POLITICKÉ VEDY / POLITICAL SCIENCES

Autor(i) / Author(s):	**Yevhen Mukhin**
Článok / Article:	**Cultural Security of Slovakia in the Context of the Integration of the Slovak Republic in the EU**
Vydavateľ / Publisher:	**Fakulta politických vied a medzinárodných vzťahov – UMB Banská Bystrica / Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations – UMB Banská Bystrica**

CULTURAL SECURITY OF SLOVAKIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC IN THE EU

Yevhen Mukhin[*]

ABSTRACT
This paper considers the problem of preserving traditional Slovak folk culture after the country's integration into the European Union as an important aspect of national security. In particular, it highlights the overt and covert threats to traditional national culture, which arise as a result of the intensive development of the processes of integration and Europeanisation, mass culture and multiculturalism, legal and illegal migration. The focus of the article, the author gives the inefficiency of the existing cultural policy of the European Union, aimed primarily at the transcultural cooperation rather than to preserve the traditional folk culture of Slovakia. In this regard, the author examines the existing communitarian and national instruments for preservation of traditional national culture of Slovaks gives provides an assessment of their effectiveness and possible ways to solve this complex problem.

Key words: cultural security, integration, Europeanisation, folk culture, securitisation.

Introduction

Preservation of the traditional national culture – cultural security is of extreme importance in the view of globalisation, integration and Europeanisation. These issues are particularly critical in countries which actively participate in current European integration processes, where, on the background of resolution of accumulated economic and domestic political problems, no significant attention is paid to cultural security matters.

Cultural security issues of Slovakia are currently to some extent addressed by national authors, such as **E. Mistrik**, **L. Gogova**, **V. Jancura**. Issues related to migration of traditional culture bearers are dealt with in the works of **S. Svechova**, **D. Draxler**, and **B. Divinsky**. In foreign historiography, researchers such as **G. Vovk**, **Ye. Vodopyanova**, **Yu. Gnanin**, **Ye. Kuznetsova**, **Ye. Pugach**, **M. Savelova**, **A. Vachudova**, **M. Eshtvanikova**, **A. Tevdoy-**

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[*] Yevhen Mukhin is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Modern and Contemporary History, Historical Faculty, Kharkiv National University named after V.N. Karazina, № 101, 61000 Kharkiv, Ukraine, e-mail: evgn1122@rambler.ru.

Burmuli, **Yu. Shcherbakova**, and **R. Aizing** addressed cultural security matters of Slovakia and other aspects of this problem in their works.

While examining general question and conceptions of the theory of security, the author was guided by **B. Busan**, **O. Waever**, **J. Wilde**, **M. Kelstrup**, **R. Emmers**, **C. Oakes**, and **V. Morozov**. The idea of the cultural security was examined in the context of conceptions of such authors as **S. Forrest**, **A. Romanova**, **V. Marmilova**.

Meanwhile, existing papers neither provide an opportunity to assess full potential threats to the Slovak national culture arising in the course of the integration to the EU, nor offer comprehensive ways to solve this problem.

The purpose of this paper is to study the potential risks and threats to traditional culture, which arise due to the development of the European integration process. Definition of concepts such as globalisation, integration and Europeanisation, will be provided, as well as their correlation in the context of the issues covered in our study. Further, on the example of the Slovak Republic the main stages of its integration into the European Union will be discussed and the threats that Europeanisation and integration represent to Slovak traditional culture will be highlighted. To study the potential risks which can create correlated threats, a research of ethno-security measures taken by the communitarian bodies of the European Union and the Slovak Republic in order to preserve the traditional culture will be conducted, an assessment of their effectiveness will be given, as well as practical recommendations on how to remove threats aroused will be suggested for the preservation of traditional culture.

1 European integration and the threat of traditional culture

1.1 Definition of terms

One of the characteristics of the modern world is the phenomenon of globalisation, the existence of which appeared due to the results of scientific-technical and information revolutions of the 20th Century, and as a consequence of the development of transnational economic and informational cooperation (Grinin, 2011, p. 94). In a broad sense, globalisation is the strengthening of the relationship between the individual states in all spheres of society: political, social-economic, technological, informational, military, cultural, etc. (Fedotova, 2004, pp. 47-48).

Its particular manifestation is the European regional integration - a process of conscious and active participation of a group of European countries in the formation of a common economic, social, legal, and later political and cultural space through the convergence of their respective spheres of member-states of the integration processes (Butorina, 2011, pp. 17-18). The integration process is inextricably linked with the process of Europeanisation – export of norms, values and standards of the European Union to the candidate countries in order to achieve consistency between the national and European levels, (Aizing, 2013, pp. 50-51). Europeanisation allows for harmonisation of differences between the parameters of the European Union and associated States, which are in the process of integration to the European Union. At the same time, Europeanisation is one of the factors that significantly increase the risk of the destruction of the traditional culture of the countries that are integrated into the EU.

Safety is the state of being "safe" (from French "sauf"), the condition of being protected against physical, social, spiritual, financial, political, emotional, occupational, psychological, educational or other types or consequences of failure, damage, error, accidents, harm or any other event which could be considered non-desirable. Safety can also be defined to be the control of recognised hazards to achieve an acceptable level of risk (Oakes, 2015).

Cultural safety is a relatively new term, which appeared about 10 years ago. In the context of this paper it represents the ability of a society to save specific descriptions in spite of changing conditions and real or virtual threats: in detail, it includes the permanency of schemes of language, culture, identity, societies, national and religious traditions, leaving for changes everything which needs to be excluded (Forrest, 2004).

1.2 The main stages of the integration of the Slovak Republic to the EU

Since it obtained state independence on 1 January 1993, one of the main purposes of the external policy in the Slovak Republic was its joining the European Union. After EU Association Agreement had been signed on 4 October 1993, a practical stage of its implementation started, it ended on 1 May 2004, when Slovakia became a full member of the European Union.

The integration of Slovakia into the EU can be divided into five stages:

1. The beginning of the integration process - from the Association Agreement

on 4 October 1993 to its entry into force after ratification by the EU on 1 February 1995.

2. Development of integration processes - from the beginning of work of the European Commission in Slovakia in March 1995 to the decision at a summit in Luxembourg on exclusion of Slovakia from the list of countries participating in the first wave of EU enlargement on 13 December 1997.

3. Replacement of the Slovak state paradigm in relation to the integration process - from Slovak consolidation of democratic forces in late 1997 to the formation of a government under the leadership of M. Dzurinda on 30 October 1998.

4. Intensification of integration processes - from creation of a new working group "European Commission – Slovakia" on 20 November 1998 to the adoption of the decision to start accession negotiations with the EU Slovakia on 11 December 1999 at a summit in Helsinki.

5. Implementation of the course of the EU integration - from the beginning of accession negotiations with the EU Slovakia on 15 February 2000 prior to its entry into the European Union on 1 May 2004.

The process of integration of the Slovak Republic had its own characteristics, which forced the country to make greater efforts to a successful conclusion. These features are the lack of experience of long-term foreign policy, lack of qualified personnel, prolonged exposure of the Slovaks in the political and economic isolation that were causing a shortage of qualified personnel, especially in the sphere of foreign policy (Gyarfasova, 2007, pp. 105-106). Significant impact on the duration of the process of European integration of Slovakia caused such factors as the political life of the country and its approach to the construction of a functioning market economy, when, due to the activities of Prime Minister Vladimir Mečiar Slovakia was included in the group of non-liberal European states (Vachudova, 2007, p. 150). However, the desire to become a full member of the EU accelerated positive changes in the country, but hard deadlines reform on the part of the EU integration process has provided the necessary dynamics, which resulted in Slovakia becoming a full member of the European Union in 2004.

The state's joining EU on 1 May 2004 had favourable influence on the state's economy. The reverse side of positive economic changes resulted from the Slovak Republic's membership in EU was gradual blurring of the Slovaks' national identity and unification of their traditional national culture – an assembly based on traditions, achievements of the cultural society (language, literature,

music, dancing, games, mythology, rituals, customs, crafts, architecture), which reflect its cultural and social identity and are passed on by word of mouth by imitating and by other means (Tradičná kultúra a osveta, 2014).

1.3 Threats to the traditional Slovak culture

A long-term preparation period and further 10 years of Slovakia's membership in EU allowed discover a number of threats posed on the Slovak traditional culture by Europeanisation and integration:

- Disappearance of the initial cultural environment being a base for development of the traditional culture (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru). Reasons, therefore, included lack of competitive ability of the Slovak's agriculture comparing to EU agricultural producers, no significant allowances from the European funds, unavailability of modern infrastructure and work places resulting in the youth's withdrawal and, consequently, to "dying-out" of the Slovak villages (Jančura, 2007).

- Decrease in a number of natural traditional culture-bearers resulted from labour migration and translocation of the Slovaks for permanent residence abroad; reasons, therefore, included a high unemployment level for the youth, low salary level comparing to other EU member-states, dissatisfaction with domestic economic and political situation in the state (Švecová, 2012; Draxler, 2013). So, approximately 200 thousand Slovaks (over 10% of the state's working population) work abroad (Pugach, 2013, p. 283). According to the official census of population, a number of Slovaks in the state reduced by 262 thousand people from 2001 to 2011 (Resident population by nationality, 2001).

- Increase in a number of other culture bearers within Slovakia due to legal and illegal migration from Southern Asian, African and Eastern European states (Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike, 2011), and due to the European policy concerning national minorities, which favoured a significant increase of Roma (gypsy) population in the state. So, by the time of joining the European Union in 2004, the Slovaks comprised 85.7% of the state population, but by 2012 their number decreased by 80.6% (Zloženie obyvateľov SR podľa národnosti, 2001-2012. 2012). And a number of Roma people, to the contrary, significantly increased: by 70 thousand

during 2002-2011, up to 7.5% of the population (Na Slovensku žije viac ako 400-tisíc Rómov, populačný boom sa nepotvrdil, 2013; Obyvateľstvo v Slovenskej republike a krajoch SR, 2012). According to some Slovak nationalist politicians, uncontrolled development of these processes may result in the fact that the Slovaks stand the hazard of becoming a national minority already in 2030 (Slota, 2012).

- Securitisation of the question of Slovak national culture preservation by representatives of ultra-radical political parties (Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe, 1993, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 1998, Morozov, 2011, p. 26-27), which can promote the development of chauvinism and xenophobia in Slovak society, may become a reason for conflicts on national and religious background (Emmers, 2012, p. 136-138). As a basis for such statements we may cite historically formed Slovak-Hungarian contradictions (O čo ide v slovensko-maďarských vzťahoch?, 2009, Šutaj, 2014, s. 9-11) and contemporary gypsy problem (Higgings, 2013).

- Distortion of the Slovak traditional culture affected by the mass culture (Robert Fico's failure can hardly be explained by 'epanorthosis' of the Slovak electorate, 2014) and neoliberal multiculturalism by means of its unification and commercialisation (Gnanin, 2013). Initiation of economic and political reforms in the state was accompanied by a powerful pro-European propagandistic campaign positively taken by the young generation of the Slovaks. Under current conditions, when mechanisms of the nation's cultural identity formation are not a prerogative for the government (Gnanin, 2013), economy globalisation, opening boundaries for exchanging capitals, goods and people, extension of the European mass media's activity (Mistrík, 2006) had an effect of a powerful social and cultural shock on the Slovaks (Tevdoy-Burmuli, 2012, p. 591), which contributed to the nation's and the people's cultural identity distortion (Gogová, 2009). And high appeal of the European culture for the youth led to gradual decadence of the traditional Slovak national culture.

2 Measures of the cultural security taken by the EU

2.1 The legal basis for the EU's cultural security

Currently, cultural security matters in the view of integration with the EU are addressed both by communitarian EU bodies, and its separate member-states. Within the EU, such work is performed as an integral part of the EU unified cultural policy. Its legal platform is comprised of article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on European Union, 1992), article 115 of the Amsterdam Treaty (Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties establishing the European Communities and certain related acts, 1997), and article 167 of the Treaty of Lisbon (Treaty of Lisbon amending the treaty on European union and the treaty establishing the European community, 2007), which provide for contribution to development of member-states' cultures as well as respect for their national and cultural diversity (Consolidated versions of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, 2012). Main principles of the EU cultural policy are presented in the Resolution of the Ministers of Culture on Implementation of Cultural Policy for Development Purposes dated 2 April 1998, providing for protection of local and regional cultures under threat of the common unification (Водопьянова, 2008). Implementation of the EU policy concerning culture is under supervision of the European Committee Department for Education and Culture, which deals with enhancing awareness of the European history and culture, their expanding, preserving the member-states' cultural legacy, extending non-profit cultural exchanges, developing artistic and cultural work within EU member-states (Водопьянова, 2008).

2.2 Goals and objectives of the cultural policy of the EU

General EU cultural policy is not aimed at harmonisation of the member-states' cultural peculiarities, and facilitates formation of their identity by means of taking regard to national cultural aspects, support of interstate cooperation in cultural area, cooperation between the EU and third states and international organisations, and implementation of certain cultural measures and programs (Savelova, 2013, p. 31).

In particular, it is referred to such EU dedicated programs as:
-   "Arianus" (literature);
-   "Rafael" (cultural legacy protection);
-   "Socrates" (education);

- "Erasmus" (students exchange);
- "Leonardo da Vinci" (specialists training);
- "Media 2007" (AV industry support);
- "Citizens of Europe" (activation of the citizens' participation it the EU life);
- "European Year of Inter-Cultural Dialogue 2008" (establishing mutual understanding between the cultures);
- "Culture 2000" framework programs (allowances for cultural cooperation projects for creation of the unified EU cultural space);
- "Culture 2007-2013" (cooperation between cultural activity participants);
- "Culture 2014-2020" (cross-border cooperation in literature and AV works distribution), "Leader+" regional development programs (support of projects in rural areas, including in cultural sphere) (Vovk, 2007).

Village Upgrade Program had a large importance for preservation of a village as an initial cultural environment for the purpose of maintenance of their distinctive character, landscapes and rural cultures (Program obnovy dediny, 2014; Program obnovy dediny na Slovensku, 2014). However, its scale due to limited finance didn't allow it become one of the key financial tools for traditional folk culture support. Therefore, since 1998 over 83% of all Slovak villages have tried to take part therein, but only 23% of all the offered projects could get the support (Program obnovy dediny na Slovensku, 2014).

The reality is that the measures taken by the European Union for preventing traditional cultures of its Central and Eastern European member-states from disappearing are not sufficient, as the true reasons of these processes are far beyond the cultural sphere. Analysis of existing threats allows claiming that a number of unsolved problems in economic, political, legal and educational areas contribute to their occurrence; it requires a comprehensive approach to their elimination.

3 Cultural security measures taken by the Slovak Republic

3.1 Legal basis for protection of traditional Slovak national culture

The Slovak Republic's government currently takes a number of its own

measures aimed at preservation of the traditional national culture implemented within the non-material cultural legacy protection concept (Tradičná kultúra a osveta, 2014). Legal basis for protection of the non-material cultural legacy in the Slovak Republic is comprised of the laws:

- "On Folk Art and Craft" (Zákon Slovenskej národnej rady z 29. apríla 1958 o ľudovej umeleckej výrobe a umeleckých remeslách 4/1958, 2007);
- "On State Language in the Slovak Republic" (Zákon Národnej rady Slovenskej republiky o štátnom jazyku Slovenskej republiky 270/1995, 1995);
- "On the Matica Slovenská" (Zákon č. 68/1997 o Matici slovenskej, 1997);
- "On Museums and Galleries, and Museum and Gallery Works Protection" (Predpis č. 115/1998 Zákon o múzeách a galériách a o ochrane predmetov múzejnej hodnoty a galerijnej hodnoty, 1998);
- "On Educational Activity"(Zákon z 9. februára 2000 o osvetovej činnosti, 2000);
- "On Delegation of Some Powers from State Administration to Municipal Governments and Higher Territorial Units" (Zákon z 20. septembra 2001 o prechode niektorých pôsobností z orgánov štátnej správy na obce a na vyššie územné celky, 2001);
- "On Protection of Monuments" (Zákon č. 49/2002 o ochrane pamiatkového fondu, 2002);
- "On Provision of Allowances from the Slovak Ministry of Culture" (Zákon z 26. októbra 2010 o poskytovaní dotácií v pôsobnosti Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky, 2010);
- "On Libraries" (Zákon č. 183/2000 o knižniciach, o doplnení zákona Slovenskej národnej rady č. 27/1987 o štátnej pamiatkovej starostlivosti a o zmene a doplnení zákona č. 68/1997 o Matici slovenskej, 2000);
- "On Archives and Registers" (Zákon č. 395/2002 o archívoch a registratúrach a o doplnení niektorých zákonov, 2002);
- "On the Slovaks Living Abroad" (Predpis č. 474/2005 Zákon o Slovákoch žijúcich v zahraničí a o zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov, 2005);

  and a number of international documents:

- "UNESCO Recommendations on Traditional Culture and Folklore Protection" 1989 (Odporúčanie na ochranu tradičnej kultúry a folklore, 1989);
- "Convention on Non-Material Cultural Legacy Protection" 2003 (Dohovor o ochrane nehmotného kultúrneho dedičstva, 2003);
- "Convention on Protection and Encouragement of Diversity in Cultural Self-Expressions" 2005 (Dohovor o ochrane a podpore rozmanitosti kultúrnych prejavov, 2005).

Slovak Republic developed in 2008 "Traditional Folk Culture Protection Concept" (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, 2007), aimed at protection and popularisation of the traditional folk culture (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru 11436/2007, 2007). Based on this concept, "Traditional Folk Culture Protection Program" was adopted in 2008; it provided for creation of a Coordination Centre for Traditional Folk Culture within the National Cultural Centre for a long-term, systematic and comprehensive approach to preservation and development of the national cultural and historical knowledge (Program starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, 2008). "Strategy for Slovak Republic Culture Development, 2014-2020" was adopted in 2013; it claimed preservation of the rich cultural legacy of the Slovaks as one of the priority areas of strategic cultural development and pointed at the insufficient level of cultural project financing, low interest to the traditional culture on the Slovaks' side, and lack of systematic support for this area (Stratégia rozvoja kultúry Slovenskej Republiky na roky 2014-2020, 2013).

3.2 Practical measures to protect traditional Slovak culture

For the protection of traditional culture of Slovakia government employs a number of managerial, institutional, organisational, financial, methodological, educational and social measures.

Practical implementation of these concepts was imposed on the Ministry of Culture of Slovakia, which undertook administration measures on preservation of the traditional folk culture by monitoring, assessing and further adopting the corresponding administrative solutions in this area, based on the formed central database of traditional folk culture (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru 11436/2007, 2007).

Institutional measures on preservation of the traditional culture were connected with creation of various cultural communities and establishments by the state and local authorities, such as Matica Slovenská, the Office for Slovak Living Abroad, networks of information and documentation centres, houses of traditional folk culture, institutes for Academy of Sciences of Slovakia, faculties in universities, colleges and schools with a corresponding specialisation, dedicated state mass media, social associations and other non-profit organisations employed in traditional national culture (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru 11436/2007, 2007).

Among organisational measures we can name establishment of the Council for Non-Material Cultural Legacy Protection at the Ministry of Culture of Slovakia, which coordinates activity of governmental and non-governmental organisations aimed at preservation of the traditional folk culture, and such institutions as the National Centre, Slovak Central Observatory and Centre for Artworks, which directly implemented cultural policy of the Slovak government (Štatút rady na ochranu nehmotného kultúrneho dedičstva, 2011).

Financial measures included investing private funds and direct allowances from the state budget into the culture, implementation of allowance and grant programs (including on account of EU funds) (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, 2007), support programs for young Slovak families (Slota, 2012), and national village reconstruction programs: provision of cheap land plots, tax exemptions for establishment of enterprises and construction of the infrastructure, first of all motorways (Perspektívy vidieckeho osídlenia na slovensku. 2008). Moreover, the government pays significant attention to village reconstruction by engaging the youth by means of creation of work places in agricultural and animal breeding industry (Robert Fico: Slovensko má potenciál na zabezpečenie potravinovej sebestačnosti, 2014).

Methodical measures included establishment of the common terminology on the traditional national culture (e.g. – formation of the Encyclopaedia for Slovak Traditional Culture) (Tradičná ľudová kultúra Slovenska slovom a obrazom, 2014), development of methodical recommendations for educational system and formation of incentives for implementation of the traditional folk culture protection concept and increase in efficiency of their work (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, 2007).

Educational measures were incorporated in development of corresponding educational plans and programs, organisation of respective out-of-school and entertaining events, shifting specialisation of a number of higher educational establishments and schools to study of non-material cultural legacy (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, 2007).

A number of measures enhancing a value of the Slovak traditional culture for the society were also taken in the social sphere. In particular, a list of non-material cultural legacy was made, a contribution of organisations and individuals into preservation of the Slovak culture was publicly assessed, and the national culture was depicted as a source of cultural diversity and the nation's identifier (Uznesenie vlády Slovenskej Republiky k návrhu Koncepcie starostlivosti o tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, 2007).

4 Possible ways to eliminate the dangers to cultural security during its integration and EU membership

4.1 Measures of cultural security protection required at the stage of the country's integration in the EU

Threats to preservation of the folk culture in every separate state may be eliminated by the comprehensive approach to protection of the traditional folk culture implemented by the national states in association with the EU communitarian bodies. Thus, at the associate membership stage it should be:

- implementation of a wide information campaign through the mass media, educational system, public cultural organisations and action groups aimed at informing the population of the candidate-state on the EU, its history, goals and objectives of its activity, importance of the traditional culture of every its member-state for the European and the world cultural legacy to prevent a social and cultural shock;
- study of existing problems of the primary cultural environment, identifying potential threats to its further development in the EU integration process and possible solutions;
- increase in the number of jobs for young professionals and the formation of a competitive labour market for young people, which will reduce future labour migration and will preserve the traditional culture;

- development of new concepts of migration policies designed to reduce the flow of illegal immigrants and creation of effective methods of assimilation in the country, taking into account its future integration into the EU;
- providing a balanced policy on national minorities, which would avoid a sharp imbalance between the indigenous population and other national groups living on its territory, securitisation of questions of cultural security can help avoid demonstration of chauvinism and xenophobia.
- carrying out the systematic work aimed at increasing the traditional culture's role in the society, explaining its differences from the modern unified and mass culture, creation of a sense of pride in the preservation of national cultural traditions and characteristics.

4.2 Measures of cultural security protection needed after accession of the country to the EU

After the state joins the European Union, joint mechanisms designated for preservation of conditions required to maintain further existence of the traditional folk culture shall be formed. For example, a good effect in Slovakia could be achieved by:

- development and implementation of targeted joint programs aimed at preserving the Slovak traditional folk culture in the global EU programs for the preservation of European intangible cultural legacy;
- increase in allocation of EU funds intended for reformation and reorganisation of the agricultural industry, which would stop disintegration of the Slovak initial cultural environment (the villages "dying out");
- use of EU funds to address the problem of the youth's employment, especially in rural areas, thus contributing to the preservation of the number of natural carriers of Slovak traditional culture;
- practical implementation of the European experience in the fight against illegal migration to reduce the number of illegal migrants and their impact on the socio-cultural field in the country;
- use of EU grants to increase the amount of research in the field of Slovak traditional folk culture and its methods of conservation and development in the modern Slovak society;

- implementation in plans and programs of secondary and higher educational establishments courses on traditional and modern culture of Slovakia, its role in the formation of a common cultural space of the EU;
- popularisation of the traditional culture of Slovakia at the European level, as an important part of Europe's cultural heritage, which would enhance the interest in it on the part of the younger generation of Slovaks, especially those who live abroad.

Conclusions

To conclude, we may state that the cultural security related issues of Slovakia were undeservedly paid little attention to in the process of the state integration with EU. For example, in Slovakia there is practically no fundamental research of main threats to cultural safety, such as the disappearance of the primary cultural environment and the decrease in its natural host, which increased as part of the Slovak society the number of carriers of other cultures (immigrants from Eastern Europe, South-East Asia, Africa and the Roma), securitisation of cultural issues by ultra-national political forces, as well as the distortion of traditional Slovak culture under the influence of popular culture and neoliberal multiculturalism.

Protective measures for traditional national culture of member-states suggested by the European Union were not enough, as the EU cultural policy, upon which they are based, were predominantly aimed at transcultural cooperation development and only insignificantly addressed preservation of cultural distinctive character of the new member-states. Measures taken in this area by the government of the Slovak Republic had rather declarative, than a real character and were seriously limited by the available resource base (in particular, in financing), which significantly decreased their efficiency. It resulted in the started destruction of the natural environment where the Slovak traditional culture existed – in the village, decrease of actual number and a percentage of its bearers in the society – native Slovaks; the youth's orientation at the new European unified cultural values and, as a result, a threat of gradual decadence of the Slovak traditional folk culture. Only since the early 21st Century, the Slovak Republic adopted a number of laws and programs aimed to increase the state role in resolution of a number of economic and social problems affecting preservation of the folk culture, and resolution of a number of matters directly

related to development of the national culture. However, the final solution to this problem requires a comprehensive approach to the protection of the traditional folk culture implemented by the national states in association with the EU communitarian bodies. Thus, at the associate membership stage there should be measures to increase awareness of a candidate countries population for the EU, its history, goals and objectives of its activities, the measures aimed at identifying potential threats to the primary cultural environment and its carriers to provide a balanced policy relating to national minorities and the formation of new concepts of migration policy regarding to future integration into the EU, systematic work on increasing of the role of traditional culture in the society.

After the accession of a state to the European Union, the main priorities in the field of preservation of traditional folk culture should be the development and implementation of targeted joint programs of Slovakia and the European Union for the Conservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the use of EU funds for the conservation of villages (primary culture sphere), by solving the problem of youth employment (carriers of the traditional culture), the preservation of ethnic and cultural fields of the country by combating illegal migration, implementation of plans and programs for secondary and higher educational establishments of the country courses on traditional and modern culture of Slovakia, as well as its popularisation at the European level as an important part of Europe's cultural legacy.

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