

**PETR ROŽŇÁK<sup>1</sup>****Visegrad Countries and Migration.  
Does the Nation State Have a Superstate?****Visegrádi országok és migráció. Van-e a nemzetállamoknak  
szuperállama?****Abstract**

*Several serious circumstances have prompted the writing of this essay: since 2008 the crisis has remained, albeit with varying degrees of intensity, the situation in international security as well as debt and institutional crises are worsening not only in the eurozone. Probably the organized migration wave continues to move across the permeable borders of the Schengen area, showing how the European Union is fragile and helpless. German Chancellor Angela Merkel said there was no upper limit for the number of people who would be admitted to escape political persecution in their country. Germany leaves the Dublin system inconsistently, inconsistent with European cohesion, and ceases to distinguish between an immigrant and a refugee. Migration divides EU Member States into patriarchal and patrimonial and distrust between communities is increasing. Scissors are being opened between the "old" and "new" EU countries. In addition, in some regions of Europe (France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom) there are closed communities in which the majority law is not valid. Our current socio-political and economic existence is based on a traditional understanding of security. The second decade of the 21st century, however, represents a political and military conservative mirror that reflects the image of prosperity and security from a different angle than it did in previous years. The dramatic development has resulted in the huge migration of the peoples of the African and Asian continent and the division of the European Union, above all, in view of the permanent mechanism of redistribution of asylum seekers.*

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# HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

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*Keywords: European cohesion , Dublin system, allocated quotas, Social and Security Threats, Chaotic Horizontal Management of the Society, Quality of Life, Hubris Syndrome*

## Absztrakt

*Számos súlyos körülmény indokolta ennek a tanulmánynak a megírását: 2008 óta továbbra is változó intenzitású válság van, de a nemzetközi biztonság, valamint az adósság és az intézményi válságok miatt nemcsak az euróövezetben romlik a helyzet. Valószínűleg a szervezett migrációs hullám tovább mozog a schengeni térség áteresztő határain, jelezve, hogy az Európai Unió törékeny és tehetetlen. Angela Merkel német kancellár azt mondta, hogy nincs felső határa azon emberek számára, akikről elismerték, hogy az országukban politikai üldöztetésnek voltak kitéve és az elől menekültek el.*

*Németország a dublini rendszert következetlenül hagyja el, ellentétben az európai kohézióval, és nem tesz különbséget a bevándorló és a menekült között. A migráció az uniós tagállamokat patriarchálisokra és patrimoniálisokra osztja, és ezen közösségek között a bizalmatlanság növekszik. A „régj” és „új” EU-országok között nyílik az olló. Ezenkívül, egyes európai országokban (Franciaország, Belgium, Németország, Svédország, Egyesült Királyság) vannak olyan zárt közösségek, ahol a többségi törvény nem érvényesül. A jelenlegi társadalmi-politikai és gazdasági létezésünk a biztonság hagyományos felfogásán alapul. A XXI. század második évtizede azonban politikailag és katonailag konzervatív tükröt képvisel, amely a jólét és a biztonság imázsát más szögből tükrözi, mint a korábbi években. A drámai események az afrikai és ázsiai kontinens népeinek tömeges migrációját és az Európai Unió megosztottságát eredményezte, mindenekelőtt a menedékkérrők állandó újraelosztási mechanizmusa miatt.*

*Kulcsszavak: Európai kohézió, Dublini rendszer, elosztott kvóták, szociális és biztonsági fenyegetések, a társadalom kaotikus horizontális irányítása, életminőség, Hubris-szindróma*

*The most valuable contribution ,  
we can make to the integrating Europe,  
is our dearly paid historical experience.*

Václav Klaus

## INTRODUCTION

Several serious circumstances have given me the impulse to write this article: there has been a crisis since 2008, albeit with varying intensity. The international security situation has been deteriorating, as well as debt and institutional crisis, not only of the Euro zone.

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Our current socio political and economic existence is based on the traditionalist understanding of security. However, the second decade of the 21st century sets to the political and military conservatives a mirror that reflects the image of prosperity and security from a different angle than it was in previous years. Prosperity and security are endangered by, until recently, "overlooked threats" such as terrorism, separatism and radical Islamism, be it of global or regional origin.

The European Community drunken by its success has spread out. The way to a historic triumph has opened but, unfortunately, it also unlocked the door to a crisis of this community. It is already obvious that the broadening of the EU (2004) goes beyond the EU's "helmets" and the European bureaucratic mechanism. In the context of the refugees tsunami pouring into Europe Eden today it seems that EU nations live rather together than united.

This paper provides arguments that today's economic, social and security threats and hazards of the whole world and Europe have had deep-rooted causes, based on the often ill-considered political decisions of (non)authorities, on their intransigence and unwillingness to seek a compromise.

My aim is to show that identical interests do not automatically mean the existence of a common European Union security and defence policy. The mere vision of the EU as a superpower and strengthening illusions about its power as well as a continuous attempts to either open or hidden export of democracy on bayonets do not guarantee the security of the world and Europe. The author is trying to report about the ongoing transformation of the security risks for the European super state (of which we are a part), which is under way after the collapse of the bipolar world, where security as a subjective status depends on the social environment, on the perception of threats and their interpretation. At present, the security is not only about the threats of a nuclear or chemical bomb or other weapons intended for disposal of their own species.

In a more and more shrinking, though a globalized and rivalry world, even a foolish speech of a politician can be dangerous. There is a number of examples of such verdicts threatening the security locally, regionally and globally from the beginning of the new millennium. Politicians, intellectuals and the general public perceive that despite an elimination of the real threat of war between East and West, the world - unfortunately – has not become safer.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Political bickering, weakening of the law state mechanism, unrestrained and vulgar democracy, in which everything is permitted, corruption, clientelism, "spirits affairs" mafia methods, not only in politics but also in the economy, decline of culture and ethics, incorrect interpretation of one of the basic democratic principles "Everything which is not forbidden is allowed", lack of political self-reflection - all these and many other phenomena are ultimately decaying elements emptying the state from within, threatening its security.

## MIGRACE LIDSTVA EXISTUJE OD NEPAMĚTI

It is the movement of a minority in which there is a change of residence within or across the boundaries of any administrative unit in the most common use within a state or states where similar or identical economic conditions or similar or the same political or religious laws apply. Migration can have or has significant economic, cultural and population implications, it is one of the most important regional processes. From the demographic point of view, migration can be expressed by several indicators. One of these is the migration balance (sometimes also "net migration"), which reflects the difference between the number of immigrants (immigrants) and emigrants in the area. Depending on the outcome, we are talking about either migration growth / gain or migration / loss. It is calculated as follows:<sup>3</sup>

$$M = I - E$$

*M = Migration Balanc, I = Number of immigrants, E = Number of emigrants (authors)*

**Migration** (arrow number 1) in conflict areas, unfortunately, is a common phenomenon in the 21st century. Conflicts of conflict (Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Central African States of island states and nations) and social (including political) or economic differences in migration are a serious socio-economic problem. Migration may be voluntary (for work or for relatives) or forced (the cause of which is usually a severe deterioration in living conditions, war status (Kurds, Jezídfové, Ukrainians from eastern Ukraine, dictatorships, etc.) The world's most emigrants currently come from Afghanistan (4,500,000) and Palestine (4,123,000), and the number of people living in a country other than their birth is estimated at 150,000,000 to 185,000,000.<sup>4</sup> In most countries, it is very difficult to obtain asylum (Switzerland) because their asylum policy is based on a very thorough examination of the reasons for emigration and the success rate of asylum applications is in percentage units, mainly for political reasons. people in special facilities, with the level of services provided here in many developed nations, including the US, very much with regard to the declining population of most developed nations, the question arises whether controlled migration of

<sup>3</sup> The total number of migrants is reported as the migration volume or migration turnover, which is the sum of the number of immigrants and emigrants in the area. The share of migration and migration volume is expressed by the migration balance or migratory efficiency index (sometimes referred to as the attractiveness index or the efficiency index). It achieves the values from -1.0 to 1.0.

<sup>4</sup> This number depends on the method of calculation, who is included under the term "living". E.g. according to US statistics, staying longer than one year.) 30 years ago, this figure was roughly half. The population of some states is largely made up of these migrants, such as Australia (24%), Canada (17%), Sweden (12%) and the USA (over 10%). Among migrant people, migration is predominantly voluntary. Refugees and asylum seekers were about 15 million in 2002, slightly down from the 1993 situation (at the time it was 16.3 million).

particularly educated populations is not a solution to the imminent aging of the population. There are, however, cultural and religious differences and, in many cases, also the xenophobic mood of the domestic population, fearing job losses and rising crime rates.

**Emigration** is an expression from the perspective of the source of the movement (where it comes from), it is the eviction of the population. Emigration (out of the widespread migration, eviction) is leaving the country of origin and moving to another country, as shown in the diagram (Figure 1) on the arrow as number 2. We talk about emigration<sup>5</sup> when there is an element of will in the game - when people have a choice. As for an act where people can not choose, or they have to change, for example, religion, we are talking about expulsions and exults, and in some contexts we are more likely to use the term exiles<sup>6</sup>. The causes of emigration can again be economic, political or religious, or a combination of several.

**Re-emigration** is the movement of the population, which involves emigration and re-immigration. See page 3.

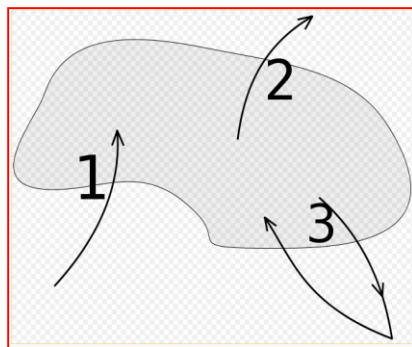


Figure 1: Migration, emigration and re-emigration (author)

Migration is a global phenomenon caused not only by economic factors but also by social, political, cultural, environmental, health, education and transport factors. The reasons for migration are interregional and intra-regional differences, a lack of job opportunities that lead to a low level of living conditions between different socio-economic groups. There are

<sup>5</sup> On the example of the Czech Republic, we can talk about Czechoslovak emigration or a number of Czechoslovak emigrations - depending on whether we mean summaries or whether we want to break them down according to the dates or events they were or after (pre-war, post-mortem, poshrone ...) to refer to the departure (process, movement) or to people leaving Czechoslovakia, similarly speaking about Polish, Russian or French noble emigration.

<sup>6</sup> In this context, we strongly recommend reading the book by Swede MORBERG, Vilhelm. Immigrants. Part 1: Immigrants. Part 2. Prague: Svoboda, 1976., 634 s., 3911. ISBN 25-036-76.

three components of population change: a) mortality, b) fertility, and c) migration and two types of migration: internal and international. Internal migration is the movement of people from one place to another place in a given country. International migration is the movement of people from one country to another in order to gain employment, to set up a family or to raise the standard of living. This is generally the case because people have less opportunity to improve the socio-economic situation in places of dislocation and are forced to migrate to more developed areas.

Different approaches by scientists allow you to study migration from different perspectives. Sociologists emphasize the social and cultural consequences of migration, while geographers emphasize the importance of migration in terms of time and distance, and economists emphasize the economic aspect of migration. Politologists are interested in how migration (emigration, immigration) influences the power behavior of the elites, whether their activities and well- security of the company are already managed.

#### HUBRIS SYNDROME

David Owen<sup>7</sup> is particularly interested in leaders who were not ill in the conventional sense, and whose cognitive faculties remained working, but who developed what he calls the "hubris syndrome".<sup>8</sup> "Hubris is inextricably linked to the possession and exercise of power. If an individual is deprived of power, the syndrome usually wears off," Owen says. "In this sense, it is a disease associated with a person as well as with a particular position. Moreover, the circumstances in which this function (position) is performed, affect the likelihood that the leader will succumb to it." [OWEN 2011, 9]. A hubris feature is the inability to change the direction of politics, as it would be necessary to admit one's mistake. Owen in this context, talks about the so-called hubristic career and hubris is understood as a certain loss of the abilities: „*Political leaders suffer from a loss of capacity and become excessively self-confident and contemptuous of advice that runs counter to what they believe in or even of any advice at all. They begin to behave as if they dared to oppose the prevailing conditions*“.<sup>9</sup> Usually, though not always, they are punished for that deed by Nemesis.<sup>10</sup> As the Pulitzer Prize winner Barbara W. Tauchman says, the art of ruling is to restrain their own ambitions and keep the head open. However, we don't seem to realize that power begets

<sup>7</sup> DAVID OWEN (\*1938) from 1976 to 1979 British foreign secretary, co-founded Social Democratic Party - now sits as an independent Crossbencher in the House of Lords, as a psychiatrist have long dealt with the influence of disease on the decisions of top politicians. More: In *Sickness and in Power: Illness in heads of government during the last 100 years* [OWEN 2011].

<sup>8</sup> Not a medical term, developed in ancient Greece, it is a description of a particular act. Hubris act was one in which a powerful person, filled up with reckless pride and confidence, behaved proudly and spitefully. It is a sort of "occupational arrogance" or "The Government of desire" (Plato). Young and rich people tend to be arrogant (i.e. they are hubristic).

<sup>9</sup> According to Owen these world political leaders suffered from the Hubris syndrome: George W. Bush, Tony Blair, Margaret Thatcher, Neville Chamberlain, Lyndon B. Johnson a Theodore Roosevelt. [OWEN 2011, 9]

<sup>10</sup> Nemesis, from Greek

foolishness and brings an inability to think. Structurally induced stupidity is typical for behaviour of detached ruling classes and, unfortunately, is highly relevant and ubiquitous. The elite that loses connection with the majority of those they govern, want to control (and, in fact they do control) society without really knowing what it is going on in it. The society today is (frequently) formed on one hand of a small elite, and on the other hand of the majority of the population. Both groups differ sharply from each other in a lifestyle, thinking and interests. Only a few people realize that it can, ultimately, cause a destabilization of delicately balanced internal state security. It's better to avoid thoughts about the implications of the foolish behaviour of politicians and elite that have impact on external security. A politician - statesman, is responsible for the welfare of his nation and must act according to different rules than an intellectual sitting in the café. Such a politician becomes then a statesman. Unfortunately, various players on the Czech political playground are playing the games falsely, and their behaviour represents an immediate security threat for everybody. Apart from few exceptions, politicians are not doing what they are paid for. This "*high-ranking snakes in suits*" as aptly characterized by Robert Hare and Paul Babiak, subject their entire holding to *Lucifer's effect* (give me a power and I will give you prosperity and security) are political psychopaths and parasitic predators. We can see a profound discrepancy between the performance of (not only Czech) political entrepreneur and the reward (income) that he/she will receive from voters.

#### HUBRISTIC BEHAVIOUR, SECURITY THREAT

A typical feature of hubristic behaviour is the inability to leave the troughs in time. Even the Book of books<sup>11</sup> states that humility coheres with the conception of truth. Where there is a boundless pride and where there are no restrictions for such an individual, he or she then sets off inexorably on the path to the intoxication by power. It seems that nothing is impossible and threats are ephemeral: From the given examples it can be concluded that hubristic behaviour possessing a security threat is carried out according to a regularly recurring pattern:

**A.** An individual gains a glory and admiration, and despite expectations achieves a certain success. → **B.** This experience goes straight into his/her head. → **C.** Starts to treat others with contempt and despise. → **D.** Gain the faith in own abilities, thinks he or she can do anything. → **E.** This excessive self-confidence leads to incorrect perception of reality and mistakes. → **F.** In the end, one meets one's goddess of reprisal, Nemesis, who will destroy him/her. [ROŽŇÁK, 2014].

<sup>11</sup> Bible

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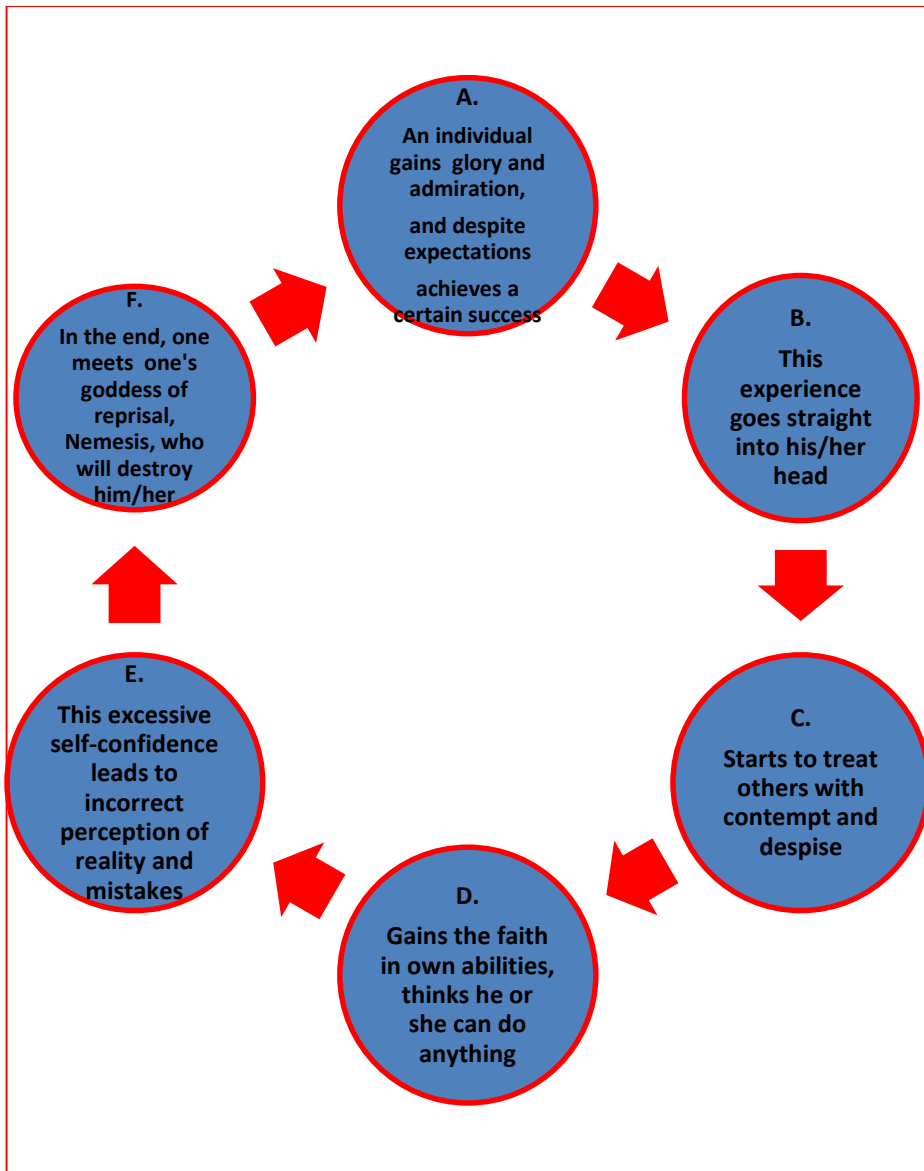


Schéma 1 Hubris syndndrom - a vicious circle. Author.



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Hubris syndrome affects people in power, the syndrome is something that appears, it is a manifestation of natural processes, a set she has a power similar to the power of God (he or she is blessed with "Providence" - is superior). Hubris syndrome was formulated as a pattern of behaviour in a person who has 3 or 4 symptoms of the following list:

1. Narcissistic attitude to see the world primarily as an arena in which he or she can exercise power and seek glory, and not as a place with problems that require pragmatic and not self-centred approach.
2. Venturing into the events, which will probably throw him or her in a bad light, i.e. which does not improve his or her image.
3. Shows disproportionate concern for own image and presentation.
4. Exhibits messianic zeal and exaltation in speech.
5. Conflates self with nation or state into such a measure that prospects and interests of both entities considers to be identical.
6. Uses the third person or royal 'we' when speaking about oneself.
7. Shows excessive self-confidence, accompanied by contempt for advice or criticism of others.
8. Immense self-confidence, escalating to a feeling of own omnipotence, as far as what can be personally achieved.
9. Shows accountability not to a „secular“ instance of justice and colleagues but only to a higher court (history or God).
10. Displays unshakeable belief that he or she will be vindicated in that court.
11. Resorts to restlessness, recklessness and impulsive actions.
12. Loses contact with reality, gradual solitude.
13. Allows moral rectitude to obviate consideration of practicality, cost or outcome end displays incompetence with disregard for nuts and bolts of policy making.
14. So-called Hubristic incompetence where supreme overconfidence leads to inattention to details, the speech can be spoiled because a leader influenced by his or her exceeding self-confidence did not go into trouble to solve its practical aspects [OWEN 2011, 8-21].

The hubris syndrome<sup>12</sup> is set off by a trigger, which is power. Hubristic traits and the hubris syndrome appear after the acquisition of power. Among the key external factors influencing human behaviour clearly belong:

- Prevailing success in the acquisition of power and its holding.
- Political environment where there are minimal restrictions on the personal authority of a leader.
- Substantial power over a length of time.

<sup>12</sup> In this context, I recommend reading the book "1984", written by George Orwell. Orwell has already beaten the head on the head when he defines three crucial slogans of the Party Big Brother: "War is peace, Freedom is slavery and ignorance is power." Does not it seem to you today that's what's running here?

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## PRINCIPAL CHANGES IN THE PERCEPTION OF DANGER

We find ourselves in a difficult situation. The dismal economic situation is obvious, for the time being, it is only occasionally interrupted by signs of improvement of some economic indicators. The differences between “the old” and “the new” countries and the individual member states of European Union are not disappearing, on the contrary; the economic differences among the EU member states are striking. The multi-speed European Union simply exists. It looks like the dream of prosperous Europe without wars has dwindled away. We cannot close our eyes to the rolling tsunami of immigrants on the southern wind of the permeable borders to the EU from Africa, the situation in the nearby Ukraine, the so-called Islamic State (ISIS) and not to mention the radical political Islam. In addition, the Europe is dying out. The seriousness of the situation is in no way diminished by the fact that either we do not acknowledge the depth and scope of the crisis situation or we tend to downplay them. No doubt, the media and people in various managerial positions affected by blindness have their share in this state of affairs. Many advisors of political deputy ministers of various departments are not familiar with either the issues of the department or people in it. They do not understand them, because they did not go through this “Roman”, “Bata”, “Čuba” or, if you like, an army “bottom-up” policy procedure so they observe and evaluate a section entrusted to them the same way as passengers perceive the image of vanishing landscape while sitting in the train compartment. They lack just “a little thing” – certain knowledge of the sector, experience and empathy. And so “we” do not mind that we uncover to “the third party” the formerly unthinkable facts, stripping naked. Andor Sándor<sup>13</sup>, appealing to reason and highlighting many professional misconducts, now reminds us of the Bedouin cry lost in the desert. The world around us is changing. We have two options: either to stand idly by or to be active. Unfortunately, the European bureaucrats are pushing the citizens into a vicious circle of their new ideologies and carefree materialism. Clear evidence of that is the Czech society. In this context it is easy to interpret a certain decline of democracy in recent municipal, parliamentary and, in particular in European elections. An inactive, but radicalizing disgruntled citizen at the pub dominates again. Surprisingly, this is of benefit to an active, so-called “apolitical” and “café” minority. Political parties do not admit themselves their own crisis. They don’t seem to mind that political parties in the Czech Republic resemble political discussion clubs. It is sufficient to take a closer look at their members’ base and the issues they deal with.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> ŠANDOR, Andor. Brigadier General (retired). Leading Czech expert with experience in the executive public administration, in the activities of an intersectional crisis headquarters of the Czech Republic, crisis management, management of large organizations and work in international organizations abroad. He is unprecedentedly endowed with the ability to analyse international security issues. He can evaluate the military and security situation in the world, with a focus on crisis areas and military conflicts.

<sup>14</sup> One example for all – Classified SPO in the daily PRÁVO. „Appeal! Increase the proportion of Moravian CT studios broadcasting at 30%. „My former assistant would say, “Hey boss and who cares!?” [PRÁVO 2015, 5].

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Emerging "non-political movements" with simple slogans for solution to intractable European problems are trying to brainwash the Europeans through media. Weird movements, whose members "work hard" and know, "how to do it „are getting the green light on Europe motorways. Petr Fiala states aptly in his essay entitled "At the end of carelessness" that: *"It only looks like a paradox. On one hand, I argue that the European Union has been going in the wrong direction, it has no good answers either to economic and social problems, or to the security issues and on the top of that the West as a whole implements insufficiently consistent policy to defend their interests. At the same time I say that the Czech Republic must be firmly, clearly and actively a part of this "problematic" Western community [FIALA 2015, 8].*

Despite the persistent convincing from the side of believers in the European postmodern and transnational paradise, it is obvious that the sovereignty and legitimacy of the national state is gradually dissolving along with its security in the supranational structures. It is qualification and education of the population that determines a position on the ladder of prosperity and security of a society. Day by day we can observe and be part of "the aggressive war" for a skilled manpower and the "brains". "Brain drain" is a bloodless struggle for the present and the future welfare and security of all of us. In this "brain drain" the important role as always and everywhere play: (1) money, but also (2) more and more „quality of life“. Watching the foreign policy of the United States of America through rose-tinted glasses and blind obedience in the implementation of sanctions against one of the world nuclear superpowers and one of the largest countries in the world, the Russian Federation, is undoubtedly a mistake.

This contribution about the "new (non) hazard" in a broader context is coherent with collapse of the bipolar world, with the changes in the international environment over the past two decades, when, allegedly "an antagonist" disappeared and "the winner of the Cold War (World War III)" – U.S.A. emerged. In my view, it is desirable for the Czech Republic to focus on the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). These countries represent 40 percent of the world's population and a fifth of the performance of the global economy.

Union pilots and politicians of the EU member states should be thinking about why the BRICS countries are unsettled by: a) repeating market shocks and b) wavering oil price. Furthermore, they should consider, why the countries of dynamically developing economies already decided at the summit in Ufa (July 2015) to: 1. Raise a mutual fund worth 100 billion USD and 2. Establish a development bank, i.e. the tools to fight against currency crises and to create a financial system independent on the West, particularly on the USA! I am asking a question, what exactly the security is and what it means to be (un)safe. It looks like there were no great unifying topics after the collapse of the USSR. And so we are fumbling and searching. We released the genie out of the bottle and now we do not know how to put him back. Big issues of the day such as ecology, terrorism, elimination of pov-

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erty, migration wave, radical Islamism, ISIS, unfortunately do not evoke integrated action of all states.

Before the election they are all for the eradication of poverty (or at least unemployment rate reduction) and strengthening the security, but after the election it cannot cost them even a bit of their own wealth. Demands for flexibility and adaptability of states, companies and politicians in a turbulent environment and globalization processes of the 21st century are growing. For the vast majority of people, the ongoing local war conflicts are taking place on their TV screens and in the safety of their homes – this is changing their thinking and the attitude towards their own safety.

Previously fragmented Europe turned into a super state, which is gradually taking control over earlier inalienable security and defence competences of national states. We are witnesses of Europeanization and of a fundamental transformation in perception of (in) security, but also of the changing relations between particular states. The Europeans dream of the free cross-border movement of people without degrading customs checks and personal searches came true by creating the so-called Schengen.<sup>15</sup> It includes the territories of most European countries, where people can cross the borders of the contracting states at any place, without having to pass the border control. The same principle is valid for foreigners who have the so-called Schengen visa. And so the great advantage of Europeans has become their weakest link. The consequence of a toothless defence policy of the EU is a failure to protect the EU borders and the imminent result is *de facto* opening of Europe to the wave of immigrants. The attractiveness of Europe and its high living standards of people living in strong welfare states are a paradise dream into which, quite logically, migration waves of people are rolling, reaching out their hands to the European wealth. Due to the opportunistic, hypocritical and irresponsible policy of "Brussels", Schengen gets into a huge crisis. The entrance to nationalism in the EU countries is ajar. We are finding ourselves „at the end of carelessness“, as Professor Petr Fiala points out, but without any considerable response [FIALA 2015, 146]. In addition, the power centre of gravity to the great indignation of the French (winners of the last Great War) moves from Paris to Berlin (to the loser). If in a short term "Brussels" does not take crucial and tough protective measures, we will shortly lose one of the greatest achievements of the free movement of

<sup>15</sup> The area is marked according to the village of Schengen in Luxembourg, where the Schengen Treaty has been signed on 14th June 1985 and later on, in 19th June, 1990 an implementing agreement was signed. Currently, the Schengen area includes the EU Member States except Ireland and Great Britain. Cyprus applied for the postponement of full membership. Bulgaria and Romania are not the members as yet. On contrary, it does include Iceland and Norway (2001). From 2008 Switzerland cancelled airport controls. In 2011 Liechtenstein became a member of the Schengen Liechtenstein, since 2007 the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic and seven other new EU countries joined the club. It also includes the Azores, Madeira and the Canary Islands. Conversely, all the overseas territories of France, the Norwegian Svalbard, Spanish Ceuta and Melilla in Africa, Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands all the overseas territories of France, the Norwegian Svalbard, Spanish Ceuta and Melilla in Africa, Danish Greenland and the Faroe Islands, Dutch Aruba Curacao, St. Martin, Bonaire, Sabah and St. Eustatius and the British Crown Dependencies do not belong in here.

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people between the EU Member States. It is quite clear that if a European super state is not capable of protecting its sovereignty, it will be done by the member states alone. This would mean that a construction of liberty and freedom of movement would collapse like a house of cards. Politicians should seriously and with all due vigour react to the state of media, social networks and even pubs, that are full of debates about refugees. Some of them speak of the necessary solidarity, others point out an economic and social impacts that could be disastrous.

The optimal solution would be:

1. to come to terms that one excludes the other, i.e. „Schengen excludes quotas and quotas exclude Schengen” (free movement of persons)<sup>16</sup>,
2. take clear and tough precautions to protect the external borders of the European Union,
3. improve procedures set for return of refugees,
4. reduce social benefits for refugees,
5. collaborate with the countries in regions in question,
6. toughen up penalties against traffickers and smugglers of people.

Without a certain political courage and adoption of tough and power arrangements there will be end to free and unrestricted movement of the Europeans in Europe, indeed, the democracy itself will be endangered. Czechs and Slovaks know only too well that independence can be lost, without firing a shot, that freedom and security are at risk if the "attacker" ends business relationships, stops supply of important raw materials (oil, gas, food, water) and energy and/ or prevent an access to important international institutions. Economic and political war takes place without a shot, but it is not more humane. The centre of gravity of national security is moving towards a new concept of international security. In the process of (un)approximation of winners and losers, a national state gradually loses its unique position. As Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde state: "Security threats are not only of the military threats origin" [BUZAN, WAEVER, WILDE 2005, 6]. The source of the threats can also be in non-negligible extent incompetent decisions and unwise public speech of people active in politics and then media response to their speech.<sup>17</sup> In this con-

<sup>16</sup> Neither most politicians nor the public is in agreement with the migrant quotas on EU countries. This year it is expected a million asylum seekers arriving in Europe, in 2014 there has been 626 000 applications received but only one quarter of applicants succeeded in receiving asylum. It is a huge brut. That is expected to be increasing - in the immediate European neighbourhood there are 25 million people in motion. Africa, due to the demographic curve will have two billion inhabitants soon and since their living conditions are not good, they will move towards Europe. "We are not discussing here how solidier we are with refugees or debating the Islamism, but we are talking here about huge numbers. Obviously, the thesis about the need of manpower is invalid as we are talking here about poor, uneducated people without any language skills. People, who are, quite understandably, seeking a better future. Just look at the unemployment figures and specifically on youth unemployment in some EU countries." [<http://zahranicni.eurozpravky.cz>].

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, especially the Czech journalists do not display the necessary degree of professionalism. Most of them can be characterized by a combination of ignorance and enormous self-confidence. Somehow they do not understand that journalistic expertise lies in two things: First, in the filtering personal sympathies or antipathies, which should not be reflected in their comments. Secondly, that

text, we ask the question: "What is more dangerous: Good intentions combined with stupidity or an evil spirit associated with intelligence? Politicians with the help of powerful media and often corrupted editors are brainwashing and influencing millions of people through media. They take decisions with a far-reaching impact on the lives of these people. Hutchinson's prayer<sup>18</sup> reminds physicians that their first duty is not to impair the patient's condition further. If we replace the word "patient" with the word "voters" this physician's prayer can become a politician's pray as well [OWEN 2011, 9]. Politicians have a duty to intervene only if such intervention has a real chance to improve the current status<sup>19</sup> and resist temptation of self-serving interventions. Thus the basic properties of physicians and politicians must be: 1. competence and 2. Ability of realistic assessment of what can be and what cannot be achieved. Anything that can make such an assessment difficult can inflict a considerable damage. However, probably the most unfortunate is an effort to breed a "new European man". Attempts of some Brussels architects to change the thinking of Europeans by the force of political arguments strongly reminds of ill famous communist education and the unsuccessful attempt to create a new socialist man acting according to MOKOBUKO = Moral Code of Builder of Communism. As in then the CMEA countries, so now in the EU countries, the citizens live in accordance with their national traditions that resist any unification efforts.

#### TRADITIONALISTS VERSUS WIDENERS

Other risks reducing the security of the contemporary world, as highlighted by the Copenhagen School proponents are problems in the economic sphere and other processes, often of global origin. *Threats appear in new guises*. To the dangers and threats, without any doubt, belong the following: economic threats, the vulnerability of modern technology, computer crime, power blackouts,<sup>20</sup> changes in the political field, high unemployment, so-called "non-diseases" (swine flu, AIDS, alcohol and drugs addiction), crime, bribery, orga-

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the writing (commenting) journalist understand the issue. Here I really suspect that a number of journalists (TV or radio presenters) are not professionals. On the contrary, they are rather capable of „rectal alpinism" let they are lead to this 'performance' by anything (besides money and their own visibility it is a "gratitude" to those who pay them). In the Czech media space, to the detriment of the cultivation of social environment, there are no such investigative journalists like Michael Moore. And so, they ultimately contribute to the creation of insecure environment. They gradually contribute to the degradation of fundamental value pillars upon which not only democracy but especially national security rest. Watchdogs of democracy are becoming „lazy cats" slowly eating away political system and its security [ZEMAN 2012, 137- 140].

<sup>18</sup> Sir ROBERT HUTSCHISON: (1871-1960), Physician's prayer. From inability to let well alone. From too much zeal for the new and contempt for what is old. From putting knowledge before wisdom, science before art, and Cleverness before common sense; From treating patients as cases; And from making the cure of the disease more grievous than the Endurance of the same, Good Lord, deliver us.'

<sup>19</sup> current status = existing condition

<sup>20</sup> As shown by a recent (2003) experience in the USA and Canada, where there were 50 million people left without electricity in the northeast of the country. Disasters of this type can cause a chain reaction in other systems of complicated infrastructure of modern society.

nized crime and its penetration into society, an aging Euro-Atlantic population, migration, population decline, piracy at sea and in the third medias and their technology, vanishing resources of oil, water, tropical forests and certain food. Also a loss of society's memory (see our last extraordinary parliamentary elections that were "outside" assessed as a total collapse of the party system established in November 1989), fading tolerance, increasing arrogance, changing face of democracy, flourishing bureaucratic structures, foolish elite and media, escalating aggression and an increasing desire of political parties and their representatives for power, stupid and arrogant decisions of politicians and media activity, political culture steeped in corruption and clientelism. Czech people see *clientelism and corruption* as a high security risk. All this logically offers up a change of view on the role of traditionalists' security studies that, in their implementation of strategic security visions and objectives, are limited to military-political topics. On the contrary, the "wideners" wish to include into the security studies also the current economic, social and environmental sectors. Economic threats are much more realistic than the military ones, and the likelihood that the society will endanger itself, is substantially higher than a risk of being militarily attacked from the outside [ROBEJŠEK 2006, 48]. In the opinion of the Copenhagen school representatives more important than a strong army is the defence against economic aggressions and social pressures/demands of immigrants pouring into Europe from countries whose culture is not only incompatible with our traditions, but also with the environment. However, traditionalists are neither willing, nor they are able to put this theory into practice.

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