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MIGRATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES. DOES THE NATION STATE HAVE A SUPERSTATE?

Several serious circumstances led to the writing of this essay: since 2008 the crisis remains, albeit with varying degrees of intensity, the situation in the field of international security, as well as debt and institutional crises, are worsening not only in the eurozone. Probably the organized migratory wave of war, economic and climate migrants continues to move across the permeable borders of the Schengen area, showing how the European Union is fragile and helpless. [Klaus, Weigl, 2015] German Chancellor Angela Merkel said there is 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, runs counter to European cohesion and stops differentiating between the immigrant and the refugee. Migration divides EU Member States into patriarchal and patrimonial and distrust between municipalities. Between „old" and „new" EU countries, scissors are opened. In addition, in some regions of Europe (France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom) there are closed communities where the majority law is not valid. Our current socio-political and economic existence is based on a traditional understanding of security. However, the second decade of the 21st century represents a political and military conservative mirror that reflects the image of prosperity and security from a different angle than in previous years. Dramatic developments have led to massive migration of the peoples of the African and Asian continent and to the division of the European Union, especially with regard to the permanent mechanism of redistribution of asylum seekers. Our aim is to contribute to discussion and reflection on topical issues of security environment and security system as a follow-up to the dramatic development that have resulted in the massive migration of people from the African and Asian continent, and in the European Union's break-up, especially in view of the permanent mechanism of redistribution of asylum seekers. We are focused on to what extent the security system of the EU and national states has been threatened and what the threatening factors are. Our aim is to point out that the international security situation has not changed for the better in the second

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decade of the 21ˢᵗ century. For this purpose, the author uses deductive, analytical, comparative, scientific methods such as exploration, prediction, explanation, and Hanlon's razor.

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JEL Classification Codes: F22.

> *The most valuable contribution,*
> *we can make to the integrating Europe,*
> *is our dearly paied 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. 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.

1. Migration exists from negotiation

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:

$$M=I-E$$

where:
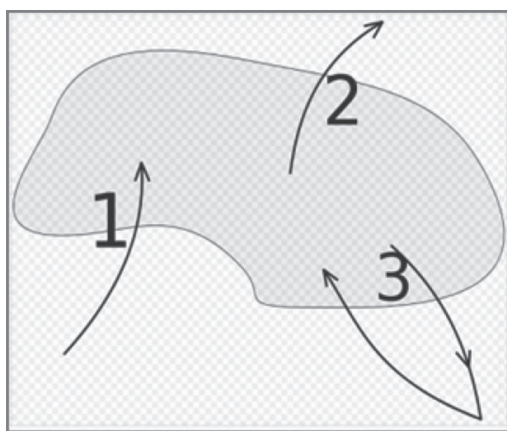M – Migration Balanc,
I – Number of immigrants,
E = Number of emigrants.

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. 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 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 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 exulsts, and in some contexts we are more likely to use the term exiles [Morberg, 1976]. 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.

Figure 1. Migration, emigration and re-emigration
Source: own study.

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 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.

2. Accessions of the V4 countries to the migration crisis and security

2.1. Czech Republic and migration crisis and security

Although the number of asylum seekers in the Czech Republic is growing steadily, their number is still relatively low. The reason is geographical location, relatively lower economic level compared to Western neighbors, small communities of foreign nationals from countries with the highest number of asylum seekers, and also the already mentioned restrictive immigration policy. Although the EU has approved redistribution quotas, which have become mandatory for the Czech Republic, only individual persons have actually been redistributed. The Czech president's negative comments on Muslim migrants cited in foreign media contribute to the fact that even in the coming years, the Czech Republic will not be a popular destination for Muslim immigrants.The Czech Republic's spending on migration in 2015 amounted to about one billion crowns, which is less than one thousand of the state budget for the year. The Czech Republic has contributed to the relevant European Union funds, assisting the Middle East, the Western Program (in support of Syrian inhabitants and refugees) as well as the UNHCR. The largest amounts from the state budget of the Czech Republic were allocated in the context of migration for the purposes of stabilizing the countries that are the source of migration and the place of the main transit of migrants. Humanitarian aid to countries hit by the refugee crisis and war conflicts is also significant.

2.2. Hungary and migration crisis and security

Hungarian leaders' views differ greatly from the Brussels mainstream, and also about issues surrounding the migration crisis. The Hungarian Government's approach to migrants is constantly criticized by most European states. Hungary, like the Czech

Republic, rejected the idea of mandatory quota for the redistribution of migrants, and in December 2015 Hungary even filed an action against these quotas at the European Court of Justice. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán is one of the hardest opponents of the EU's immigration policy. Orban in Hungary unofficially assumed the role of leader in V4 on issues of migration crisis. However, despite strong disagreements between the Hungarian government and Brussels, the Hungarian population still agrees with the idea of European cooperation, as evidenced by the 2014 research, when 48% of the voters voted the confidence of the EU. Like some other V4 leaders, Hungary has radically expressed itself about the current migration crisis. Hungary clearly refused mandatory redistribution of refugees through quotas. Already after the outbreak of the 2015 migration crisis, Hungary has decided to build a barrier to protect the Hungarian border in the south, thus limiting the transition from Hungary to Germany. The Hungarian government perceives refugees and migrants from the 2015–2016 wave as those who have gone to Europe without permission and are reluctant to cooperate with local authorities. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban himself was the first European leader to hold a referendum on mandatory quotas on October 2, 2015; most voters voted against mandatory quotas. In 2016, Orbán proposed Lisbon as a solution to the current migration crisis in Europe. According to Orbán, Schengen has to go through the subsequent changes that will help to stop the collapse of the EU.In his speech in March 2016, Orban pointed out that immigrants bring increased crime and terrorism to European countries. Mass immigration from different regions is a threat to the European way of life, culture, customs, and Christian traditions. He also stressed that the previous immigrants were not able to get too involved, living in their own communities with the view that the current migration crisis is planned and directed, and its purpose is to change the cultural nature of Europe and destroy the sovereign nation states. Hungary's attitude towards the migration crisis of 2015–16, along with the rejection of a state-funded redistribution mechanism or campaign against immigration, illustrates the decision to build a fence at the country's borders. The decision to build a fence took place only after other Member States did not respond to the request for assistance in resolving this crisis. It should be recalled that Hungary sought to address the situation in accordance with its duty to protect the EU's external borders. Since September 2015, Hungary has built 175 km of fence along the border with Serbia, then on the border with Croatia another 375 km fence. The construction of fencing at the border was followed by other European states. A number of countries have thus tightened border controls at the EU's internal borders.

2.3. Poland and migration crisis and security

Poland, the only Central European country, was not directly confronted with the effects of the migration crisis. As far as geographical location is concerned, it is furthest away from migration routes, where refugees and migrants come to Europe. On the other

hand, Poland actively participated in the search for a solution to the migration crisis. According to surveys from the PEW Research Center, Poland is the country with the largest share of EU support. Poland, however, abandoned the key vote in the V4 and supported the EC's proposal with quotas. Petr Kratochvil sees it as a pragmatic decision by Poland, but it does not change the fact that Poland is essentially the same with other V4 countries in most of the attitudes towards migration. An important figure for Polish and European politics is Donald Tusk, who has been President of the European Council since 2014. As he is one of the most important positions in the EU, his attitude to European integration is proactive. The current security challenges that threaten the future of the EU and therefore Schengen, including migration, are perceived as grave and at the same time claim that only a single EU can solve the situation without jeopardizing the future of European integration. All the important measures that EU member states have to take must be implemented in a coordinated and cooperative manner. According to Tusk, it is essential for the country to financially support countries under pressure from the migration crisis. However, on the other hand, the EU will expect intensive assistance from the partners, thus avoiding any humanitarian disasters. The EU must prioritize a suitable migration policy that will help resolve the current crisis and not the other way round. For Tusk, the most important issue is how we have control over our borders. The future of Schengen is threatened, so European countries have to step up border controls. Witold Waszczykowski, Polish Foreign Minister, defined the migration crisis as a result of negligence. Europe has only concentrated on the crisis in the eurozone, Greece, Brexit, and has not followed the events in the Middle East after the outbreak of the Arab Spring that has seen a number of conflicts, including the situation in Libya, which has been affected by European intervention as well. Poland has expressed little willingness to accept refugees, with the fact that they themselves are heading to Germany or Sweden. The question of mandatory quotas later on, Poland, like the other V4 countries, was considered dead. Concerning security concerns at EU level, according to Waszczykowski, there is no real common foreign and security policy, so any measures in connection with the security risks of migration will be solved by Poland or NATO or bilateral cooperation with the US or individual regional neighbors .

2.4. Slovakia and migration crisis and security

Most Slovak political elites agree on the approach to current security risks and hence also rhetoric towards the EU and the future of Schengen. The opposition to government under the leadership of the Smer party represents, in addition to a part of the opposition, the Slovak president Andrej Kiska himself, who, unlike the domestic government, supported most of the EU's steps in the area of migration waves. Regarding mandatory quotas, Kiska argued at the end of 2015 that it was not a lucrative solution, but that it had to be accepted if decided by the relevant European institutions. He also added that

the migration crisis has been the biggest problem for Europe since the end of World War II. The prominent opposition politician and chairman of the political party, Freedom and Solidarity, Richard Sulik, opposed to President Andy Kiska, refused mandatory quotas and overall perceived the whole process of so-called compulsory distribution of refugees very negative. Slovakia has therefore generally rejected the quotas, but a small number of refugees have been accepted under voluntary redistribution.

3. Hubris syndrom and lucifer's effect

D. Owen 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". "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]. 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.*" [Owen, 2011]. Usually, though not always, they are punished for that deed by Nemesis. 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 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
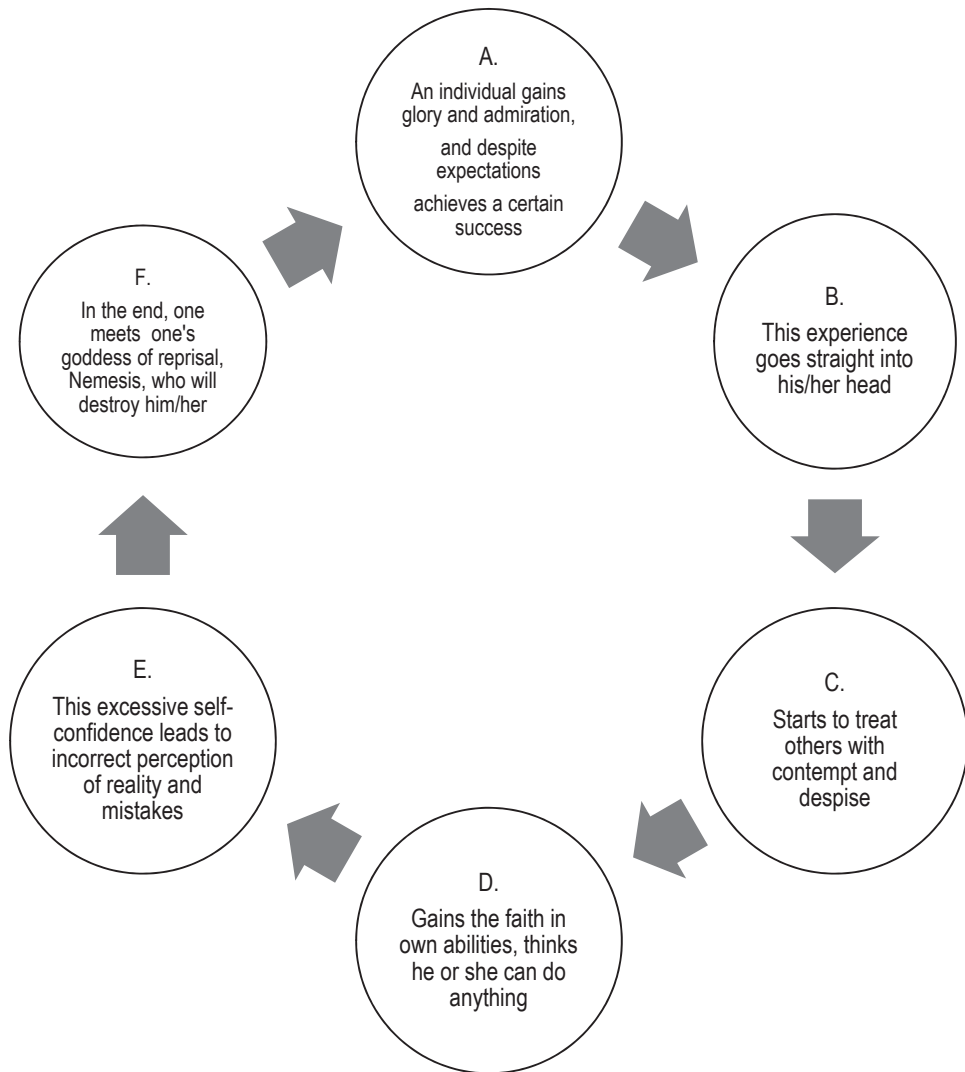
Hare and Paul Babiak, subject their entire holding to *Lucifer's effect* (give me a power and I will give you prosperity and security) are political psychopaths and parasitic predators. We can see a profound discrepancy between the performance of (not only Czech) political entrepreneur and the reward (income) that he/she will receive from voters.

3.1. Hubristic behaviour, security threat and national security of the Visegrad countries

A typical feature of hubristic behaviour is the inability to leave the troughs in time. Even the Book of books 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 (Fig. 2) [Rožňák, 2014].

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.

A.
An individual gains 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.
Gains 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

Figure 2. Hubris syndrom – a vicious circle

Source: own study.

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].

The hubris syndrome 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.

4. Basic changes in the performance of the danger of citizens of national states of the European Union

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 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 Sandor, [Šandor, 2018] 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.

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].

4.1. The aggressive war – brain drain and security

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 poverty, 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.
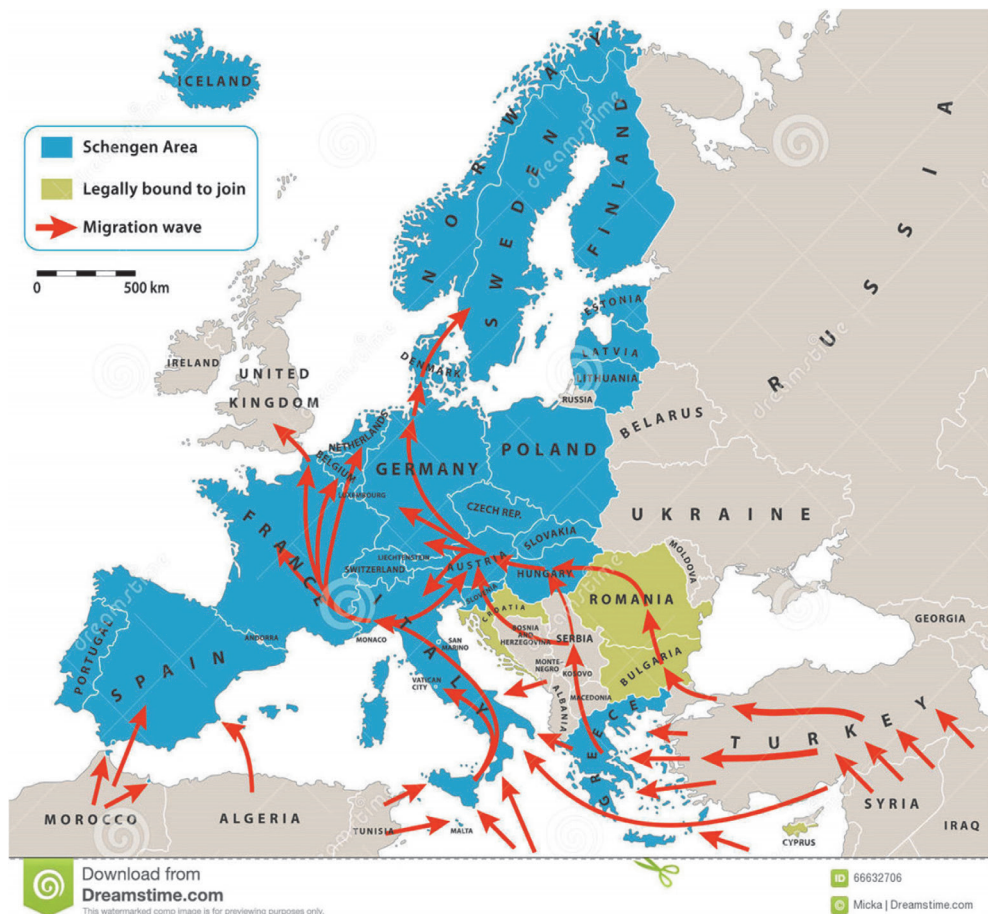

Figure 3. Main trends of migration to Europe / countries of the European Union

4.2. Free cross-border movement

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. 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]. 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 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),
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]. 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. In this context, 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 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]. Politicians have a duty to intervene only if such intervention has a real chance to improve the current status 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.

5. Traditionalists versus wideners and security

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, changes in the political field, high unemployment, so-called „non-diseases" (swine flu, AIDS, alcohol and drugs addiction),

crime, bribery, organized 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]. 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.

Conclusion

The stability, freedom and democracy of the individual regions of Europe are threatened, among other things, by the fact that the national elite is clinging to the horizontal, non-systemic and chaotic governance of society. The current situation reflects the chaos in Africa and the Middle East and the changing conditions in Afghanistan. In Europe, a political, cultural, spiritual and physical disaster of cataclysmic proportions has been imminent, comparable to the fall of the Roman Empire and of Eastern Byzantium a thousand years later. Ostentatious humanists abuse the situation and undermine democratic principles and the fundamental values of Christianity on which European nation states stand. If they do so consciously or unconsciously, because of their cunning or stupidity, it does not matter. Politicians and the mass media let the Lucifer's genie out of the bottle. The Schengen borders are permeable – citizens of the EU member states are vulnerable. The security has been threatened not only by terrorism, radical Islamism, global or regional mass migration, caused by growing shortage of water, food, democracy and freedom in some parts of the world, but also by the attitude of the elites and the mass media, and by their hybrid behavior.

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