

University of Economics, Prague  
Faculty of International Relations  
Research Plan

## The 16th International

# Conference of Young Scholars

**Crucial Problems of International Relations  
through the Eyes of Young Scholars**

**„Actors and Actorness in International  
Relations: States and Their Discontents“**

**Electronic Conference Proceedings – Abstracts**

edited by Jana Tůmová



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF YOUNG SCHOLARS IN PRAGUE



2012

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Faculty of International Relations  
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Relations: States and Their Discontents“**

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2012

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XVI. International Conference of Young Scholars

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*The authors of the abstracts are responsible for the content and grammatical correctness of their texts.*

*This publication has been issued with the support of the IGS VŠE and is an integral part of the project “Crucial problems of International Relations through the Eyes of Young Scholars”, grant number F2/21/2012*

*ISBN: 978-80-245-1879-4*



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## FOREWORD

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The presented Electronic Proceedings - Collection of Abstracts (CP) is devoted to the outline of pressing issues of current International Affairs. It is one of the outputs of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Young Scholars in Prague, which was held on 25th May 2012.

The Conference, traditionally organised by the Ph.D. students of the Jan Masaryk Centre of International Studies at the UEP, is an event which has taken place since 1997. Each year, the organising team of the conference tried to address various aspects of International Affairs. This year's conference focus was on „Actors and Actorness in International Relations: States and their Discontents“. The programme of the Conference was prepared and supervised by the Programme Committee under the patronage of CEEISA (Central and East European International Studies Association).

The Conference was divided into three sections: „Statehood in times of political and economic turmoils: Decline or rebirth“ (thematic focus defined by doc. Petr Kratochvíl), „Actorness that shapes contemporary world politics“ (thematic focus defined by Radka Druláková, Ph.D.) and „Non-state entities in IR: an enduring challenge“ (thematic focus defined by Štěpánka Zemanová, Ph.D.). The papers in the first section explored the key question of whether sovereign states could still be considered the basic units of world politics, or whether the Westphalian model of international relations gave way to alternative arrangements. The second section's thematic focus was on the type of actorness of different international actors; the papers presented explored both actors' priorities and instruments they use. The main focus of the papers in the third section was on the role of non-state actors' power in the international politics. The papers explored non-state actors' relevance and impact both in particular regions and worldwide, mainly at the state level of analysis.

The abstracts that form this Electronic Proceedings - Collection of Abstracts (CP) - have undergone selection procedure where there was assessed both their thematic relevance to the outlined sections of the Conference and their academic quality. The selection was carried out by some members of the Programme Committee, namely by Radka Druláková, Ph.D., Štěpánka Zemanová, Ph.D. and doc. Petr Kratochvíl. The authors were invited to the conference based on this first round selection. Only the abstracts of the conference attendees were eligible to be published in this CP.

On behalf of all the participants of the conference and authors of the selected published abstracts, the editor of this CP feels obliged to acknowledge great support from the Programme Committee members as well as Hard Copy Conference Proceedings editors, who participated on the CP preparation or completion process.

The editor of CP also feels obliged to acknowledge the financial support provided by IGA VŠE (Grant Agency of the University of Economics, Prague), grant number F2/21/2012: Crucial problems of International Relations through the Eyes of Young Scholars. Other sponsors and supporters of the conference were Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Central and East European International Studies Association, Centre of European Studies, The Academic Council of the United Nations System and Czech United Nations Association.

Special thanks go to all colleagues, who participated in the proof-reading and formatting of this CP.

JANA TŮMOVÁ (CP Editor: VŠE - FMV, SMSJM)

## JAN MASARYK CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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The Centre was founded in 1991 and was named in the honour of distinguished Czech diplomat and the first Czechoslovak minister of the Foreign Affairs after the WWII – Jan Masaryk (September 14, 1886 – March 10, 1948). The Centre specializes on issues ranging from International Politics, International Law, International Economic Relations, Diplomacy, Global and European integration to the role of the Czech Republic in the international framework.

The Centre participates in research activities in the International Affairs field. The research is carried out either through cooperation with other domestic or foreign research institutions or by carrying out individual research projects. The research activities of the Centre are mainly focused on the current problematic of International Relations, International and European Security and the Cultural Dimension of the International Relations.

The Centre is a member or partner to many international associations. It cooperates with Diplomatic Academies such as Diplomatic Academy in London and Vienna; it is a partner school to the International Affairs Network. It is also the founding member of the Central and East International Studies Association (CEEISA).

# BEROUN VLADIMÍR (ASEM: INTERREGIONALISM AND PREVENTION)\*

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**University of Economics, Prague**

With reference to intensified Eurasian interregional cooperation, my paper will investigate the implications of recent developments in both EU policy towards Asia as well as slowly but surely shaping common Asian policy towards the EU. The core aim of the paper is to analyse new perspectives of interregional preventive cooperation in the light of post-crisis development and currently prevailing G2-view on international relations.

The paper further strives to describe basic conclusions of the recent 8th ASEM Summit hosted by Belgium in Brussels in October 2010. With special emphasis on security pillar of ASEM, the paper seeks to address recent progress and angles in mutual interregional cooperation. Essential interests of Europe and Asia will thus be defined based on their official document and assessment of their interests. However, the paper goes beyond pure causal theoretical approaches in favour of a more normative method, which helps analyse the specific contribution of interregionalism to preventive diplomacy.

The first chapter is about to focus on basic theoretical contours of interregional dialogue across three different regions. Specific security challenges will then be evaluated through the optics of selected preventive and strategic approaches. The paper concludes that the notion of more effective regional cooperative governance is an open force for peace, balance, stability, respect, prosperity, social development and further cohesion. The need for more result-oriented initiatives to strengthen the comprehensive, equal and mutually beneficial Asia-Europe strategic partnership is also becoming a vital necessity to face common emerging world challenges and imbalances in international relations.

Keywords: ASEM, interregionalism, Triad, prevention, security

\*This paper has been prepared within the framework of the IGA VŠE FMV and is an integral part of the project "The prevention of conflict as a way to achieving security? (Prevence konfliktů jako cesta k zajištění bezpečnosti?) ", grant number IG212022.

## BOHÁČIKOVÁ MICHAELA (FISCAL COMPACT: TIME FOR NATION-STATE'S LAST WILL?)

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### University of Matej Bel

Since the very beginning of the European integration project we have witnessed a gradual shift from a state-centric view of international relations with a nation-state being perceived as a key actor to a post-Westphalian system characterized by various regional integrations of which the most important is the EU itself.

In trade matters, the EU is currently one of the most influential actors in the world. With a population of half a billion people, a GDP of approximately a quarter of the world's GDP and a total of 20 percent of world imports and exports, the EU is rightfully called an economic giant. Since the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU represents the highest stage in the EU integration process, one may argue that the euro moved the EU towards even more unified federation.

Given that several countries of the EU's periphery failed to meet both the Maastricht and the Stability and Growth Pact criteria, the EU and the Euro Area now face a sovereign debt crisis of its Member States. Dealing with the consequences of this unprecedented crisis once again challenges the very core of the national sovereignty.

In the margins of the European Council meeting on 1st and 2nd March 2012, 25 European leaders signed the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG); also known as the Fiscal Compact. The TSCG may be considered a last significant step towards the EU as a supranational entity; since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force. The TSCG is aimed at strengthening fiscal discipline and introducing stricter surveillance within the Euro Area, in particular by establishing a balanced budget rule". The TSCG, however, is a treaty outside the European Law framework, which means it avoided the revision of any of the European Treaties.

As the EU moves towards the fiscal union, which is one step closer to the full political integration, the 25 EU Member States de facto agreed on loss of sovereignty of all fiscal sinners. The other two EU countries; the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom, opted out the legally binding treaty by keeping national independence in fiscal matters, thus creating a sort of counterbalance to the closer European integration.

The question arises as whether the further development in the light of the current economic crisis would bring solutions solely associated with the growth in supranationality or the nation-states continue to play a significant role and remain an equal partner to the newly emerged actors in the post-Westphalian model.

# BOHATOVÁ MARTINA (SMALL STATE AS SPECIFIC ACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

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## University of Economics, Prague

Whereas big states are usually considered as interesting for closer study because of their potential to influence international system, smaller attention is devoted to small states. Nevertheless, it does not mean that small states are not interesting for further studies and that they are incapable to take part on international affairs. Sweden can be taken as the state which is – without any doubts - small according to objective criteria but which rejects to be taken as the object of international relations. On the contrary, Sweden is considered as the country which tries to play the role of active subject. This allegation can be confirmed by observing the governmental statements on foreign policy which are published regularly in February.

Although the foreign policy of small states is perceived as adhering to ground dealing with regional topics only, it is obviously not the Swedish case. Statements of Governmental Policy sound very ambitious and give the impression that Sweden does not care only for regional matters but tries to act globally to make the world better place for living. What topics Sweden deals exactly with and what causes that Sweden has such ambitions which are typical of super powers?

This article tries to find responses to these questions through detailed analysis of Statements of Governmental Policy for the last 10 years – i. e. period from 2002 to 2011. Hopefully, detailed analysis of governmental statements about foreign policy could reveal similarities which occur often and across the statements. These similarities could be maybe categorized and showed more clearly which topics Sweden deals continuously with, where and how the country presents itself outwardly and, in addition, explain why Sweden is often perceived as the significant part of international community. Perhaps, the analysis of statements through longer period of time helps to define the value that forms the opinion that Sweden can serve as the model state for the rest of the world.

Key words: Sweden, small state, foreign policy, the United Nations, the European Union, neutrality

# BÖTTCHER IVO (CHALLENGES AND ADDED VALUE INTEGRATING VOLUNTARY AND TECHNICAL COMMUNITIES INTO EXISTING INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN SYSTEMS)

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## **Harvard Humanitarian Initiative & Leibniz University of Hannover**

The information revolution of the 21st century and the increasing number of informal actors have caused seismic shifts in the international humanitarian disaster response. Having allowed thousands of citizens around the world to collaborate in voluntary and technical communities (V&TCs) led to never-before-seen information support. During the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, where over 85% of the population has mobile phones, these new communities analyzed data from the affected population in nearly real-time. Unfortunately, the international humanitarian efforts were not able to use all the information provided by V&TCs during the earthquake.

The new two-way communication with the affected population is a great opportunity but also poses a challenge. Challenges for traditional and new actors include security, structure, information overload, limited capacities, language/translation as well as reliability, accountability and consistency. One way to attempt to solve these problems is to integrate V&TCs into the existing international humanitarian system and to focus on the added value of integration. This paper is a case study of the Standby Task Force (SBTF), a worldwide V&TC, with focus on its capacity building and integration. I will interview representatives from V&TCs and the traditional system from a natural disaster (2010 Haiti earthquake) and a man-made disaster (2011 Libya civil war). The analytical approach will focus on their interdependence in the sense of system theories. This work is the product of six months' research at the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and the United Nations Headquarters in Geneva.

Further integration and institutionalization of V&TCs into the traditional humanitarian system can strengthen the quality and delivery of information in disaster response. A model for this integration is planned to provide enough space for keeping the innovation and flexibility of V&TCs, but have UN play the leading role in uniting both actors. Information as aid itself is meant to change disaster and crisis management in the 21st century profoundly.

# BEENA BUTOOL SYEDA (DILEMMAS OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: PAKISTANI RESPONSES TO THE AFPAK POLICY)

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**IBA, Karachi**

This study takes an in-depth view of the indigenous Pakistani perspectives over the ongoing war against terror inside Afghanistan and Pakistan. The scope of this study encapsulates the development of Pakistan's argument in response to an AfPak strategy which this author claims, is dominated by realist precepts. This study first juxtaposes the American argument with the precepts of realism and then gives coverage to the responses it has received on Pakistan's end, both at official as well as peoples' level. The methodology employed includes both the archival approach as well as interviews based on purposive sampling.

## GYELNÍK TEODOR (EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE NEW STATE?)

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### Comenius University in Bratislava

There have been heavy discussions that the state loses its grounds through various (post)modern processes, such as globalization, integration, interdependence and/or the rise of non-state actors. If we accept the idea of the disappearance of the state”, we need to make a step beyond, and ask a question: what kind of institutional structure will be put into its place?” ‘Market’ often appears as a possible answer, i.e. to organize the structure of the state around the market principles. ‘Sandy Spring’ and/or ‘Milton’, as contract cities”, figure as the new prototypes or ‘Green Zones’, where the public/government tasks are pushed into the domain of the market.

Nevertheless, the market is unjust, insensitive and functions on the idea of eternal growth. It opens huge internal antagonisms which are unsolvable through the frames of profit orientation. Think about the heavy ecological crisis and the tragedy of commons” (Garret Hardin), the inappropriate use of private property, techno-scientific developments and the question who takes the responsibility for the technological-industrial side effects (Ulrich Beck) or new forms of apartheid (Slavoj Žižek, Naomi Klein).

Moreover, the cyclical crisis of the market/capitalism, the evident economical failure since 2008, freefall, as Joseph Stiglitz calls it, demonstrate that the market function on bubbles and fictions. Subsequently, wars, ‘new imperialism’ as David Harvey labels it, or enormous state interventions are/were needed to save it. What we need instead of the market is a new social contract” between the state and the economy. The rise of enormous inequality, the emergence of the underclass”, as Brunkhorst describes the new layer, is ‘systemic output’ for the heavy need of the new social democratic state. What needs to be changed is not the ontological dimension of the state, but to take into account the ‘evolution of international society’ with social approach. To emphasize a ‘new deal’ is extremely important after the decades of economic genocide”, but is it simply inappropriate. The ‘new state’ needs to react to the crisis of legitimacy and/or to the idea of republican non-domination (David Held, James Bohman, Jens Bartelson, James Rosenau).

Furthermore, the ‘new state’ needs to react to the rise of post-colonial awareness at the time of ‘intellectual revolution’, when the subaltern regions demand intellectual space for their own historical/cultural consciousness, when they try to define themselves outside of Western context, we need to rediscover the new architecture of governance/state through the prism of post-colonial approach and to bypass the powerful Western logocentrism and Western ‘philosophical allergy’ (Emmanuel Lévinas).

## HOLAS PETR (IS STILL SECURITY EXCLUSIVE ISSUE OF STATES? LATIN AMERICAN CASE)

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### **University of Economics, Prague**

In my paper I would like to provide an answer to the question whether the security still remains exclusive issue of states. Due to the regional differences I will analyze only the situation in Latin America. In political science, security is considered to be one of the reasons which led to the formation of states (basically in the theory of the social contract). Also in the sphere of economics/public finance, security is perceived as one of the key Raison d'État (one of the purest examples of the public goods).

There are two groups of reasons to cede state sovereignty to other actors. The first group I call rational (reason of cession is based on a lack of resources, generally financial), the second group I call ideological (there is no need to cession, but is made by purely political decision).

I distinguish between two dimensions of cessions of sovereignty: horizontal and vertical. Horizontal cession is the cession of sovereignty in security matters to other state. This cession could be made directly or indirectly by organization which is controlled by one state or small group of member states. There could be two directions of sovereignty cession in the vertical dimension. One of them is cession of sovereignty to an upper level to some multinational organism where all states can participate in decision making. In the opposite direction there is so called privatization of security.

We can speak about the privatization of external security (private companies hired as soldiers in military conflicts) and also about the privatization of internal security which is more linked with Latin America (private security companies in Latin America are the most armed ones and have the largest weapons arsenals in the world).

# HOŘEJŠOVÁ TEREZA (THE PROBLEMATIC IDENTIFICATION WITH THE EU AND THE ROLE OF STATEHOOD: THE CASE OF DENMARK)

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## **Charles University in Prague**

Denmark is considered as one of the leading Eurosceptic countries in the European Union. This perception emanates particularly from the fact that it has four opt-outs from EU co-operation, three of them in very significant areas of European integration (justice and home affairs, euro and parts of Common Foreign and Security Policy).

Although the Danish population is – in general – very positive to the process of European integration (see Eurobarometer results), it has got significant reservations to the political and supranational unification which has been continuously perceived as a threat to Danish statehood, nation-state and national identity. This paper is trying to assess the factors, which are characteristic for Danish Euroscepticism. It seeks an answer to a question whether certain national specifics pre-determine the Danish” version of Euroscepticism. In previous research, it has not been very common to analyse national versions” of public Euroscepticism but the current academic knowledge about this phenomenon is still not satisfactory and in particular does not take into account the tender nuances in demonstration and origins of Euroscepticism of each member state.

The qualitative analysis of this paper leads us to believe that in the case of Denmark, the national specifics, which have been identified as strong perception of national identity, referenda, EU opt-outs, specific political system and a formalised co-ordination system of EU affairs, serve as roots of Danish Euroscepticism. To understand this phenomenon by acknowledging the national characteristics and specifics may contribute to a more nuanced analysis of the hurdles and unwillingness of further European integration by individual member states.

## JENÍČKOVÁ MARTINA (EU AS AN ATTRACTIVE ACTOR? ANALYSIS OF LATIN-AMERICAN MEDIA)

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### **University of Economics, Prague**

The paper proceeds from the concept of actorness of the EU designed by Petr Kratochvíl et al. It focuses on dimension of EU's attractiveness and on the comparison of the EU and Latin-American integration blocs on both political and academic level.

It examines whether Latin-American media consider the EU as a model for Latin-American integration. In the paper there was carried out the analysis of the articles published by Argentinean La Nación and Colombian El Tiempo. Two basic questions were tested: (1) if these daily newspapers perceive the EU as a source of inspiration for own integration, (2) if and how the discourse differs in the two blocs and if it is possible to deduce general conclusions from this.

The paper concludes that some inspiration by the EU in the media perspective exists but is only limited to a few concrete areas.

## KLUSÁK MIROSLAV (CONCEPT OF SOCIAL COHESION IN THE EU POLICY. EU RESPONSE TO TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND GLOBALIZATION)

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**University of Economics, Prague**

Drawing upon an assumption that emphasizes the importance of social cohesion for each organized political community, this paper tries to assess how a sociological concept – social cohesion – has been mobilized and modified by the EU.

Social cohesion concept exists simultaneously in two discourses: political and academic. The term borrowed from sociological and political science was in early seventies used in policy driven EU discourse. The concept was originally used within economic context. It was gradually modified and incorporated in EU's broader discourse of integration and social policy.

The two discourses (political and academic) exist separately, and in certain form continue to influence each other. It is argued that actual definition of this concept is result of pragmatic and functional choice and that EU's concept of social cohesion (always) follows the current stage of the EU project and is a response to the technological progress and globalization.

Key words: social inclusion, integration, social exclusion, EU, social policy.

# KNOTKOVÁ VLADIMÍRA (NGOS AND REGIME CHANGE: CASE STUDY OF FOREIGN NGOS AND NORTH KOREA)

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**University of Economics, Prague**

According to some views non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become important and thanks to modern forms of communications (Internet, social networks etc.) also increasingly influential actors of international relations. From a regional perspective, role of NGOs in the Western world has been quite thoroughly analyzed. The same applies to their role in democratic countries. In recent years the role of NGOs in non-democratic regimes and in regime change has been discussed more and more, following thus the new developments for example in the Arab world.

However, the question is whether to become actors of international relations NGOs today need the modern infrastructure, i.e. access to the Internet and Web 2.0, interdependence and open borders. The aim of the paper is therefore to analyze the role of NGOs in relation to one of the most secluded and isolated states in the world – North Korea. North Korea is often considered one of the most totalitarian and secretive states in the world. In addition to being supposedly unpredictable in its foreign policy the state (i.e. the ruling Korean Workers Party) controls nearly every aspect of life of its citizens. As a result no actual domestic NGOs exist in North Korea. Nevertheless, foreign NGOs have become interested in North Korea in particular since mid 1990s because of the famine resulting in a humanitarian catastrophe.

The premise of the paper is that despite the attempted isolation from the outside world and lack of modern infrastructure foreign NGOs might influence North Korea and potentially subvert its regime in three ways: 1) by informing and influencing the foreign public, 2) by informing and influencing the domestic public in North Korea, 3) by working with North Koreans in North Korea and North Korean refugees abroad. The paper however discusses also the accusations that instead of supporting regime change some foreign NGOs might actually support the regime, in particular through their humanitarian work.

## KOBELKOVÁ LUCIE (THE UN TOWARDS COLLECTIVE SECURITY: STATE SOVEREIGNTY VS. GLOBAL GOVERNANCE)\*

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### **University of Economics, Prague**

This paper is concerned with the development in global security system with UN as one of its key actor and changing concept of state sovereignty.

At the beginning, paper describes the changes in structure and security matters of the international system after the end of the Cold War. State actors originally thought that their best interests were served by absolute sovereignty and complete freedom in the choice of policy. Given the impact of changing security issues, communication and other technologies, states may be in the process of learning that their interests would be better served by greater international cooperation.

Main part of the paper examines the approach of the United Nations and world's leading powers towards collective security and tackles the issue of national interests in global security matters. Are the states legally free to make war, violate human rights, neglect the welfare of citizens, and damage the ecology? Paper analyses a switch from traditional concept of sovereignty as authority to sovereignty as a responsibility and tries to determine to which extend do the member countries compromise on their sovereignty and national interests within the UN system.

Conclusion of this paper points out that collective security requires collective actions which can be provided only by common cooperation of the countries, sometimes even with compromising on states interests. The United Nations had shown its capability of being an important tool of multilateral diplomacy; however, common political will is necessary to reach deeper cooperation among member states and increase effectiveness and credibility of this global inter-governmental organization.

\*This paper has been prepared within the framework of the IGA VŠE FMV and is an integral part of the project "The prevention of conflict as a way to achieving security? (Prevenční konfliktů jako cesta k zajištění bezpečnosti?)", grant number IG212022.

## KREISZ BRIGITTA (ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE IN THE CHANGING EUROPEAN PUBLIC LEGAL FRAME)

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**Pázmány Péter Catholic University Faculty of Law and Political Sciences**

Since the explosion of the crisis in 2008 it became a significant point in the agenda of the European administration to strengthen the structures of European economic governance. Within this framework the institutions of the European Union are working on building out of – new and/or renewed - public legal administrative structures and mechanisms which are vitally based on the Member States level but – considering its essence - exceed it, and in virtue of their comprehensive and coherent nature are able to insure sustainable operation of the financial relationships.

The establishment of the European System of Financial Supervision was the first step of this comprehensive reform procedure which was carried out in the light of the recognition that to get operated the cross-border financial relationships instead of coordinating them with the tools of private law special public institutional and regulative framework is needed with effective rights and mechanisms deriving from the empowerment of a special public regime.

As it was pointed out by the crisis, it is the challenge of the future to establish the public legal structures through which it is possible to get operated financial relationships effectively i.e. long-run and stable. Considering the characteristics of the financial relationships which are able to create multi-dimensional and complex connections, financial law should be suitable to frame and describe the functioning of such complex systems and mark out the intersections in their regulation.

# LAME VLADIMIR (THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES OF COMMUNICATION AND THE IR DISCIPLINE)

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## **Kristal University**

Nowadays “doing international relations” can be influenced by the increase of the use of new media and new technologies. IR discipline it is changing the way of perception of the professional identities.

Blogger, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Wikipedia have their influence on our professional activities, the discipline itself. It is very interesting to have a debate on the ways in which our own roles and identities as IR scholars have evolved since the advent of “Web 2.0”. An important argument that makes well considered the use of new media technologies of the communication will be outweighing the costs.

I will be focused on two types of new media particularly relevant to the practice and the profession of IR: blogs and social networking sites.

The speed of delivering of information between researchers and being in a large community in the same time can be the second argument used among IR professionals. New social networks are encouraging online interactions about research ideas and are seen as a form of political activism too. Online relationships among students, professors, young scholars and devoted researchers are very productive on maintaining professional relationships.

We have seen an increase of social science blogs very influential on IR studies and on research ideas about the different explanations of the new events on the international arena.

The successful results of weblogs have given the authors the possibility for alternative publications and to be promoted and criticized in a short time. Weblogs are seen also as a way of exchange of views regarding international politics. Terrorist groups, authoritarian regimes, international organizations are using new technologies of communications for their own interests. This new development suggest the importance of new media to many of the conventional functions associated with the national security state, as well as domestic and trans-national state-society relations.

# LAZAR NORA KATA (THE CHANGING ROLE OF CRIMINAL GROUPS AND TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY)

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## **University of Szeged**

The presence of criminal groups and terrorist organizations is not new in international relations, even though their roles have changed in the 21st century. While these non-state entities existed in the 20th century as well, their characteristics have changed significantly by the millennium and a new type of terrorism emerged: the so-called 'new terrorism'.

New terrorist groups work in a trans-national manner, with a different organizational structure, new goals and new means. These criminal and terrorist organizations receive greater financing, their members get better training and they want to achieve new objectives. Their aim is not only to attract attention, but also to eliminate a number of - possibly civilian - victims. The structure of these groups also went through a change: new terrorist organizations work in loose units and do not rely on one leader or state, making it difficult to infiltrate their organization or even find them. While these groups mostly relied on one state in the 1970s and 1980s, they are now independent of states and their activities - just like their aims - have become trans-national. The most dangerous characteristic of new terrorism is that instead of the previously used bombs, grenades and handheld weapons, weapons of mass destruction can also get in the hands of these groups. This can happen primarily because of the possibilities that have opened up through globalization and the revolution of information technology.

This shift in motive, organizational form and working methods has brought many difficulties to the international community. Criminal groups and terrorist organizations represent a threat to several states, disregarding national borders and the civilian population. To combat these non-state entities, states cannot work alone, they need to cooperate internationally to overcome this challenge of the 21st century.

# LOVAS DORA (ARE TRANS-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNATIONAL (HUMAN) RIGHTS VIOLATIONS?)

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## University of Vienna

Discussing the consequences of infringements of human rights as an effect of business of trans-national corporations accompanied by the case study Chevron vs. Ecuador

Trans-national corporations (TNCs) have great impact in many areas of life while acting on an international level, although in a legal view TNCs are not subjects of international law, but near to this legal determined position.

To cut a long story short and leave the more detailed explanations to be subject of my paper it can be said that TNCs are quasi subjects of international law, and as a quasi subject trans-national corporations have to face certain problems which occur from acting on international level. Problems, for instance, those are coming from the company's philosophy on treatment of human rights issues, or from contracts signed with the guest state and other international matters of facts. Finally, all these conflicts end up at the question of international responsibility. An explanation for this can be found in the differences of legal status of states and corporations: In the case a state infringes certain international rights state responsibility is an effect. If any TNC infringes international rights, like human rights what happens?

Related to the question of responsibility of corporations the violation of human rights is one of the most common (or the most explosive) legal interferences a TNC induces in the territory of the guest state, where conflicts takes place. So how does the international community (like scholars...) handles international responsibility of trans-national corporations – and what exactly is the problem with the question of responsibility?

At this point I would like to work out the details in a case study handling the case of Chevron against Ecuador. The case got out of hand in a big law suit, which lasts for two decades by now and shows the impact of corporations in human rights in daily life and gives some empirical ground for the theoretical legal questions discussed above.

To conclude my paper I am going to end up with the legal consequences of trans-national corporate responsibility - if there are any - which would lead back to the point: how to handle international (human rights) responsibility of TNCs?

# MAKAREWICZ-MARCINKIEWICZ AGNIESZKA (NATION-STATE'S ROLE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY)

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## **Poznań University of Life Sciences**

The article deals with social and economic dimension of exclusion concerning nation-states underprivileged in trans-national economic processes and their strategies, which are meant to restore the equilibrium as far as the profit is concerned. Effective equilibrium strategy should refer to the specific circumstances of the national economy and regulate its relations with potential foreign investors.

The main assumption of this study corresponds with the author's conviction, that properly implemented idea of sustainable development described in numerous documents of international and trans-national organizations, may contribute to the elimination of social and economic exclusion, as well as to the actual implementation of equilibrium strategy in national economies. The article brings elements of the pursued strategy within the context of acquiring equivalent profits of trans-national capital flows and shifting the social costs of investments on those who generate these costs (trans-national corporations mostly).

Sustainable development strategy against social and economic exclusion requires an inclusive policy, involving national governments, non-governmental organizations, as well as the business environment; however, nation-states remain the most important actors. Previous practice of the subsidiaries and branches of trans-national corporations has not demonstrated that these are the entities oriented to the sustainable development. Therefore, there is a need for strong state, which will be able to establish boundaries for trans-national actors' activities and control the influx of investment in such a way that would be a part of the sustainable development process.

## MICHALSKI BARTOSZ (POLITICISING COMPETITION AS A RESULT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS)

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### **University of Wroclaw**

Experiences related to the recent crisis in the world economy inspire critical reflections on the shape and condition of the contemporary economic system. One of the intellectually most challenging issues appears to be the controversy, whether market competition (economic rivalry between companies for the market) is still a process which essentially determines the functioning of economies or perhaps the contemporary post-capitalist system politicises both competition processes and paradoxically competition policy itself. This is due to the fact that the main public policy efforts are aimed especially at redistributing accessible benefits and preserving welfare, instead of promoting incentives for directly productive profit-seeking activities.

The comprehensive analysis of issues covered in the proposed paper requires the application of descriptive methodological approach of the new institutional economics, especially: public choice theory and transaction costs analysis, which enable to enquire the process of establishing public and international institutions (organisations) and the effectiveness (quality) of their functioning; interest groups analysis, which helps identify the goals of privileged circles and political actors making decisions on the essence of legal provisions and their further enforcement and rent-seeking theory, which makes it possible to specify determinants for the activity of companies supported with public funds in the situation of budget constraints.

# MÜHLENHOFF HANNA (A CRITICAL APPROACH TO EU DEMOCRACY PROMOTION)

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## **Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen**

Democracy promotion practices are based on three problematic assumptions about civil society. Firstly, civil society contributes to democratization; secondly, civil society consists of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); and thirdly, civil society and the state are two separate spheres opposing each other.

The European Union also employs this view of civil society in its democracy promotion policies. By funding NGOs, the EU aims to empower NGOs to take on a self-responsible role in pushing the state to introduce democratic reforms. As Milja Kurki's (2011) study of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) shows this is part of the neo-liberal governmentality, a concept developed by Foucault in 1979, that the EU employs.

Employing this governmentality, the EU ignores that NGOs do not always oppose the state. This is why I argue for a more heterogeneous and critical understanding of civil society based on Gramsci's considerations of the integral state". According to him, civil society and the state are not two separate spheres but instead are both affected by the same ideological struggles that crosscut both spheres. A hegemonic ideology incorporates both the civil and the political society.

Thus, my main argument is that by giving funding to specific civil society organizations, the EU exercises governmental power over the respective country and (re)constitutes the relationship between civil society and the state situated in specific ideological cleavages. This specific understanding of state-civil society relations implies that we can only assess the consequences of NGO funding by evaluating their position towards the hegemonic discourse and the state in the respective country. Then we are able to assess the influence of the EU also taking Foucault's concept of governmentality into account.

The suggested critical approach to NGO funding as a bottom-up instrument of democracy promotion offers a more complex understanding of the interactions between international funding and the domestic context of NGOs in particular. Moreover, it changes the way that we analyze NGO activities especially in their complex relations to the state.

# MUSIOL MAREK (EU STRATEGIC ROLE IN MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA)

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## **Wroclaw University**

Although the EU has existed since the early nineties, however, the framework and mechanisms of European political and security concepts (CFSP and CESDP) are worked out gradually and evolutionary from the late 90's. These activities are dependent on the progress of integration at the political level. These projects are political and legal basis for ongoing operations in Europe and worldwide and are essential attribute of EU external action and ensure opportunities and instruments for the EU preventive diplomacy. Therefore it is necessary at this point to analyze basic assumptions of the EU policy as a strategic actor at the level of global activities of states and international organizations in the field of security.

The author concentrates on the presentation of the EU's involvement to maintaining peace in the world (i.e. the case of the Middle East) and the attempt to answer the question: what is the purpose of the EU's commitment to stability and to define regions to be stabilized. The project will focus on the analysis of the EU's role from the perspective of realism, liberalism and constructivism.

Military and civilian missions and preventive diplomacy is a part of a wider EU strategy of becoming a comprehensive actor in international relations. Forms of involvement of the EU are very different from preventive measures (the Iranian nuclear crisis, Middle East peace process) and its own civilian peacekeeping missions (Iraq, Palestine).

The aim is to prove that the preventive role of stabilization prevails over the EU peace operations in forming security in the neighbourhood and liberalism and constructivism dominate in the EU's stabilization policy. The EU rather tends to use measures within the soft power in contrast to the United States.

## ODALOŠOVÁ IVANA (SPECIFIC FEATURES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S STATEHOOD IN CURRENT POST-WESTPHALIAN MODEL OF IR)

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### **Matej Bel University**

The topic deals with the specific features of Bosnia and Herzegovina's statehood in current Post-Westphalian model of International Relations and its transformation over the time, from the state emerging until present days.

The Westphalian model of IR concentrates on national state as a major actor in the international relations system, therefore there is no space left for the specific features of statehood. According to IR realist theories state plays nowadays still important, but different role in IR. Multiethnic, multinational, failed, failing or weak states represent current shades of statehood in Post-Westphalian system of IR.

Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state has emerged in 1992. Birth of the state was difficult and unique in the same way due to the United Nations negative approach. This approach seemed to be realistic during the few years when the ethnic tensions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in its neighbourhood arose. Newly emerged state became an area where ethnic conflict – war was taking place.

After the highest state authorities of Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 signed the Dayton Peace Agreement under the pressure of the United Nations and the EU, the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina stopped, although ethnic tensions did not disappeared ex directo. These are the main circumstances which have significant impact on the Bosnia and Herzegovina's statehood.

Although many scholars have expected early state erosion from inside, Bosnia and Herzegovina is still present on the political map. However, its specific statehood is a cause to many problems. Within the meaningful ones belongs the absence of political consensus among the politicians. After breaking almost the 15 months of political pat, it seems that the current political situation is on its good way to start important reforms to bring the country closer to successful EU integration.

# OGUZ GOK GONCA (RECONSIDERING THE ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS: A SUCCESS OR A FAILURE?)

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## **Marmara University**

United Nations was not created in order to bring us heaven, but in order to save us from hell.”

United Nations has been on the stage of world politics” for nearly seventy years since states gave it the ambitious aim of maintaining international peace and security.” Since then, the organization has been both appraised and criticized based on its failures and accomplishments to achieve this purpose. We tend to criticize UN on the ground that it was unable to act effectively in humanitarian crises like 1999 Kosovo, 1994 Rwanda and 2003 Darfur, we hope that it could solve perennial inter-state or intra-state conflicts like Palestinian-Israeli question and expect it to take a leading role in solving the recent humanitarian crises of Arab Spring, like 2011 Libya and recently Syria. In all these attributions, as Inis Claude firstly pointed out as early as 1950’s, UN is regarded as an actor”, playing a role” in international relations along with and in relation to other actors like states. This assertion of actorship” is even more relevant today than 1950’s, since UN’s intervention and therefore visibility” in regional crises has increased dramatically after the cold war, especially in the last decade.

In practice, since the enforcement mechanisms of UN is highly limited, the power of UN is argued to depend less on its capacity to employ its collective military strength coercively than on its ability to gain recognition” as the body with the legitimate authority.” It is this legitimacy” and authority” that enables the UN and its subsequent organs powerful enough to act” on behalf of the international community. UN is attractive”, as Joseph Nye use the term, since it has a soft power” coming from its legitimacy. In all these theoretical assertions, UN is regarded as an important actor” with the power of its legitimacy” to create outcomes in international politics. Yet, the increasing number of regional crises especially in the Middle East region and intensifying discussions on the capabilities of UN in recent humanitarian crises once again necessitates the reconsideration of the potentials and limitations of the actorship” vested in the UN.

Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to analyze the sources, effects and implications of the legitimacy” vested in the United Nations in contemporary world politics from theory to practice. What makes this world organization legitimate in contemporary international relations? How this legitimacy vested in the UN creates its outcomes? Does legitimacy makes UN an important and influential participant in international relations with an important role to play? How can one measure its successes and failures? In this regard, the potentials and limitations of the UN’s actorship with respect to its legitimacy will be analyzed by briefly focusing on its role in recent regional crises like US Intervention in 2003 Iraq War, NATO’s Libya Intervention in 2011 and most recently the humanitarian crises in Syria in a comparative perspective.

# PAVLICOVÁ VENDULA (STEREOTYPICAL IMAGES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH IN THE MEDIA: THE ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT ACTORS)\*

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## University of economics, Prague

The global South has long played the role of the Other. In the wake of the World War II, the poverty of a large part of the globe was discovered and the idea of the 'underdeveloped' Third world came to existence. Even after the demise of the First and the Second world, the Third world has continued to provide the necessary contrast to the so-called 'developed world' and has thus helped to define it.

The Czech Republic has been involved in development efforts since the mid-1990s, but the topic of development cooperation has been largely absent from public discussions. In the mainstream media, the picture of so-called 'developing countries' remains gloom, allegedly because the media lack the direct and authentic contact with this part of the world.

However, the image of 'developing countries' is partly created by people who actively take part in development initiatives. These development actors are assumed to have good knowledge about 'developing countries' and the activities carried out by Czech NGOs. The supposed knowledge puts them in a privileged position of 'experts' in the eyes of the general public.

The present paper therefore examines how these development actors conceptualize the development cooperation in their discourse in the media. It discovers that their portrayal of the countries of the global South as a hostile place to live, inhabited by uneducated and passive people, allows for the presentation of development as an unquestionable and necessary enterprise. At the same time it enables Czech people to perceive themselves as part of the rich and 'developed' global North.

Key words: development, Czech Republic, global South, discourse

\*This paper has been prepared within the framework of the IGA VŠE FMV and is an integral part of the project "The prevention of conflict as a way to achieving security? (Prevence konfliktů jako cesta k zajištění bezpečnosti?)", grant number IG212022.

# PEVNÁ KATARÍNA (THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAMIST POLITICAL MOVEMENTS TO STATES IN THE MENA REGION)

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## **Comenius University in Bratislava**

The paper is founded on the study of the relationship between traditional state represented by the cases of Egypt and Morocco since 1990s with its non-state actors, mainly Islamist social movements, Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Party of Justice and Development in Morocco. The paper will focus on an issue of how these particular movements translate their organizational capacities to a political action within a closed environment of authoritarian state structures.

Within the democratic governance, NGOs and social movements represent channel of popular participation that more or less complements the authority of traditional state. On the other hand in non-democratic settings these actors usually represent rather specific threat to the dominance of state authorities over the political and socio-economic space creating severe lines of division. Both Islamist political movements will be assessed in the paper using social movements theory instruments to expose the degree of their commitment to making up for the neglect of social space by the institutions of state; their resources and motivations as well as their methods.

The paper will critically assess the changing relations of Islamists with state and compare both Moroccan and Egyptian experience. One of the basic research questions is to what degree we can identify them as substantive social movements mobilizing in times of crises for the purposes of bringing about political change or whether they perform as conformist movements satisfied with augmented political space? This part is crucial for understanding the tenets of political reform in the MENA region as well as for the subsequent processes on a larger scale, regional and international as Arab Spring has shown.

The focus will be on the degree of challenge or compliance with authoritarian structures shortly before the eruption of Arab Spring and afterwards. Hereby the difference in structure of opportunities is clear. In both countries Islamists expanded their share of political space at the expense of incumbent regime elites, while working within a system that still maintains residual authoritarian structures. The main question therefore is how can we account for the role of these movements within particular states? The paper will study indicators such as the effectiveness of Islamists' alternative service provision, non-cooperation with state structures and scope of their reform initiative.

## PIZZAMIGLIO DÉSIRÉE AND ARRANZ ÁGHATA (ENNAHDHA, FROM SOCIAL MOVEMENT TO POLITICAL POWER)

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### **Spanish Council for Scientific Research**

The term Arab Spring” entails a numerous movements and social protests that took place in Maghreb. These actions have been rather shocking for the International Society, until we could talk about a contagious process. So in this sense, Tunisia is considered as a model for other Maghribian countries and the interest is to understand how the trinomial of Islam-State-Democracy, which is being carried out at the moment, could be achieved. The aim is to anticipate the fails and the advantages of this prototype for its possible application in other Islamic country.

The main ideological-religious school of thought in the region is the Muslim Brotherhood. It necessary to take into account that this trans-national movement have had a great influence in several ideas of Ennahdha which is nowadays the principal political actor in Tunisia.

After two decades in exile, the members of Ennahdha have been working on the promotion of their legitimacy using many instruments to raise the power. Their political program will constitute the agenda identifying the priorities of the State, even though this will cause a lack of legitimacy regarding some social sectors. Nevertheless, Ennahdha not only has to deal with problems related with popularity, but also with internal division between moderates and fundamentalist. For this reason, Ennahdha will look for recognition and acceptance mechanism throughout the country, since they will enjoy international credit, but they will face a strong popular opposition.

The key in this process has a quantitative character. The problem is not if the State should be secular or religious, the question is how religious should be a State to be considered as member of the circle of trust into the International order.

## PLASSMANN JAN HAUKE (DEMOCRACY BEYOND WHICH STATE? QUESTIONING RECENT DEFINITIONS OF THE NATIONSTATE AS A STARTING POINT FOR A POST NATION-STATE DEMOCRATIC THEORY)

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**University of Bremen/ Jacobs University Bremen**

In recent political theory debates about democracy beyond the state, this metaphoric beyond remains unclear and all too often unquestioned. It often only refers to processes of collective binding decision making that seem to take place outside the classical realm of nation-state politics, but to the contrary these processes are quite often very directly linked to state officials, their bureaucratic interaction, legal exchanges, expert meetings, international agreements, personal contacts and trans-state norm concretizations etc. Such observations question both, first the classical understanding of an unified almost sovereign nation-state and second the separation between this entity and the mystical sphere (inter, trans- or supranational), the beyond.

The aim of this paper is to make conceptually sense of these developments in regards of state and democratic theory. It will argue that only the reconstruction, coming from the history of ideas, of the core concepts of the democratic nation-state, with which it has been described so far, enables us to observe their recent emergence on very different levels of the multi-level system of global politics. The complex interconnections between these different levels and different core concepts then may lead to a heterogeneous and fragmentized conceptual understanding of multiple statehoods and also lead away from the mystical metaphor of being beyond the entity of the state.

In the next step, such an understanding of the recent form of the state also poses questions and dilemmas for democratic theory that has connected itself closely to the institutions, processes and descriptions of the single nation-state. To unfold the dilemmas that arise out of such a more decent understanding of the state as multiple statehoods, e.g. the problem of being inside or outside different communities and different legal claims, the question of the undivided democratic subject, exclusion and inclusion mechanisms and the dilemma of universal norms and their partial institutionalization, can be a starting point for a post nation-state but not a post state democratic theory.

## PLENTA PETER (ONE GOAL, TWO WAYS: EXTERNAL DIMENSION OF REGIMES LEGITIMIZATION IN KAZAKHSTAN AND UZBEKISTAN)

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### **Comenius University in Bratislava**

Presidents in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are key decision makers in foreign policy, which is used for legitimization of their regimes. These regimes cannot be considered to be democratic and therefore strategies, goals and tools of foreign policy have significant role in political survival of leaders. Foreign policy is therefore determined by leader's legitimization and on protection from threats, which weaken the stability of regimes. On the contrary to democracy, in autocracy is no difference between the legitimacy of leaders and the legitimacy of regimes. Decreasing internal support was seen by these regimes as potentially damaging to their internal stability. The leaders expressed part of their responses to this threat through foreign policy and specifically through its propagandistic exploitation.

The decision makers, regardless of the regime type of their respective states, wish to stay in power. The political dimension in foreign policy decision making can be defined in terms of a decision maker's interest in ensuring of political survival. External legitimacy signifies the extent to which political regimes are considered legitimate by the leading external powers and international organizations. The integration of domestic political factors and foreign policy making constitute a key process in the international relations of post-Soviet Central Asia. The preservation of internal authoritarian stability and the political survival of the national regimes have therefore constituted the most important foreign policy's goal.

The positions of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are influenced by strategies of political leaders in these regimes. The foreign policy must be compatible with president's interest. The main purpose of this article is to analyze the different ways of external regime legitimization and show how foreign policy helps to stabilize these regimes. Nursultan Nazarbayev used Chairmanship of Kazakhstan in OSCE for increase of his popularity. A few months later Nazarbayev won early presidential election. The change of Uzbekistan foreign policy in 2005 was a reaction on critics from the EU and USA after Andijan. On the contrary, Russia and China recognize Andijan as legitimate action against Islamists.

## POSPÍŠIL TOMÁŠ (UNDERSTANDING SECURITY CULTURE AS CONFLICT PREVENTION)\*

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### **University of Economics, Prague**

The aim of the paper is to introduce the concept of security culture as an effective mean for preventing disputes to grow into conflicts. Author of the paper argues that every state has its unique security culture in which national identity, historical experiences, national interests etc. are embodied. Security elites are embedded in a particular security culture and cannot behave apart from that. Thus, when taking particular national security decisions they are necessarily influenced by that.

Regarding that every state may perceive the same situation very differently. What one state may perceive as a petty incident could be viewed as an imminent threat for another. Such perceptions may be the reason why the belligerents are not capable to understand their different positions in a dispute and let it grow into more serious conflict. Being familiar with security culture of other states is an essential component of successful conflict prevention. In the first part of the paper, Duffield's concept of national security as a framework for security culture will be introduced. The second part deals with security culture as such and the third part connects the concept of security culture with conflict prevention.

\*This paper has been prepared within the framework of the IGA VŠE FMV and is an integral part of the project "The prevention of conflict as a way to achieving security? (Prevence konfliktů jako cesta k zajištění bezpečnosti?)", grant number IG212022.

# PRIJON LEA (ROLE OF CULTURE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS: CASE OF SLOVENIA AND NEIGHBOUR COUNTRIES)

## **School of Advanced Social Studies in Nova Gorica**

Culture is one of crucial factors, determining the developmental potentials of a society, since it can stimulate or act as a disincentive factor on business and thus on economic development. Slovenia and other countries were included in transition process in 1990, which was expected to reform the post-socialist economy to market economy.

This transition was characterized by specific social and economic values. The transition was expected to cover the structural and cultural component and modify the basic institutional, legal and behavioural standards typical for Western societies, as the structural component depends on the socioeconomic resources, human capital, skills and other competences of social elites to undertake structural reforms. These resources differ by countries and societies, generating different level of development and the performance of them. With transition, a new tri-polar political geography emerged in the territory of former communist Europe dividing it into: new Central Europe, the Balkans and the area east of Poland.

These parts and countries have had different development opportunities and it were precisely the Central European countries (including Slovenia) that have had better developmental opportunities. Although the higher complexity of Slovenian society which is the result of western traditional social structures and education of the population, inherited from Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Slovenian economy is still heavily influenced by the traditions of socialist Yugoslavian economy, marked with a close relationship between political and economic issues, which constantly interfere with economical development.

The aim of the paper will be detaching the role of culture on possibilities and level of cooperation of Slovenian economy with international economies, particularly with neighbouring countries, focusing on the importance of cultural, historical, economic and socio-cultural factors determining the Slovenian economic tradition.

Keywords: economic relations, business culture, transition, cooperation, development.

## PŘIKRYL PAVEL (PHENOMENON FAILED STATE: CASE STUDY OF YEMEN)

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### **University of Economics, Prague**

The paper analyses the phenomenon failed state, which has recently entered the dictionary of world politics. Non-governmental organisation Fund for Peace annually publish Failed States Index, an analysis based on twelve economic, social and political indicators evaluating the vulnerability of individual states. The paper applies the theoretical framework of Failed States Index on the Republic of Yemen.

Having received 100, 3 points (out of 120) in 2011, Yemen ranked high on the list of the world's most dysfunctional states. The situation has especially worsened since January 2011 as the country experienced an extensive turmoil inspired by the Arab spring.

Yemen, an impoverished and deeply divided country, faces many social pressures. Alarming population growth, significant illiteracy, ubiquitous food insecurity and diminishing water resources have led to substantial civil tensions and insurgencies. Concerning the economic indicators, Yemen is the poorest country in the Middle East with high unemployment and soaring inflation. The export of petroleum currently accounts for 70 % of Yemeneni government income.

Unfortunately, many experts concur that the oil resources will have been depleted by 2017 and the country is under significant pressure how to diversify its economy. Closer insights into political indicators do not offer much hope either. Unwillingness and incapability of Yemeni government to solve deeply entrenched grievances resulted in a civil war in the Sa'ada province ousting hundreds of thousands of people from their homes.

A separatist Peace Movement of the South demanding secession from the former north Yemen dangerously challenges current borders. Another group on the Yemeni territory posing a serious threat to security both at a regional and international level is undoubtedly Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Though the President Ali Abdullah Saleh finally agreed to step down at the end of 2011, the country was left in a precarious turmoil with little hopes for a speedy recovery.

## ROTTENBERGER NIKOLAUS (THE UNITED NATIONS: THE CHANGING ROLE OF A GLOBAL ACTOR PROVIDING PEACE AND SECURITY)

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### **University of Vienna**

The article investigates the changing nature of global politics and the role that United Nations' actorness plays within. The theory and practice of peacekeeping display a commitment to ideas about liberal peace in the United Nations. These ideas can be divided in Westphalian and post-Westphalian conceptions. While Westphalian conception suggests that peacekeeping should create institutions and spaces that allow states to resolve differences, the Post-Westphalian conception insists peacekeeping should create and defend liberal democratic regimes.

The paper argues that the debate about the concepts of the UN since the 1990s have a direct impact on UN's role as a global security actor. The paper builds a descriptive model of UN peacekeeping and draws on cases illustrations of UN peacekeeping activity in Africa.

## TEPER YURI AND COURSE DIMA (STATE WEAKNESS AS A FUNDAMENTAL FACTOR IN RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 21TH CENTURY)

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### **Bar Ilan University**

In current paper we argue that the weakness and the ineffectiveness of the Russian state plays increasingly significant role in defining its foreign policy. In particular, we suggest that Russia's internal problems in Caucasus deeply affect its policies towards Iran.

Since Vladimir Putin came to power, we witness the failure of the Russian authorities to put an end to the escalating violence in Caucasus. Moreover, this violence is coupled with rapid and radical Islamization of its population. This happens along with strengthening of local political leaders and chieftains, formal and informal, at the expense of the central government. Consequently, the Kremlin is rapidly losing its grip on the region. The most vivid indicator of this process is the astonishing geographic expansion of violence from Chechnya to the whole area of Russian Caucasus. Simultaneously, the number of violent incidents has risen 4 times between 2004 and 2010. Moreover, there is a growing antagonism between the Russian and the Muslim population nationwide.

In this dangerous situation, Russia simply cannot jeopardize relations with Iran, its biggest Muslim neighbour, known for establishing and successfully operating radical militant non-government organizations worldwide. The possible application of Hamas and Hezbollah model to Caucasus must worry Russian decision makers. Iran's export of fundamental Islam also poses a serious danger of radicalizing Russia's Moslems. Naturally, it is in Russia's best interest to maintain good relations with the Islamic republic. No wonder it didn't withdraw its widely condemned diplomatic and technological support of Iran, despite the fact that Ayatollahs' nuclear armament violates Russian security conception.

Thereby, Kremlin's struggle for security at the Caucasus has deteriorated during the 2000s' to a struggle over the Caucasus itself. Accordingly, since the stakes are so high, Russia has to sacrifice its vital foreign interests for the sake of its territorial integrity. Thus, Russia's foreign policy has become a hostage of its internal weakness. This case demonstrates the significant role non-state entities can play in foreign policies considerations of weakened states.

## TREJBAL VÁCLAV (TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY AND CHANGING BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE)

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### **University of Economics, Prague**

The main challenges which will threaten transatlantic security in general and the status quo in Central Eastern Europe (CEE) and Ukraine in particular are disunity among main transatlantic partners, stemming from the lack of a unified perception of threats and how those threats should be prioritized and responded to; leadership crises both in the EU and NATO, and the rise of once suppressed European nationalism.

The CEE region is on the verge of a major shift. The United States is redefining its commitments all across the world and shifting emphasis, including military assets, on Asia. Russia is far more powerful than it was 10 years ago. The European Union, until now the lighthouse of economic prosperity for the whole CEE region, is undergoing major internal stress. NATO, the prime pillar of European security, is facing waning US leadership role, as witnessed by war in Libya. At the same time, Germany is trying to redefine the European economic and security architecture more to its advantage and has some fundamentally different views than the United States on important issues of European security, particularly those concerning Russia and its interests in Eastern Europe.

It remains to be seen whether the NATO can overcome inherently divergent interests of its member states. The militant Islamism did not prove to be the underlying threat able to galvanize the alliance into making the sort of investments and reforms that the latest Strategic Concept stipulates. The brunt of the missile defence costs has so far been born by the US, which speaks volumes about the seriousness with which Europe perceives the missile threat.

# TŮMOVÁ JANA (MULTILATERALISM AND GREAT POWERS: ADVANTAGES AND DRAWBACKS)\*

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## University of Economics, Prague

The main aim of the paper is to provide a detailed insight in the decision making process of great powers, namely the USA, in the era of multilateral approach to security and international agenda setting and to point out on advantages as well as drawbacks of multilateral approach from the viewpoint of the great powers, namely the USA.

Firstly, the paper focuses on detailed insight in multilateral approach to formation of the international system. It aims to trace the roots as well as different manifestations of multilateralism: it focuses on development of the multilateral international framework as well as on changing attitudes of great powers (namely the USA) towards this development.

Secondly, the paper focuses on ways the international security is influenced by multilateralism. Considering security and the international agenda setting to be public good, the paper focuses on the problem of black passenger". This approach, well known in the economic science, is to a great degree applicable to the decision making process of the states in the international system as well. The paper tries to point out on the increasing financial and non financial burden which is generated by the above mentioned black passenger approach and is born by the main players of the international system.

In conclusion, the paper compares positive and negative aspects of multilateralism as one of the approaches towards international agenda setting from the viewpoint of the USA. Stress is laid on the fact that there are not only the well known advantages connected with multilateralism, but also some ineffectiveness resulting from the increasingly multilateral approach of states towards agenda setting.

Key words: multilateralism, decision making, great powers, international order

\*This paper has been prepared within the framework of the IGA VŠE FMV and is an integral part of the project "The prevention of conflict as a way to achieving security? (Prevenční konfliktů jako cesta k zajištění bezpečnosti?)", grant number IG212022.

## TURCSÁNYI RICHARD (WESTPHALIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: THE EVALUATION OF CONCEPT)

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### **Masaryk University**

Theories of International Relations (IR) have had for many years already quite a problem with assessing the topic of current significance of state. While scholars in the discipline have argued since at least 1980s that state is losing ground, others have replied pointing at missing existence of any apparent contestator of states' role. Although both positions have their clues, the problem of meaningful resolution might be conceptual and theoretical weakness which comes as the result of taking the Westphalian international system for granted.

The proposed paper would base its arguments on the fact that modern state and its development have gone hand in hand with the development of the current international system. As such is modern state just a historical product of certain dynamics and should not be understood as the natural institution of social organization. However, exactly this is most often being made in the discipline of IR which have invented and been using the concept of Westphalian international system based on sovereign national states in absolute predominance and without much adjustment.

In the paper, we will firstly look at the emergence of modern states and international system and will discuss functions traditionally attributed to a Westphalian state. After examining the current states and assessing their capabilities to meet these functions we will look at the major contestators and their goals. We will touch on few options of possible development of the international system – one based on civilization states and regional integrations which might be better equipped to meet the traditional Westphalian state functions. Other option can be the re-introduction of quasi-Middle Age international system with complex net of international actors and authorities. No matter the development in the real world, however, states are and quite likely will remain the major actor in international politics for years to come. Yet, they are different to states as viewed through the prism of Westphalian international system. The aim of the paper will thus eventually be to evaluate the utility of the very concept of Westphalian international system and perhaps propose an alternative way of perceiving the current dynamics of international system and the functioning of its actors.

# VARKOČKOVÁ MARTINA (ONTOLOGICAL (IN)SECURITY: KEY CONDITION FOR STATE'S ACTORNESS)

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## **Metropolitní univerzita Praha**

This paper claims that ontological security is the key condition for a state's ability to act. Ontological security is hierarchically superior to the so called traditional security (be it military, economic or other) because only ontologically secure actor/state is able to establish its priorities, to pursue higher goals than mere day-to-day survival. Ontologically insecure actor is either frozen in its inability to confront changes in international system or it keeps unchanged routines which might be inadequate or even harming in the changed conditions.

Ontological security was implanted to the field of International relations from sociology (namely from works by Anthony Giddens) only recently and as such it still carries many insufficiently solved questions concerning different aspects of a theoretical aspects, mainly methodological ones.

This paper at first introduces the concept of ontological security, its theoretical foundations and will discuss different views concerning the concept. It will then attempt to make a synthesis of current ideas in the form of a model showing how ontological security works. Finally it will suggest operationalisation of individual aspects of the model (basic trust system, routinization, biographical narrative, reflexivity).

In the final part the paper will apply the theoretical foundations on the case of Czech republic. It will show that due to unhealthy basic trust system, rigid routinization and low reflexivity Czech republic in many instances acts as ontologically insecure actor. It either does not act or acts late and it maintains rigid routines especially in the form of stressing outdated perceptions of state sovereignty.

## JESSICA WHITE (RIO+20 GLOBAL YOUTH MUSIC CONTEST - AN EXAMPLE OF INNOVATIVE CONNECTION OF UN SYSTEM WITH CIVIL SOCIETY)

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### **University of Oxford**

Youth often feel disenfranchised in their local communities. Overwhelmed by a combination of school obligations and market driven consumer products being bombarded to them, as well as peer pressure to be someone other than they are; it is easy to get lost. With initiatives such as the Rio + 20 GYMC, this can lift youth out of their soup of information overload and into a position where they become global actors and citizens.

Their sense of purpose grows when they reach the different levels. First there is an overwhelming fear that they are not good enough” and they have nothing to say” then gradually with the help of youth leaders and facilitators who have links to the central UN system, become their mentor. They guide them and share resources, skills and they forget their fear and just become busy and engulfed in a new sense of purpose. Suddenly what they are learning at school, economics, politics, language, religious, history, all become interlinked and relevant. No longer are these subjects isolated, distance or irrelevant. They begin to include what they are learning in school with their informal learning time through initiatives such as the Rio + 20 GYMC.

Spurred on by their new energy, creative ideas begin to flow and they see interlinks and challenge themselves without outside stimulation. Suddenly they are the ones that are asking “What Next”? Youth Mentors now find themselves having to play catch up, diving back into the UN system for more information.

Youth Facilitators are connected to the UN system through the Glocha centres. Glocha started the GYMC initiative for this purpose so that their can be civil society interaction at different levels. Youth Facilitators keep guiding them so that everything is relevant and that youth are updated on the current developments at the UN level. This way the youth directly involved in making the musical expressions and really see the ripples and effects of their work.

Rio + 20 GYMC is simple enough to spread around the world on a global level, but also flexible and adaptable enough so that on a local level people can implement it in their own cultural contexts. It only needs a simple idea and the motivation of seeing others who are making a difference through music in their own way to spur others on. This is the strength Rio + 20 GYMC to connect with Civil Society.

## REVIEWED CONFERENCE PROGRAM

*(Only the participants, who delivered their presentation, are listed)*

### First Session

11:00 – 12:00

#### Statehood in times of political and economic turmoils: Decline or rebirth? (Petr Kratochvíl, Ph.D.)

##### Panel I - RB 104

##### Failed States and State-Building

##### Tomáš Pospíšil

chair

10:00 - 10:25 Phenomenon Failed State: Case study of Yemen

presenter **Pavel Příkryl**

10:25 - 10:50 The problematic identification with the EU and the role of statehood: the case of Denmark

presenter **Tereza Hořejšová**

10:50 - 11:15 Specific features of Bosnia and Herzegovina's statehood in current Post-Westphalian model of International Relations

presenter **Ivana Odalošová**

##### Panel II - RB 105

##### Beyond the State: Conceptual Debates

##### Petr Kratochvíl, Ph.D.

chair

10:00 - 10:25 Democracy beyond which state? Questioning recent definitions of the nation-state as a starting point for a post nation-state democratic theory

presenter **Jan Hauke Plassmann**

10:25 - 10:50 Evolution of international society, discussions about the new state? (Discussion about the state)

presenter **Teodor Gyelník**

10:50 - 11:15 Westphalian international system: the evaluation of concept

presenter **Richard Turcsányi**

#### Actorness that shapes contemporary world politics (Radka Druláková, Ph.D.)

##### Panel II - RB 207

##### States in Regional and World Politics

##### JUDr. Zdeněk Matějka

chair

10:00 - 10:25 Small State as Specific Actor in International Relations

presenter **Martina Bohatová**

10:25 - 10:50 Role of culture in international economic relations: case of Slovenia and neighbour countries

presenter **Lea Prijon**

10:50 - 11:15 One goal, two ways: External dimension of regimes legitimization in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

presenter **Peter Plenta**

11:15 - 11:40 Multilateralism and great powers – advantages and drawbacks

presenter **Jana Tůmová**

#### Non-state entities in IR: an enduring challenge (Štěpánka Zemanová, Ph.D.)

##### Panel I - RB 204

##### Non-state entities and security

##### Veronika Bílková, Ph.D.

chair

10:00 - 10:25 The changing role of criminal groups and terrorist organizations in international relations in the 21st century

presenter **Nora Kata Lazar**

10:25 - 10:50 Dilemmas of Conflict Management: Pakistani Responses to the AfPak policy  
**presenter** **Syeda Beena Butool**

**Panel II - RB 205**

**Communication and media in contemporary IR**

**Petr Vymětal, Ph.D.**

**chair**

10:00 - 10:25 The new technologies of communication and the IR discipline

**presenter** **Vladimir Lame**

10:25 - 10:50 EU as an attractive actor? Analysis of Latin-American media

**presenter** **Martina Jeníčková**

10:50 - 11:15 Stereotypical images of the global South in the media: the role of development actors

**presenter** **Vendula Pavlicová**

**Second Session**

13:15 - 15:15

**Actorness that shapes contemporary world politics (Radka Druláková, Ph.D.)**

**Panel I - RB 206**

**International Organizations that Shape Contemporary World Politics**

**Yvona Šabacká, Ph.D.**

**chair**

13:15 - 13:40 The United Nations: the changing role of a global actor providing peace and security

**presenter** **Nikolaus Rottenberger**

13:40 - 14:05 Reconsidering the Role of United Nations in Contemporary World Politics: A Success or a Failure?

**presenter** **Gonca Oguz Gok**

14:05 - 14:30 The UN towards Collective Security: State Sovereignty vs. Global Governance

**presenter** **Lucie Kobelková**

14:30 - 14:55 ASEM: Interregionalism and Preventive Diplomacy

**presenter** **Vladimír Beroun**

**Panel II - RB 207**

**Security Issues as Cornerstone of Actorness in World Politics**

**Zbyněk Dubský, Ph.D.**

**chair**

13:15 - 13:40 Transatlantic Security and Changing Balance of Power in Europe (NATO as the Main Actor in European Security Affairs)

**presenter** **Václav Trejbal**

13:40 - 14:05 Understanding security culture as conflict prevention

**presenter** **Tomáš Pospíšil**

14:05 - 14:30 Ontological (in)security: Key Condition for State's Actorness

**presenter** **Martina Varkočková**

**Non-state entities in IR: an enduring challenge (Štěpánka Zemanová, Ph.D.)**

**Panel I - RB 204**

**Technological progress, globalization and new international challenges**

**Štěpánka Zemanová, Ph.D.**

**chair**

13:15 - 13:40 Challenges and added value integrating Voluntary and Technical Communities into existing international humanitarian systems (UN OCHA & UNHCR) – case study of The Standby Task Force”.

**presenter** **Ivo Böttcher**

13:40 - 14:05 Are trans-national corporations responsible for international (human) rights violations?

**presenter** **Dora Lovas**

14:05 - 14:30 Concept of Social Cohesion in the EU Policy. EU response to technological progress and globalization.

**presenter** **Miroslav Klusák**

	<b>Panel II - RB 205</b>
<b>chair</b>	<b>Non-state actors, democracy promotion and empowerment of local communities</b>
13:15 - 13:40	<b>Tereza Hořejšová, Ph.D.</b>
<b>presenter</b>	Ennahdha, from social movement to political power
13:40 - 14:05	<b>Désirée Pizzamiglio and Ágatha Arranz</b>
<b>presenter</b>	Rio+20 Global Youth Music Contest – An example of innovative connection of UN system with civil society
14:05 - 14:30	<b>Jessica White</b>
<b>presenter</b>	NGOs and Regime Change: Case Study of Foreign NGOs and North Korea
14:30-14:55	<b>Vladimíra Knotková</b>
<b>presenter</b>	Nation's State Role in the Implementation of Sustainable Development Strategy
	<b>Agnieszka Makarewicz-Marcinkiewicz</b>

### Third Session

15:30 – 17:00

#### Statehood in times of political and economic turmoils: Decline or rebirth? (Petr Kratochvíl, Ph.D.)

	<b>Panel I - RB 104</b>
	<b>Economic Governance and the Challenges for the Nation State</b>
<b>chair</b>	<b>Petr Šrámek</b>
15:30 - 15:50	Economic governance in the changing European public legal frame (Changing role of the European member states in financial supervision)
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Brigitta Kreisz</b>
15:50 - 16:10	Fiscal Compact: Time for Nation-State's Last Will?
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Michaela Boháčiková</b>
16:10 - 16:30	Politicising competition as a result of the economic crisis
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Bartosz Michalski</b>

	<b>Panel II - RB 105</b>
	<b>Transformations of Statehood: Case Studies</b>
<b>chair</b>	<b>Radim Sršeň, Ph.D.</b>
15:30 - 15:50	State weakness as a fundamental factor in Russia's foreign policy in the 21st century
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Yuri Teper and Dima Course</b>
15:50 - 16:10	Is still security exclusive issue of states? Latin American case
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Petr Holas</b>
16:10 - 16:30	The challenge of Islamist political movements to states in the MENA region
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Katarína Pevná</b>

#### Actorness that shapes contemporary world politics (Radka Druláková, Ph.D.)

	<b>Panel I - RB 206</b>
	<b>The European Union and its Actorness in Contemporary World Politics</b>
<b>chair</b>	<b>Martina Jiráňková, Ph.D.</b>
15:30 - 15:50	EU strategic role in maintaining international peace and security in Asia – preventive diplomacy and peace operations
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Marek Musiol</b>
15:50 - 16:10	EU and Its Neighbours: A New Regional Integration Model after the Global Financial Crisis
<b>presenter</b>	<b>Deniz McDonald</b>
16:10 - 16:30	A Critical Approach to EU Democracy Promotion – Theorizing the Constitutive Effects of Democracy Promotion on State-Civil Society Relations
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>Hanna Mühlhoff</b>

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**Vydavatel: Vysoká škola ekonomická v Praze  
Nakladatelství Oeconomica**

**Rok vydání: 2012**

**Tisk: Vysoká škola ekonomická v Praze  
Nakladatelství Oeconomica**

**Tato publikace neprošla redakční úpravou.**

**ISBN 978-80-245-1879-4**