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**Instruments of the European Union
and their Application in the Euro-Mediterranean
Partnership**

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Exposition and definition of the theme

Relations between the European states and the MENA region (the Middle East and North Africa) look back to a thousand year past. In the changing international environment after the Cold War non-military factors of security increasingly came into the focus of the attention. By the foundation of the European Union (in 1993) the military and economic security of the Mediterranean region had become one of the priorities of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, due to the position of the states located on the Northern bank of the Mediterranean (France, Spain, Italy, Greece). Those countries have had a close relationship with their southern neighbours (especially France with its former colonies in the region) on the one hand, and worried about the indirect security risks (e.g. illegal immigration) emanating from economic divergencies, on the other.

Following the end of the bipolar world order, international relations became enriched with new theories. To mention only the most important and well-known ones, Francis Fukuyama published his thesis about the advance of liberal democracy („the end of history”), followed by the response of Samuel Huntington about the clash of civilisations/cultures as well as the theories of Barry Buzan and representatives of Copenhagen School upgrading security and security research to a new level. Changes in the traditional security policy instruments were also reflected by the creation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership – EMP (1995) in which the European Union amended its political and military cooperation with the countries of the Mediterranean region with economic and cultural dimensions.¹

This thesis aims at examining and analyzing the set of instruments of the European Union applied in the handling of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, including the „soft” i.e. economic, societal and environmental categories of security,² beside the traditional military perception of the term, laying the main emphasis on the activity of the

¹ Cooperation between EU and MENA countries were regulated by Euro-Med treaties, cooperation was realised both on bilateral and multilateral levels.

² Military security was enlarged with the application of „soft” areas (like economic and social development instruments) by Buzan, Waever and de Wilde. (Buzan, Waever, de Wilde, 1998)

Mediterranean Partnership and the *Union for the Mediterranean– UfM*, founded in 2008.

The European Union wants to preserve its significance in the rapidly changing world, however, many of its member states „are geographically small, economically fragile, and showing a demographically declining and ageing trend”. EU has to face global, regional and local challenges under such conditions. It strives at providing regional security primarily by the instruments of its neighbourhood policy focused, among other directions, on the Southern and Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. In the recent decades, the relationship of the European Union with its Mediterranean neighbours has been manifested in the harmonisation of such EU policies as the regulation of environmental protection directed at water cleaning, economic aid, starting a social and cultural dialogue with the assistance of the Anna Lindh Foundation, support to civil societal initiatives and education. When the Union for the Mediterranean was founded its priorities included also energy security. At present, the EU implements the support to target regions identified in EMP through practical projects.³

Examining the three „baskets” of the EMP on the basis of the five security sectors of Buzan, we can see that they can be harmonized with political and military policies to be found in the first, while economic policies are in the second and policies belonging to societal and cultural sectors are in the third ”basket”. The original mandate of the EMP is based on the strategic significance of the three (political/security, economic and societal/cultural) „baskets” of the Mediterranean. The objectives of the Euro-Mediterranean process in the political and security area are to provide peace and security; in security issues to change the „traditional” viewpoint and to guarantee

³In the framework of the UfM, the EU runs development programmes in various areas: i) in the field of transport and urban development (e.g. the integration of Jordanian railways into the regional railways network, LOGISMED Training Activities Program for training logistics experts, construction of Trans-Maghreb Motorway, application of a strategy providing a sustainable urban and area development; ii) in the field of environment and water management (the establishment of a desalination plant in Gaza strip, management and financing of the Mediterranean water sector); iii) social and civil issues (e.g. higher education of young women, intermediate vocational retraining of unemployed women, strengthening social position of women in the sustainable development of the region); iv) in the field of higher education and research (establishment of the Euro-Mediterranean University in Fez, support to more than 100 persons with higher or doctoral degree to find employment); v) in energy (the Mediterranean solar energy plan for the use of renewable energy); vi) in economic development (the establishment of an Euro-Mediterranean enterprise development centre).

mutual self-restraint; in the economic field growth, free trade zone, aid, knowledge-transfer; and in the societal and cultural areas social dialogue.

International development is a „specificity” i.e. a particular instrument of the European Union included in the Treaty of Rome as early as in 1957. Then the member states of European Economic Communities included their economic cooperation with the Maghreb area in the Treaty of Rome covering only the former colonies of the founders, while nowadays, the economic instruments of the UfM serve development objectives directed at the entire Mediterranean with a special regard to decreasing the existing differences between the states in the region.

The role of the Union in regional development is not directed against nation states, just on the contrary, it helps them to adjust more easily to the challenges of globalisation. Therefore, van Langenhove described the given process not as a post-Westfalian, but rather as a neo-Westfalian world order. The old world order „brought about a positive development in governance, but (...) resulted in an incredible amount of violence. In the world of a multiple regionality, single national identity can be changed for a more realistic approach permitting citizens to have a variety of regional identities. The world of regionality should not be a more complex one, however, it should be one that offers a better chance for peace and liberty.”

For developed economies it is an obvious fact that economic transformation and liberalisation could not go without social damages. South and East Mediterranean states do not have social policies nor welfare systems adopted by Western Europe, consequently, they are unable to compensate for social costs unless such expenses are covered by various EU funds and support resources.

International development has been classified among economic instruments. In my view, international development as an instrument has a much broader significance since it can directly affect the political, economic, social and environmental sectors. In those cases when development aid is used for arms procurement it makes an impact on the military sector but then the effect is indirect.

History and theses of the research

The objective of the research is to find the answer to the question whether the instruments of the European Union are capable of positively influencing the situation in the Euro-Mediterranean area in general and the settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular.

Applied methodology

The subject of the research is the examination of the role and instruments of the European Economic Community/European Communities/European Union in the evolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since the beginning of the Oslo process (1993) until the definition of the new frames of the European Neighbourhood Policy (2011).⁴

From the exposition of the subject to the drawing of the conclusions I followed the subsequent structure:

- a) *Chapter 1: exposition and definition of the theme:*
- Evolution of the relations of the Euro-Mediterranean area from the Cold War till 2011,
 - events that influenced security policies,
 - economic relations of the European Union with the Palestinian Authority and Israel,
 - introduction of the Mediterranean policy of the European Union,
 - introduction of the manoeuvring space of the European Union in the handling of the conflict, the regional security complex theory.
 - evolution of the Euro-Mediterranean regional security complex theory.

⁴When introducing and analysing certain issues and events, the indicated time intervals may have been enlarged. In such cases the Author was guided by her intention to highlight the given problematics with due accuracy.

b) Chapter 2: analysis of the foreign and security policy interests of the European Union in the Mediterranean region:

- The limited capacities and capabilities of military instruments of the European Union,
- analysis of the issues of Palestinian statehood,
- limits of manoeuvring space of the European Union in the Middle East as the consequence of US dominance; survey of traditional divergences between US and EU approaches,
- the position of the European Union in the Quartet, the role of the Quartet in conflict management.

c) Chapter 3: the examination of „soft instruments” applied by the European Union in the economic, social and environmental security sectors of Israel and the Palestinian territories:

- introduction and analysis of economic instruments applied by the European Union and its member countries (donors) towards the conflicting Palestinian and Israeli sides,
- examination of the effect of EU development aid projects in the peace process,
- answer to the question about the efficiency of Union programs in providing economic, social and environmental security.

d) Chapter 4: summary of the academic results of the research implemented in Chapters 2 and 3; recommendations.

Analysing the subject of this research, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, it seemed obvious to rely on the theory of the regional security complex, since the Middle East offers, by the unanimous statements of experts and analysts, almost the best example of security complexes. However, the system of relations and instruments of Europe with the states of the Maghreb and the Mashreq i.e. the multifaceted and institutionalised Euro-Mediterranean relationship made it inevitable to study the works of Astrid B. Boening who, thoroughly examining the conditions of the Euro-Mediterranean region from political, military, economic, environmental and societal points of view, exposed and proved that the Euro-Mediterranean area can be taken as a single security complex.

On the basis of the theoretical background outlined in Chapter 1, my hypotheses have been elaborated in Chapters 2 and 3. As far as research methodology is concerned, I primarily applied literature-processing, followed by an analysis of the obtained basic information (documents, statistical data). My participation, both active and passive, in national and foreign lectures and conferences has also contributed to the broadening of my knowledge, further deepening in different aspects of my theme, while the questions that followed my lectures put certain issues in a new light. My work has not been following a rigorous data-processing method, however, the database has an important role in supporting my statements and conclusions.

During the research I drafted and proved the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: the theory of security sectors applied to nation states by Barry Buzan is suitable also for the analysis of the Euro-Mediterranean security space

When Astrid Boening „created” the Euro-Mediterranean security space she proved that the concept of security space can be defined by different approaches. For example, Péter Marton, in his doctoral thesis, analyses security space through a sectorial approach trying to find the answer to the question about the existence of sectorial security spaces. However, the approach adopted by the European Union during the formation of its Mediterranean policy, seems similar to the one used by Astrid Boening.

Hypothesis 2: European Union programs seem less efficient in crisis management than traditional instruments applied by states

Before justifying the hypothesis it is indispensable to define efficiency. In the literature,⁵ the term is interpreted primarily as a basic category of economic science. In this approach, a project or program is regarded efficient if the instruments of its financial support are utilised within a certain deadline and with the observation of rules (e.g. European community law, legal regulations in the recipient country) and the

⁵ For more details see e.g. Kengyel, Ákos (2008), Cohesion and financing, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó (in Hungarian); Nagy, Sándor Gyula (2007), Comparative survey of the utilisation of European Union funds in the case of certain countries, Európai Tükör, January 2007, pp.94-102. (in Hungarian); Nagy, Sándor Gyula (2008), Divergencies between effectivity and efficiency of European Union support in the case of instrument ROP 1.2, Európai Tükör June 2008, pp.102-111. (in Hungarian); Santos, Indhira (2008), Is Structural Spending on Solid Foundations? Bruegel Policy Brief, 2008/02

objectives of the program or project are fulfilled by the end of the implementation. To increase efficiency it is indispensable (i) to concentrate on the priorities; (ii) to reach conclusions by discussions on higher level, (iii) to apply a less sophisticated, more transparent and more efficient management and control system; (iv) to set clear objectives, precise planning, evaluation of results in the beginning, in the course and in the end of the program period and to utilise experiences.

The objective of the application of European Union instruments in the MENA region is to decrease development differences between the states of the Northern and Southern shores of the Mediterranean, creating a secure, stable and reliable environment in the neighbourhood of the Union. The waves of upheavals called the „Arab Spring” in 2011, fundamentally shook the faith in the efficiency of Union tools and changed the balance of power in the Euro-Mediterranean security environment. The „price” of security increased essentially in real and figurative sense alike, development aid, political partnership and social engagement necessitated more significant expenditures.

Hypothesis 3: International development policy is a „special” element of European Union instruments, preferably applied by the EU in conflict management including its efforts to settle the Palestinian-Israeli conflict

From the dominant theories of international relations it is the realist school that identifies foreign aid as an instrument of the implementation of foreign policy objectives. This idea constituted one of the main starting points of my dissertation. Development aid along with participation in peace building operations are regarded by leading politicians as a form of manifestation of their power by which they can legitimise the capabilities of their state.

International development cooperation analysis is an inter-disciplinary area since it is studied, beside political scientists, also by economists. Methodological divergencies emanating from this dichotomy, can be traced also in the literature. From the two areas I give preference to the research tools of political science, since the examination of Union support provided to the Israeli (and no less to the Palestinian) economies and societies on a purely mathematical basis, snatching it out from its political environment, could not give a realistic picture nor a meaningful answer to the central question of the research.

Economic and financial support offered following peace treaties as a real instrument was seen first after World War 2 and has become a general practice of long

lasting peace building since the 1980s. However, if we look for the inter-relation between aid and peace the efficiency of the former seems, in many cases, is questionable.

Hypothesis 4: International development policy of the European Union causes controversial social changes

In the evaluation of support provided to the Palestinians a problem arises, namely, that during the Oslo process the harmony between short-term intentions and prospective objectives of the donors was almost irrecognisable because the road leading to reaching prospective objectives „was so confused (...) that it was not clear what donors practically supported.”

The „Arab Spring” took the entire international community by surprise including the European Union which was in no hurry to react. The EU continued to put its economic and financial instruments at the disposal of the UfM partner states’ governments, however, the volume of the aid decreased, partly as a consequence of the euro-crisis caused by the 2008 world economic recession.

In the Western world, the idea survives that economic growth can be reached by development aid resulting in positive social changes i.e. democratisation, improvement of living conditions which can lead to the elimination of the conflict. However, Johan Galtung expressed his doubt as early as 1980, pointing out that on the basis of the international experience such a belief lays on uncertain foundations.

Hypothesis 5: Crisis management in the Middle East requires a new approach and new methods

After World War 2, Europe faced social, political, economic and structural challenges as the MENA region does today. By the application of efficient instruments, the EEC/EC/EU has successfully overcome the hardships and stabilised its position. The EU strives at transplanting this experience in other parts of the world trying to establish the inter-relation between structural reforms, peace and stability. Former President of the European Commission Romano Prodi in his speech in Derry, 2004, stated: „The Union brought about the longest lasting peace in our history. Its example gives hope for millions in the world. Our success shows that we have found a model. This model we apply in our relations with our neighbourhood and with states beyond it.”

Presumptions formulated in the above hypotheses raise the issue of suitability and efficiency of the mainstream concepts and practice of our days. Beside this, the unsolved nature of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict can also be attributed to the complexity of the problem. The vision of Western politicians that the conflict can be settled by international aid exclusively, will be examined in Chapters 2 and 3, by the analysis of EU instruments

The objective of the thesis is to examine the efficiencies and inefficiencies of the EU's instruments in the management of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the suitability of EU programs for peace building.

Summary of the findings of the research

The Barcelona process was adversely affected by the divergences between the expectations towards the crisis management and the concrete results achieved. Failures can be explained by management deficiencies and the lack of political will. Certain problems emanated from multidimensional security challenges/threats and divergencies in military capabilities. From the Arabic point of view, the cause of the lack of success was the impossibility of confidence building and crisis prevention within the EMP framework without a Middle East peace agreement as well as the divergences in the threat perceptions between the North and the South of the Mediterranean. Such perceptual divergences generated a lack of confidence on the South towards the CSDP (Common Security and Defence Policy), which added to the dissatisfaction over the economic and financial aid of the European Union.

However, it can be considered as a positive factor that in EU's crisis management the current situation of partner countries was always taken into consideration along with political exigencies and the selection of applicable instruments was always based upon the objectives and the needs of the institutions concerned. For the European Union it is of extreme importance to have a stable political environment in its neighbourhood, however, neither resources nor capabilities are at its disposal to pursue a large scale crisis prevention or crisis management in the long run. In this field, the EU is capable of achieving results only by getting involved in the processes in the early stages of the threat. In the light of the new threats, e.g. nuclear proliferation, illegal migration or

organised crime, sustainable security requires answers other than the traditional military instruments. EU-MENA relations are predominated mainly by migration, energy, cross-border crime and environmental issues that cannot be kept within state borders nor can they be solved for the time being, challenges that concurrently exist also within the EU.

Institutional reform within EMP has been urged mainly by the Southern partners because they also wanted to participate in the decision making. An important innovation in this direction was the introduction of the rotating presidency. Another initiative, a new „Balladur plan” would have also been useful (if realised) because it contained mechanisms which had been tested earlier by the EU, on the one hand, and seemed applicable to the conflicts of the Mediterranean, on the other.

Considering the long duration and complexity of the Arab-Israeli conflict it would be important to separate it, especially in human thinking, from the issues not related to it.

For a successful crisis management it is indispensable to combine short and long term instruments, giving preference to the latter, and to undertake *joint ownership*. Arab-Israeli relations are often characterised by mistrust, it would be therefore feasible to raise the awareness of crisis prevention instruments between the neighbours. The role of the „North” in this context would be the creation of the preconditions of „South-South cooperation”. As long as there is no generally consented definition for security accepted also by the states of the region, security cooperation cannot be achieved.

Security of the Mediterranean is an essential component of European security and this challenge cannot be met by the EU alone. Broader frameworks are needed as it was demonstrated during the management of the Macedonian crisis in March, 2001. Cooperations of this kind could consolidate political reforms and social engagement within the given state and can influence, beside state level, also regional and local processes expanding their impact to already existing groupings and organisations (e.g. Euro-Mediterranean Forum, Group 5+5). Therefore, the EU and its Mediterranean partners could act as advocates of the universalisation of already existing multilateral systems (e.g. the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, the Geneva Protocol, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons).

The European Union is continuously suffering from the lack of autonomous military resources to be offered by member states on a voluntary basis. At the same time, the EU has made a remarkable progress in post-conflict situations by measures

against the reoccurrence of conflicts, or the welfare of the population (e.g. reform of security sector in Bosnia-Herzegovina, People's Democratic Republic of Congo, Palestinian territories), by the consolidation of legal system (Kosovo, Iraq), by the protection of refugees (Tchad), and by the control of the implementation/adoption of peace treaties.

For the European Union, the effects of the 2008 global economic and financial crisis, proliferation of security actors, expansion of complex and traditional threats can offer chances and challenges at the same time. The increased number of security actors should be regarded by the EU as a basis of multi level governance and cooperation rather than a strike against its position. The Union model can provide an added value in crisis management, therefore, it should focus on this capacity as well as on the cooperation with traditional and emerging actors.

Findings of the research

In my thesis I consider as findings the following:

Based upon the security theory of the Middle East elaborated by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, I have explored the dynamics of Palestinian-Israeli conflict in different periods. I have proved that the definition of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict presented by Buzan and Waever was valid for the period up till 1993 (the beginning of the Madrid/Oslo peace process) when the given conflict made an impact on the entire Middle East regional security complex and sometimes dominated also the global security agenda. In the post-1993 stage, the conflict „withdrew” into the Levantine sub-complex, however, its impact on the agenda of international politics remained unchanged. Examining the second aspect of my research, by „re-enlarging” the space under scrutiny to the Euro-Mediterranean area, I repeatedly proved the unchanged character of the conflict.

On the basis of the security sectors of Barry Buzan, I defined and analysed the set of instruments applied by the European Union in the management of the Palestinian-Israeli crisis. I have proven in details that the approach by which international development is regarded merely as an economic instrument, is not entirely valid, since both its content and its effect are much more than simple economic aid. During its application in conflict prevention and handling, international development directly

influences the evolution of various (political, economic, social and environmental) security sectors and makes an indirect impact also on the changes of the military sector.

Possible areas of application of the findings of the research

I do not consider my research as completed and closed, I wish to continue it in the field of relations of the European Union with the Mediterranean region. In my view, my research findings can stimulate further research. Relying on my present conclusions I deem it feasible to continue the research in the near future primarily in the following areas: crisis management, analyses serving crisis prevention, research of international development and its impacts, the neighbourhood policy of the European Union including the Mediterranean region. In my thesis I have outlined the possibilities, positive results and shortcomings, areas where instruments of crisis management are efficient and those where they need corrections. However, the space limits of the thesis made it impossible to analyse all potential aspects and problems of the theme. Therefore, it seems possible and also desirable, both on a theoretical and a practical level, to continue to search the means of the increasing of efficiency of crisis management instruments.

The results of my thesis can be used in the research of security issues of the Mediterranean region, particularly the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the neighbourhood policy of the European Union and also for background analysis of the EU's crisis management. The thesis can also serve as a recommended literary source in courses of security and defence policy and European Union studies.

List of Publications

Articles in periodicals

1. T. Cofman Wittes: Hogyan tárgyalnak az izraeliek és a palesztinok. *Külügyi Szemle*, 2012, XI. évfolyam, 1. szám. 188–192. o.
2. Quo vadis, Izrael? Az arab tavasz mint regionális biztonsági kihívás. *I.Hadtudomány*. 2012. elektronikus szám.
http://mhtt.eu/hadtudomany/2012_e_Nagy_Milada_1.pdf
3. Quo vadis, Izrael? Az arab tavasz mint regionális biztonsági kihívás. *II.Hadtudomány*. 2012. elektronikus szám.
http://mhtt.eu/hadtudomany/2012_e_Nagy_Milada_2.pdf
4. Olaj a tűzre? Energia-lelőhelyek és biztonság a Kelet-Mediterráneumban. *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 2013, 6. évfolyam, 2. szám. pp. 79–89.
5. Lőrinczné B. Edit: Az európai uniós bővítések elmélete és gyakorlata a horvát csatlakozás tükrében. *Külügyi Szemle*, 2013, XII. évfolyam, 2. szám. pp. 179–183.
6. International efforts to create the weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East. *AARMS*, 2013. 12. évf. 2. szám, pp. 319–328.

Articles in conference publications

7. Az arab tavasz kihívásai Izrael számára. In: Strausz Péter – Zachar Péter Krisztián (szerk.): *Történelmi emlékezet és identitás. Tanulmányok*. Modern Minerva Könyvek 5. Budapest, Heraldika Kiadó, 2012, pp. 183–193. ISBN 978-963-9204-72-0.
8. Lótuszos forradalom Egyiptomban. In: Majoros Pál (szerk.): *Útkeresés és növekedés. Tudományos évkönyv*, Budapest, BGF, 2012, pp. 105–118, ISSN 1558-8401.
9. Az Európai Unió eszközrendszerének vizsgálata Buzan biztonsági szektorai alapján az euro-mediterrán regionális biztonsági komplexumban. In: *A hadtudomány és a 21. század. Konferenciakötet*. Budapest, DOSZ Hadtudományi Osztály, 2014, ISBN 978-963-89560-4-0, pp. 9–22.

Chapters in volumes

10. Az Észak-atlanti Szerződés Szervezete történetéből: eredmények, kihívások. In: Nyusztay László (szerk.): *Tanulmányok az európai politikai együttműködésről*. BGF, Budapest, 2014, pp. 71–104. ISBN 978-963-08-9705-1.
11. *Vplyv rozvojevej a zahraničnej politiky Európskej Únie na palestínsko–izraelský konflikt*. In: Karlovitz, Tibor János (szerk.): *Current Issues in Some Disciplines*. Komárno, International Research Institute s.r.o., 2013, pp. 21–30.

Curriculum Vitae

Professional experience

Occupation/Post:	lecturer on contract
Employer:	Budapest Business School
Duration:	February 2013 –
Occupation/Post:	Managing Director
Employer:	Aposztróf Publishers, Budapest
Duration:	July 2006 –

Qualifications and competences

2012–2014	National University of Public Service, Budapest Doctoral School of Military Sciences, PhD absolutorium
2011–2012	Budapest Corvinus University, Doctoral School of International Studies
2009–2011	Budapest Business School, MA in International Studies, „International Relations Analyst”, (qualification of Diploma:excellent),
2005–2009	Kodolányi János College, Székesfehérvár, BA in International Relations, specialisation: Foreign and security policy,(qualification of Diploma: excellent)
1985–1989	Grammar School in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky, Slovakia), vocational training in analytical chemistry
2009	C-type exam in English, medium level (professional)
1994	German, Kleines Deutes Sprachdiplom
1994	C-type exam in German, advanced level
1991	C-type exam in English, medium level
1989	Maturity exam in Slovak language, advanced level

Russian and Czech languages: knowledge on basic level

Participation in conferences, lectures

Budapest, October 14, 2011	Conference entitled „ History and Politics –Past and Present. ” Lecture: „Challenges of the Arab Spring to Israel.”
Budapest, November 10-11, 2011	Conference entitled „ Search of the Road to Growth ”Lecture: „Lotus revolution in Egypt”
Nové Zámky (Slovakia), November 29-30, 2013	IRI Inter-disciplinary Conference Lecture: The impact of foreign and development policies of the European Union on thePalestinian-Israeli conflict
Budapest, February 13-14, 2014	Conference entitled „ Military Science in the 21st Century ” Lecture: Analysis of the instruments of the European Union on the basis of Buzan’s theory of security sectors, in the Euro-Mediterraneanregional security complex

Computer skills: MS Office, Internet, AdobeInDesign, Photoshop

Driving licence: since 1989

Public functions

Since June 11, 2013	founding member of the Military Science Section of the National Federation of Doctorandi (PhD Students)
Since September, 2012	member of the Council of the Doctoral School of Military Sciences of National University of Public Service (students’ representative)

Budapest, July 14, 2014

Milada Nagy