungary has, unlike other European countries, not been targeted by international terrorism nor is there a known presence of an international terrorist group or network that would justify the adoption of such measures. This paper seeks to examine the changes that have taken place in Hungary’s counterterrorism policy and measures landscape since 2001, and assess the usefulness of these instruments and potential negative implications of them in Hungarian society.

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German politics towards Russia: Between security and economics

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The author would like to propose an analysis of German commitment to enhance or stabilize cooperation with Russia in the sphere of security particularly through economic integration.

The policy is called “change through integration” and has been in place as part of the Ostpolitik for several decades. The main idea is that closer economic cooperation will facilitate democratic reforms and deeper integration with Germany and the EU, thus stabilizing Eastern Europe and enhancing cooperation with Russia in the sphere of security.

This paper will focus on the following aspects:

1. What is the status of the cooperation with Russia in the sphere of economics and security? Did the conflict in Eastern Ukraine have any effect on it?
2. Has the German approach to politically transforming Russia achieved its goals? Has there been any progress with security cooperation in the recent years?

3. What are the differences between approaches to Russia, Ukraine and the rest of the region? Where do they stem from?

4. Are there any conclusions to be drawn for the future?

Keywords: security, economics, Germany, Russia, Ukraine, Eastern Europe, Ostpolitik

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Global land grab and the Balkans

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Current developments concerning land grabs in the Balkans suggest that the region is re-experiencing in the post-socialist era what happened in the 17th and 18th centuries due to the decline of the Ottoman land tenure system, under identical conditions involving fundamental socio-political transformations and integration with global capitalism. These changes are emblematic of a transfer of common to individual ownership. Nowadays, small landholders in some parts of the region - mainly the former laborers on socialist agricultural cooperatives - are influenced by the accelerating trend of (re)concentrating land ownership, which in some cases takes the form of land grabbing similar to that seen in Africa. This study examines the historical continuity between the Ottoman rule over fledgling nation-states and the post-socialist era by referring to widely discussed socio-economic and political developments regarding contemporary land grab processes.

Keywords: land grab, Balkans, neoliberalism

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Sovereignty, security, and globalization: Interrelations and perspectives in the Western Balkan countries

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Nowadays, two main streams have been emphasized the most: globalization on the one hand, and national interests on the other. Even though contradictory at some level, these two elements have played an important role in boosting one another. National sovereignty has been a focal point of the Balkan's politics after the 1990's because of the state-building and democratization processes which have taken place in these countries. During the same period of time, globalization has played an important role in the revitalization of the Balkans' economies, the free movement of people, etc.

Thus, the main aim of this paper is to further explore the interrelations between sovereignty and globalization in the Western Balkan countries by also looking at how the intersection between them boosts or impairs security in this area of Europe. The main research question that this paper poses is whether trends like Europeanisation and globalisation in general, along with the national politics within the Western Balkan countries impact security and how. We also try to provide some perspectives of the future in terms of politics, globalisation and security concerning these group of countries. The paper shades light on the above by making use of qualitative and secondary quantitative data in the horizontal (presence of each element) axis and vertical axis (interrelations and future perspectives).

Therefore, through the analyses of such perspectives, with the help of qualitative and quantitative data, the paper shows that security in the Western Balkans has been boosted even more by globalisation, and more specifically because of the European integration processes and the attention that EU has had after the 1990s for this part of Europe. On the other hand, sovereignty has been central to the state politics of these countries, especially the newly established ones, where it is an element representing the national (state) discourse of the political leadership.

Keywords: sovereignty, Western Balkans, globalisation, security, democratisation, Europeanisation

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Socially engaged music in the former Yugoslavian republics: Critique of the socio-economic and political reality

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This paper analyses lyrics of the socially engaged music from the former Yugoslavian republics of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. The focus is limited to these four countries solely due to the language barrier and easier systematization. The analysis of the socially engaged lyrics in the former Yugoslavian republics has sought to explore the ways in which socially engaged artists perceive recent history of the region, and how do they criticize the system and society in a specific socio-economic and political environment, but also to investigate the perception of the local people about themselves. The transition processes in the Western Balkan countries have been conducted in somewhat different manner than those in Central and Eastern Europe, mainly as a result of the ethnic conflict which brought as a consequence delays in the process of democratization, economic stagnation and safety destabilization in the region.

Music is one of the most common and most present forms of art through which one expresses, among other things, a critique of society. Taking into account the economic, political and social situation in the region in the past 25 years, music

can be viewed as one of the tools for encouraging the masses to become (more) actively involved in the economic, political and social reality.

In the last twenty years many songs dealing with the current economic, political and social situation have been recorded and published in the regional music market. Based on the analysis of 18 selected songs and the frequency of certain themes and motifs, it was possible to identify some common features:

1) common topics; analysed songs deal with specific economic, political and social issues that are universal for the entire region; 2) reproduction of the common stereotypes about the Balkans as a place of constant conflict, war, destruction, poverty, patriarchal values, but also hedonism, excessive enjoyment and debauchery; 3) Yugo-nostalgia.

The results of the analysis have shown that socially engaged music gained wide popularity in all countries of the region. The established connection between the audiences in, until recently warring countries of the former state, transcends the imposed borders, superiority and sanctity of a nation-state. Furthermore, despite the predominant attitude towards the Balkans as a space from which one wishes to escape and to which one does not want to belong, socially engaged music is obviously an exception to the rule, since, in the analysed songs, the Balkans is being criticized auto ironically by accepting those imposed stereotypes and reversing them into parody. Moreover, to a certain extent, socially engaged lyrics criticize the West for imposing such stereotypes, with the aim to demystify the region.

Keywords: Balkans, Yugoslavia, socially engaged music, stereotypes, critique of the system



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