

# Security situation in the Central Europe after 1989

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# What is Security?

- Security
- sécurité
- Sicherheit
- seguridad
- Bezpečnost
- Безопасность
- 安全
- 
- 
- ...

# Security is...

- → the *condition/state of affairs* of...
- ...the absence of threats to acquired values (Wolfers)
- ...a low probability of damage to acquired values (Baldwin)

# Security dimensions (Baldwin)

- **Security for whom?**
- **Security for which values?**
- How much security?
- From what threats?
- By what means?
- At what cost?
- In what time period?

# What security studies?

- Political Science
- International Relations
- Security Studies
- Strategic Studies
- Military Studies

# Security studies: driving forces

- Events
- Distribution of power
- Technology
- Academic debate

# Post Cold War

- Lost of credit of the whole discipline...
- International relations – relative rise of importance for IPE
- Strategic Studies = useless?
- Security Studies
  - Leave as it is (i.e. = strategic studies)
  - Small reform
  - Large reform
- Richard Betts' circles

# Broadening and deepening of security studies

Reference object / type of threat	Military	Military/Non-military
States	National security	Comprehensive security (Environmental, economic, health, food threats)
Societies, Groups, and Individuals	Intrastate security (civil wars, ethnic conflicts)	Human security



# Realism: “Bad people in anarchical world”

- Human nature = bad, international system = anarchy
- State = the (internal and external) protector of the values (i.e. provider of security)
- Struggle for security + international anarchy → power of the state → security dilemma
- Security = state security = state power
- Thucydides, Machiavelli, Richelieu, Carr, Morgenthau, Kissinger, Waltz...
- How to solve the security dilemma
  - Balance of power (deterrence)
  - Hegemony

# Liberalism: Ability to conquer the war

- Human nature = good
- International system = anarchy, but cooperation possible
- War = the failure
  - Power to people, security for people
- To prevent security dilemma
  - Liberal internationalism (Kant)
  - Idealism (Wilson)
  - liberal institutionalism (Mitrany, Haas, Keohane)
- Neoliberal variants (neoliberal institutionalism)
  - Absolute gains
  - Complex interdependence
  - International regimes

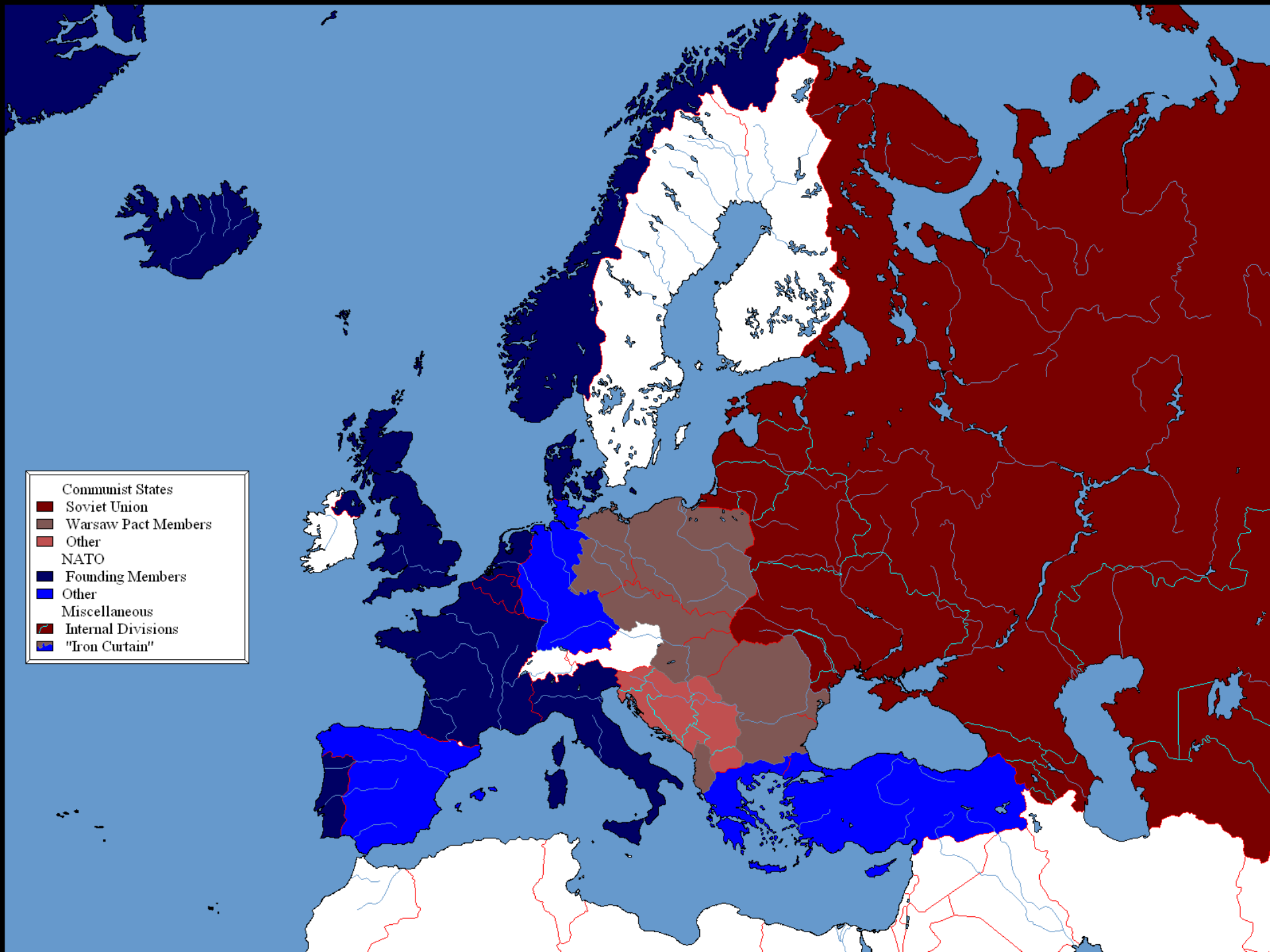
# (neo)Marxist approaches

- Economy at the basic of the conflicts
- Classes not states are the main actors
  - International system based on (imperial) states will always cause conflicts → proletariat revolution
- Hegemony and exploitation
- Examples:
  - Dependency theories, core v. periphery models (Wallerstein's world-systems approach)

# Constructivism: What is a threat and how it becomes one?

- Wendt: “Anarchy is what states make out of it”
- Security studies:
  - Rational approaches – there are objective threats to security
- Constructivism – we don’t know what the threats are until they become so → perception of threat is crucial
- Copenhagen school – securitization
  - Philosophical approach – discourse
  - Sociological approach – practical action

- Communist States
  - Soviet Union
  - Warsaw Pact Members
  - Other
- NATO
  - Founding Members
  - Other
- Miscellaneous
  - Internal Divisions
  - "Iron Curtain"



# Central Europe: Now what?

- Neutral area, security guaranteed mutually by West (NATO) and East (Russia)
- Separate Central European organizations – “NATO-bis”, “EU-bis”, enhanced CSCE
- Integration with the West (NATO & EU) → 1991

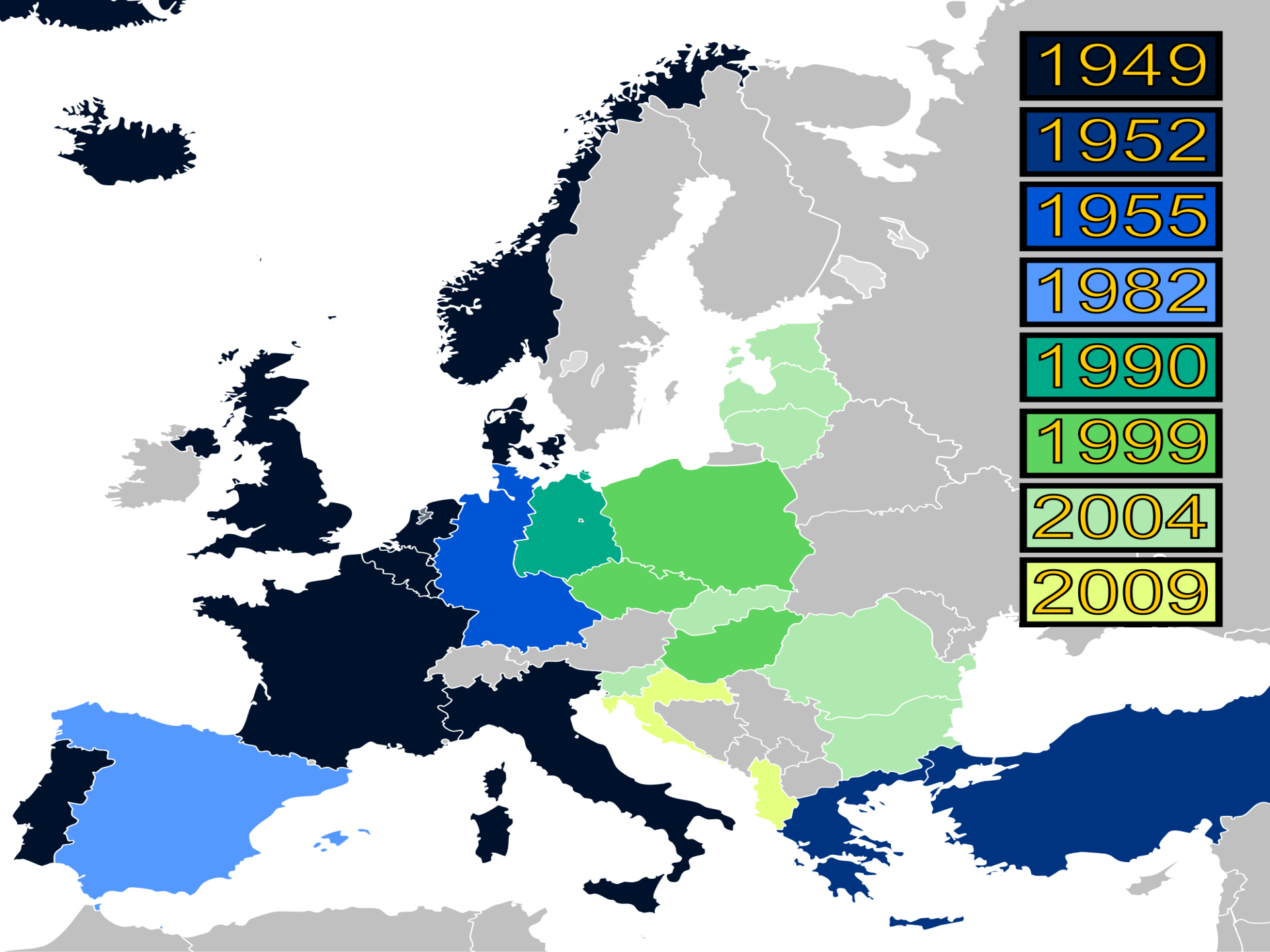
# NATO: Now what?

- NATO = useless?
  - M. Thatcher – „you don't cancel your insurance policy just because there have been fewer burglaries on your street in the last twelve months.“
- Doctrinal shift: containment → enlargement
- Key player – the USA
- 1993: Bill Clinton – “it's economy, stupid”
  - Development of the position that security of Central Europe is absolutely vital for security of Europe and NATO
  - Problem: Russia (and Congress)

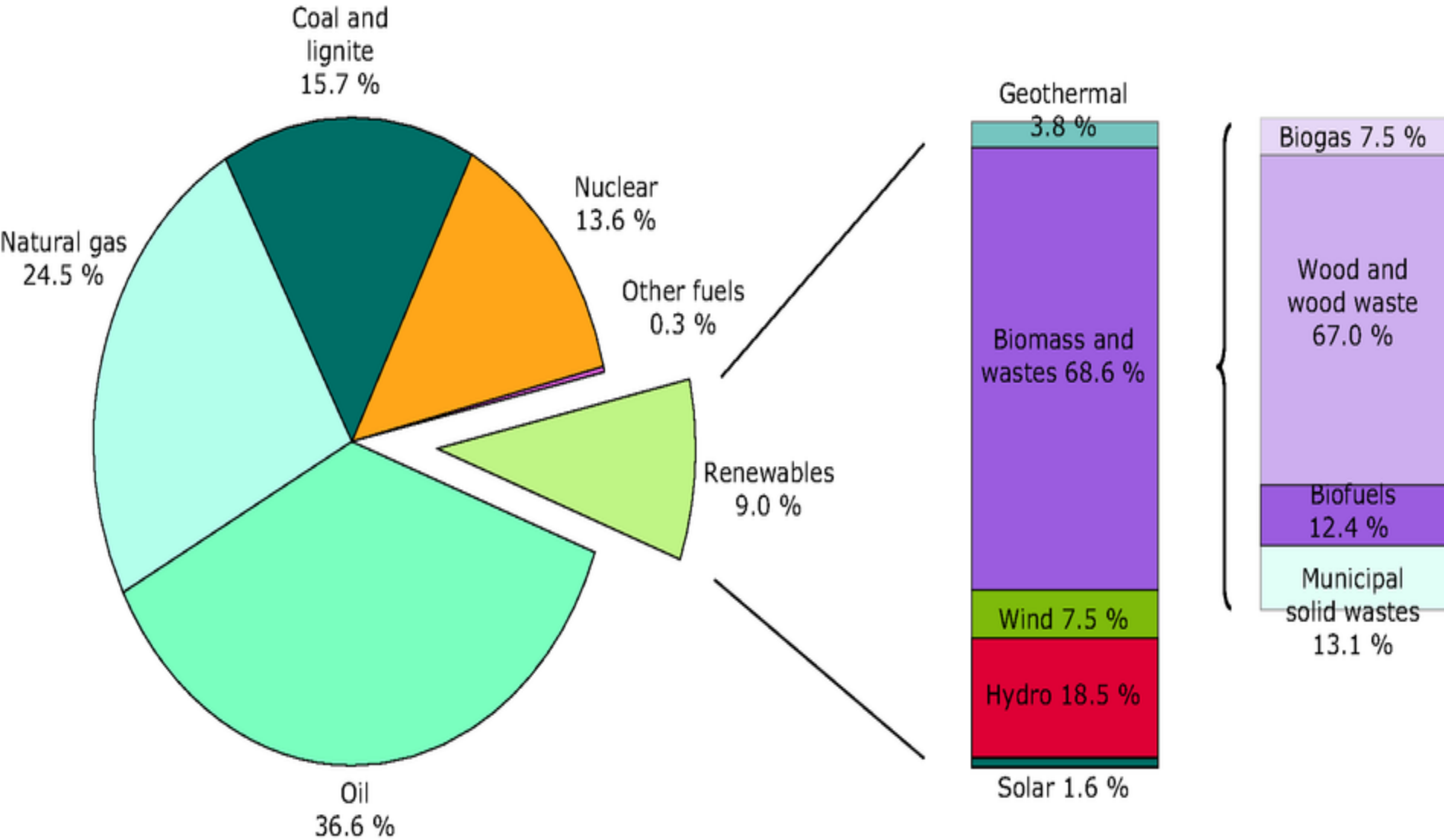
# NATO enlargement

- 1991 NACC (North Atlantic Cooperation Council)
- 1994 Partnership for Peace
- 1997 NACC → EAPC (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council)
- 1997 Madrid summit – invitation to join NATO (CZ, PL, HU)
- 1997 NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council
- 1999 First enlargement
- 2002 NATO Russia Council
- 2004 Second enlargement
- 2009 Third enlargement

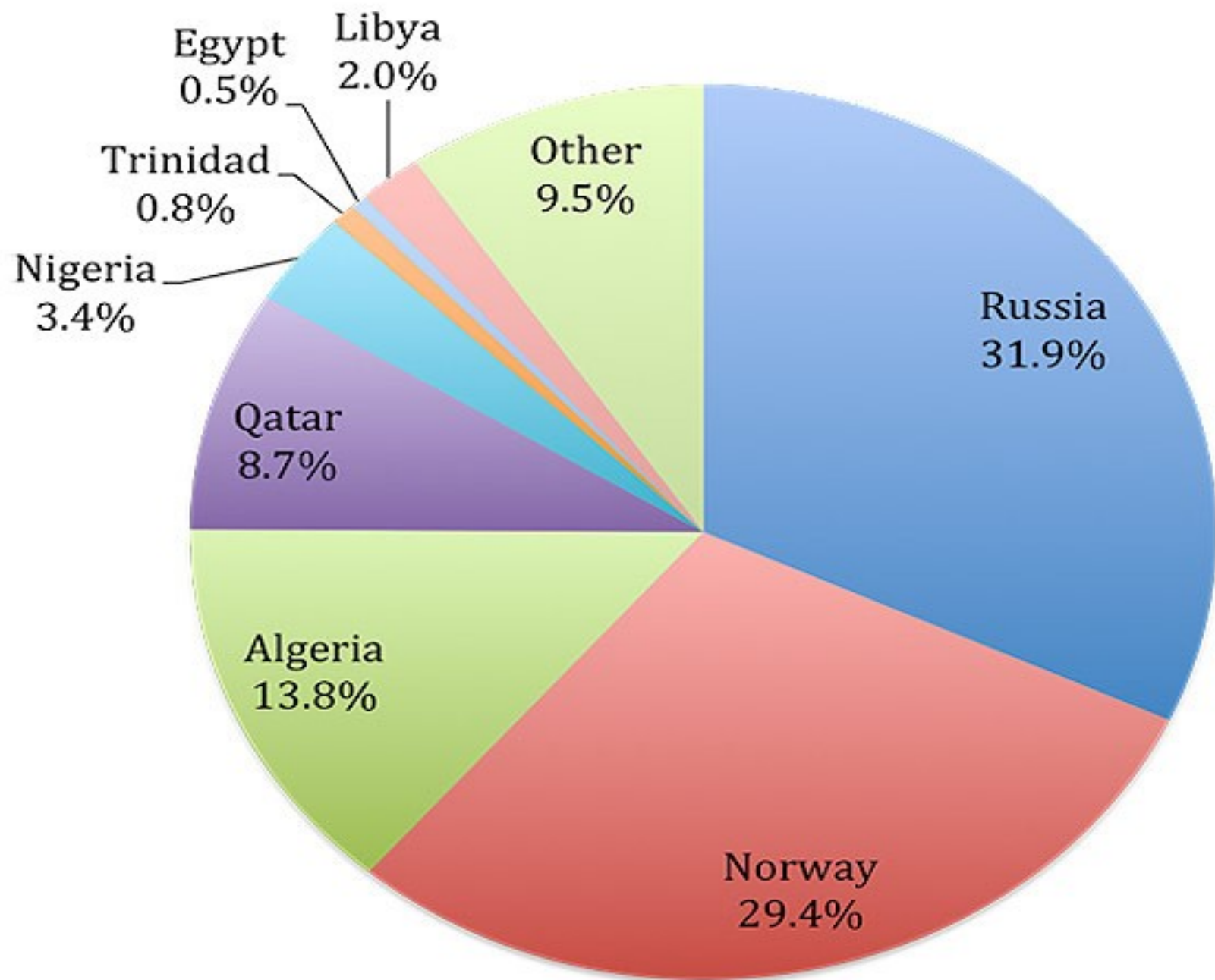




# EU energy sources, 2009

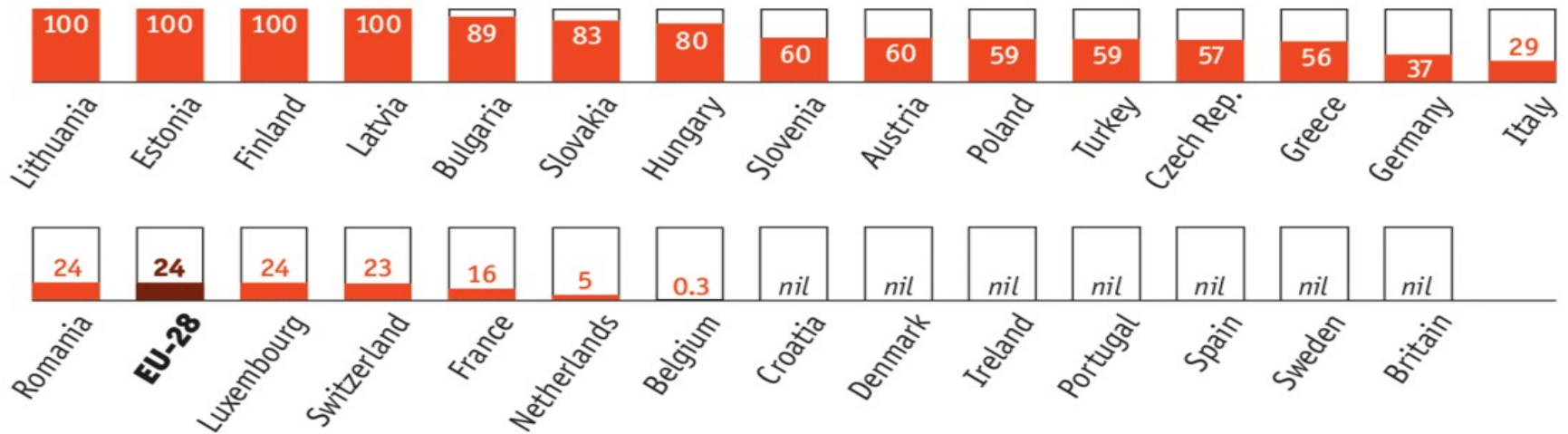


# EU Natural gas imports by country of origin (2012)



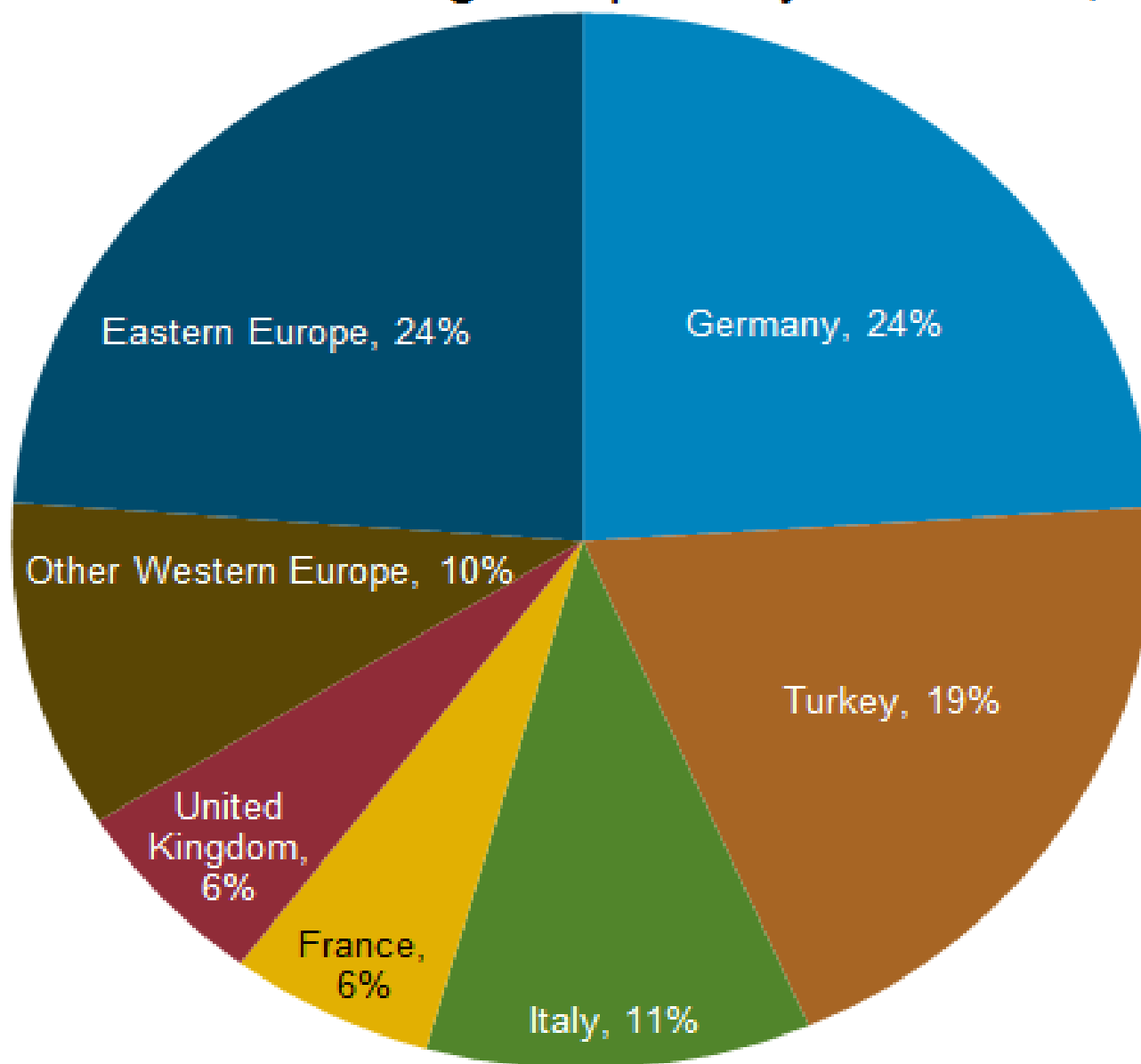


Gas supplied by Russia, % of total, 2012

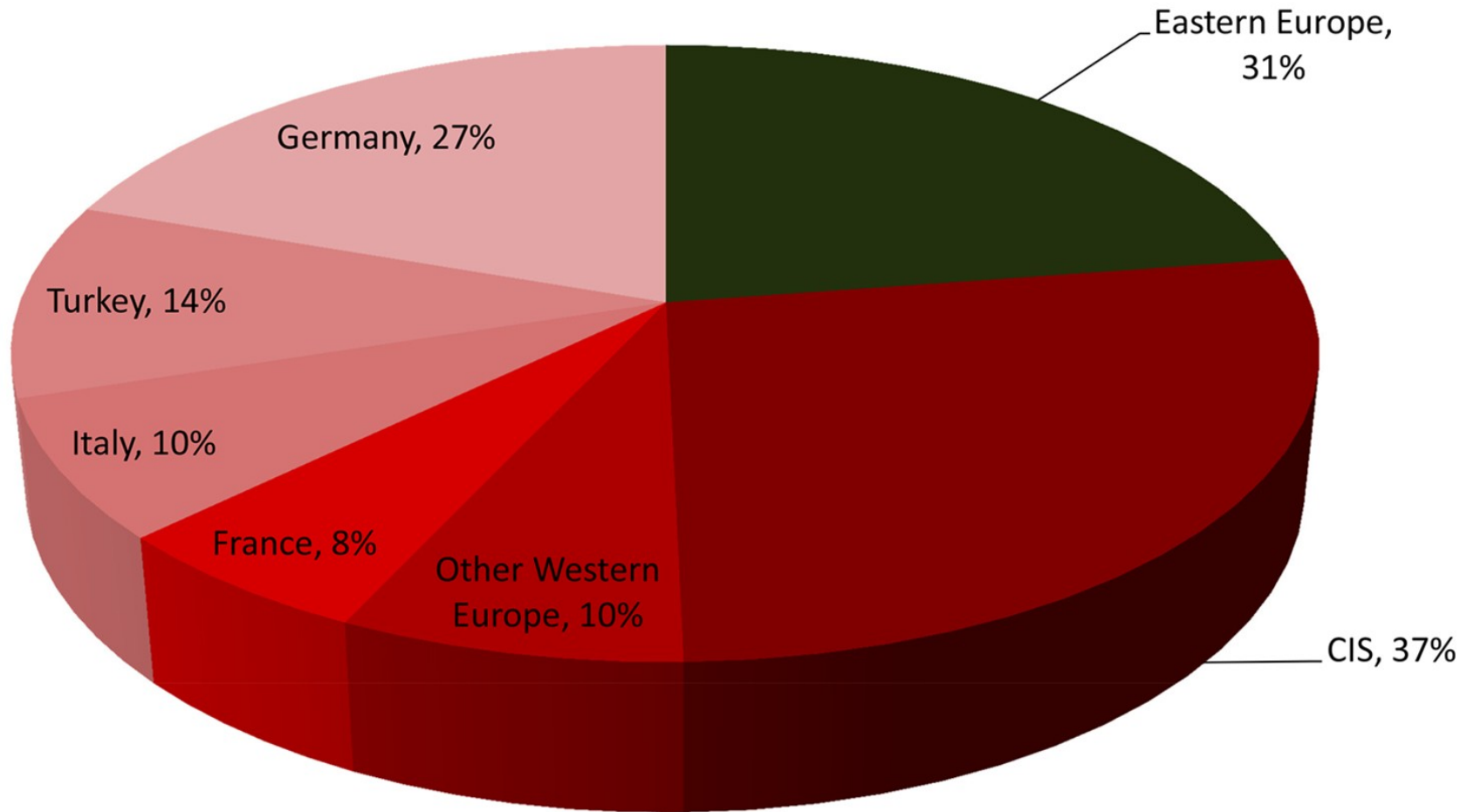


Source: Eurogas

## Share of Russia's natural gas exports by destination, 2012

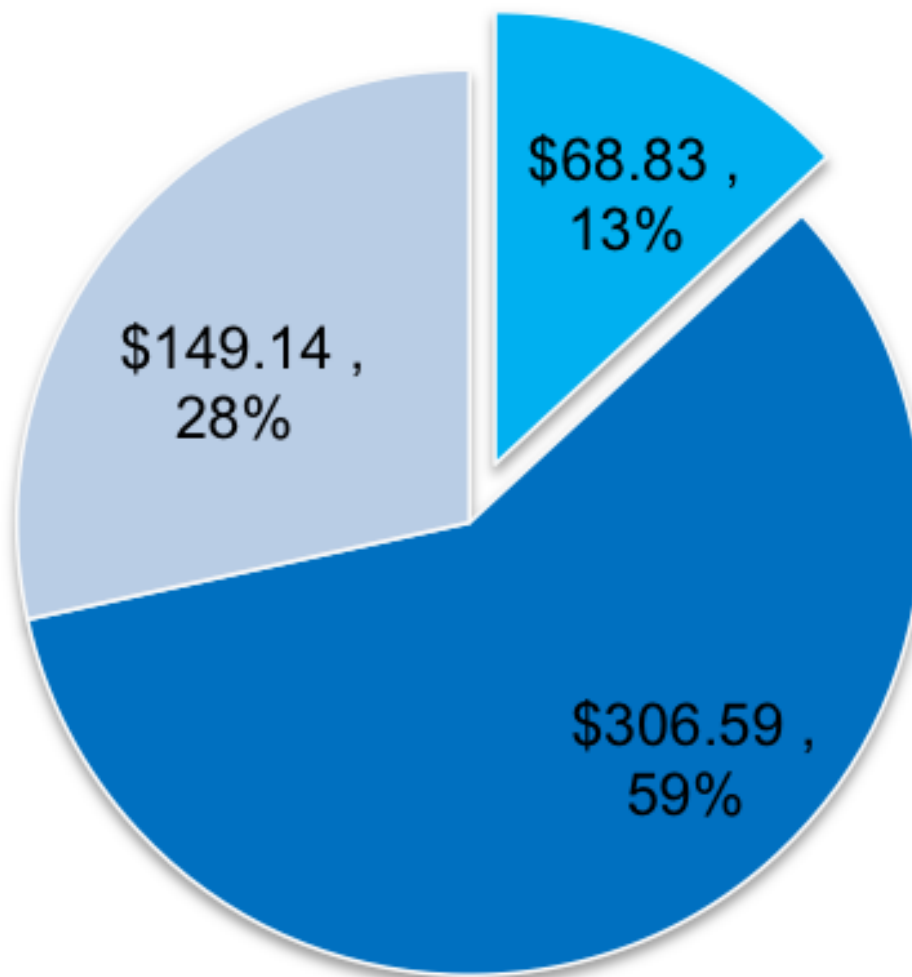


# Share of Russia's Natural Gas Exports by Destination



## Russian Exports, 2012 (billions USD)

■ Petroleum gases ■ Oil and associated products (less gases) ■ Rest of Exports



Source: United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database

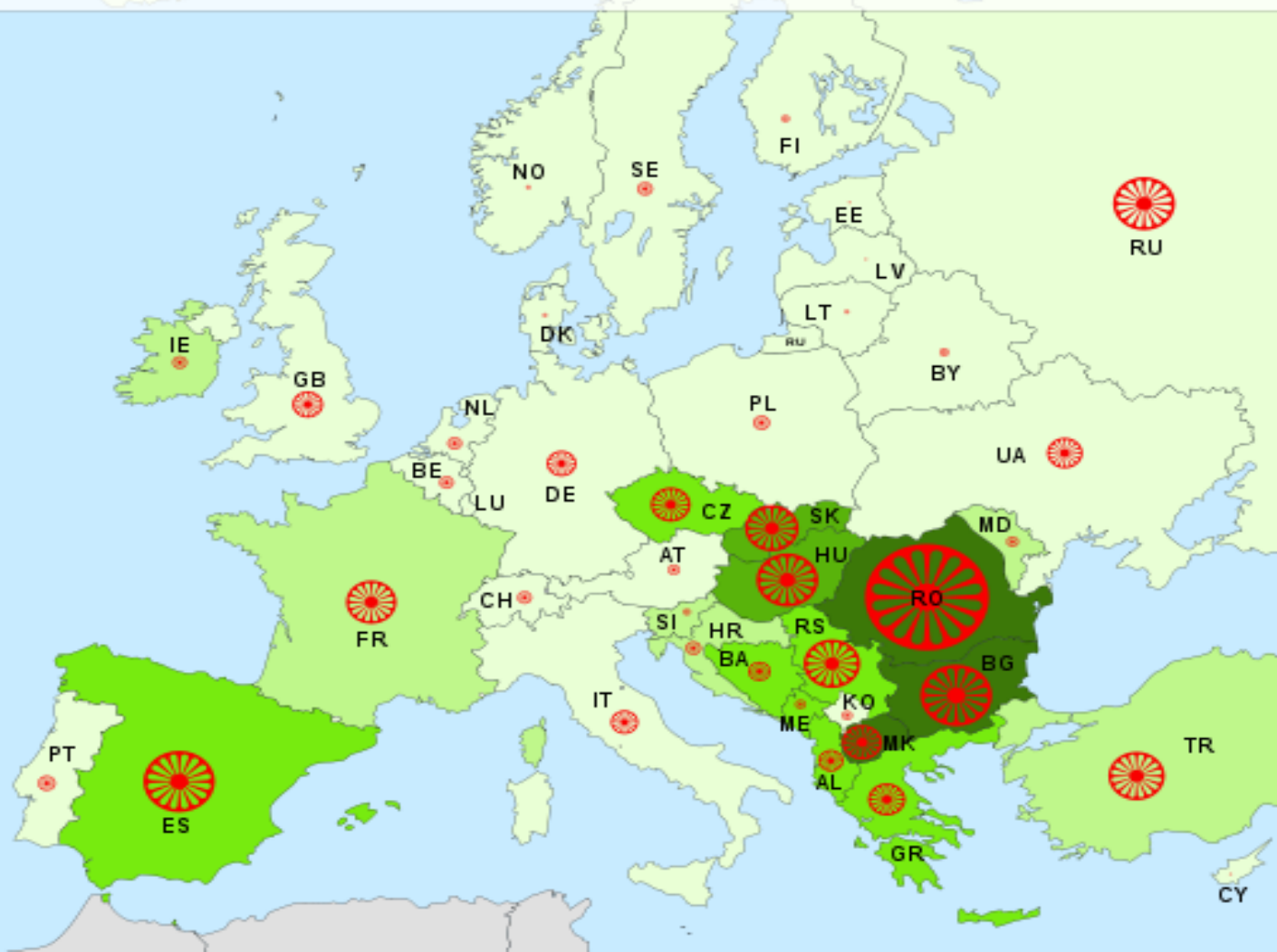
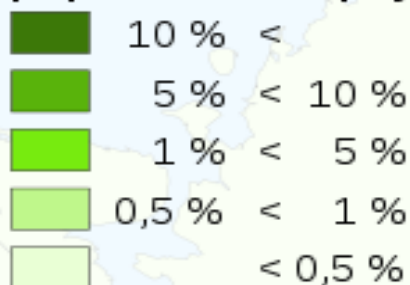
# Les Roms en Europe en 2007

Estimation haute  
Total : 9 175 000

Nombre de Roms par pays (en milliers)



Part des Roms dans la population des pays



AL	Albanie	100 000
AT	Autriche	25 000
BA	Bosnie-Herzégovine	80 000
BE	Belgique	35 000
BG	Bulgarie	800 000
BY	Biélorussie	15 000
CH	Suisse	35 000
CY	Chypre	1 500
CZ	Tchéquie	250 000
DE	Allemagne	140 000
DK	Danemark	4 000
EE	Estonie	1 500
ES	Espagne	800 000
FI	Finlande	12 000
FR	France	400 000
GB	Royaume-Uni	150 000
GR	Grèce	220 000
HR	Croatie	40 000
HU	Hongrie	600 000
IE	Irlande	35 000
IT	Italie	120 000
KO	Kosovo	20 000
LT	Lituanie	4 000
LU	Luxembourg	150
LV	Lettonie	8 000
MD	Moldavie	25 000
ME	Monténégro	20 000
MK	Macédoine	250 000
NL	Pays-Bas	35 000
NO	Norvège	4 000
PL	Pologne	45 000
PT	Portugal	50 000
RO	Roumanie	2 400 000
RS	Serbie	500 000
RU	Russie	600 000
SE	Suède	40 000
SI	Slovénie	10 000
SK	Slovaquie	450 000
TR	Turquie	500 000
UA	Ukraine	200 000